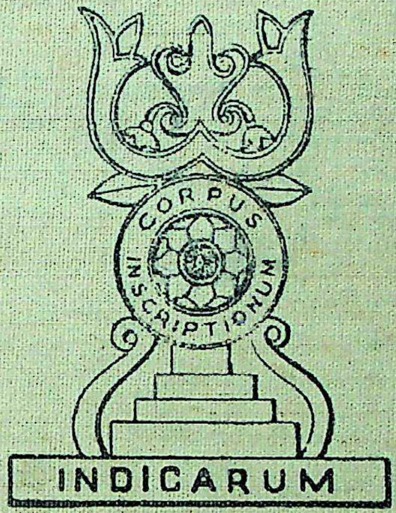
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Vol. III

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GUPTA KINGS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

BY

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State Museum, Library, Lko.

"In the scarcity ofuthentic materials for the ancient, and even for the modern, history of the Hindu race, importance is justly attacheto all genuine monuments, and especially inscriptions on stone and metal"—*Colebrooke's Essays*, Vol. II. p. 213.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

As book-sellers specializing in oriental books we have been facing great difficulties in procuring rare and out of print books to meet growing demands of our customers. If a copy or two of a rare book could be obtained with much strenuous efforts it was always on prohibitive price. We, therefore, decided to re-publish some of the very rare and useful books on the various subjects in the field of Indology. We are conscious of our difficulties and limitations in facing this stupendous task but we hope this will be minimized through the co-operation of those for whom we have undertaken this enterprize. After we had already gone ahead with the work of reprinting some of the books, we were able to get the advice and help of Professor A. K. Narain, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of Banaras Hindu University, who has kindly agreed to supervise such publications and to be the General Editor of such works which belong to his general field of studies.

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PREFACE.

JUST half a century ago, in 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 663, Mr. James Prinsep, by whom the study of Indian archæology was first placed on a sound and critical basis, indicated the necessity of systematically arranging the epigraphical materials for the study of the ancient history of India, which were then being gradually found to exist in considerable numbers; and also suggested the name which the collective publication of them should bear, viz. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*

For nearly forty years, however, owing to the manner in which the collection and publication of these epigraphical materials was left almost entirely to private enterprise, the scheme lay dormant; until it was revived, about ten years ago, by General Sir Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I., K.C.I.E., who in 1870 was selected by the Government of India for the newly-created post of Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, and who, in 1877, brought out the first volume of this series, under the title of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume I., containing the Inscriptions of Aśôka.

At the same time, he announced that, in the continuation of the series, Volume II. would contain the Inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians and of the Satraps of Saurâshṭra, and Vol. III. the Inscriptions of the Guptas and of other contemporary dynasties of Northern India. And, with the special sanction of the Secretary of State for India, in 1882 I was selected for the newly-created post of Epigraphist to the Government of India, with the primary duty of preparing the volume that was to contain the Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings. I joined that appointment on the 17th January, 1883; and held it up to the 4th June, 1886, when it was abolished.

At first sight, the principal task that lay before me seemed neither lengthy nor laborious; it being understood that the necessary materials had already been fully collected, and merely required to be critically examined and published. And the only practical difficulty that then appeared to lie in my way, was, that, as the intended volume of Indo-Scythian inscriptions, which had been entrusted to other hands and ought, for the proper consideration in due chronological order of all the questions concerned, to have appeared first, had not been previously published,—and, in fact, it has not even yet been issued,—and their dates had not been determined beyond dispute, the all-important question of the exact historical period to which the Early Gupta dynasty must be referred, would probably still be left undecided, save by historical and other inferences and arguments which might at any future time be proved, by further discoveries, to be unsound and erroneous.

My task, however, quickly assumed more ample proportions; for I found at once that hardly any of the materials previously collected, in the shape of ink-impressions of the original records on stone and copper, could be relied on for purposes of critical editing; and much less for the reproduction in facsimile Plates, which must always be an inseparable part of such researches, in order that scholars who cannot examine the original records themselves, may nevertheless be in a position to check the published results that are submitted to them. I found, in fact, that, with only eleven or twelve exceptions, it was unavoidable that I should have fresh impressions prepared of all the materials throughout; and also that, as far as might be practicable, I should examine the original stone-records *in situ*, and the original copper-records by collecting them together again from the various owners of them. The arrangements entailed much correspondence, and a great deal of travelling, than which nothing is more obstructive of continuous and successful literary work. And it was not until April, 1885, that I found myself in possession of the last of the materials required by me, *viz.* an ink-impression and estampage of the Gaṅgdhâr inscription of Viśvavarman, No. 17, page 72.

Meanwhile, of course, a certain amount of progress had been made in the preparation of the Texts and Translations, and in the arrangement of the Plates and other subsidiary work; subject always to the fact that no division of the work could be actually finished off, until it should be known that there were no more materials to come in. And the delay that was entailed by the necessity of collecting all the previously known materials afresh, has proved to be no matter for regret; if only for the reason that it enabled me to obtain, amongst other perfectly new materials, the invaluable Mandasôr inscription, No. 18, page 79, which furnished the information that was required, to set at rest the long-disputed question of the epoch of the Gupta era. This inscription was only discovered, under my direction, in March, 1884; and even then the full value of it was not apparent, in consequence of some serious imperfections in the ink-impressions that were first brought to me. I myself visited Mandasôr at the end of February, 1885; and was then able to examine this record *in situ*, and to have proper ink-impressions of it made; and thus to ascertain its full and conclusive bearing. And it was on this journey that, for the first time, by visiting Ujjain, I became aware of the almost equally important inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, No. 35, page 150, which gave the key to the whole history of the period, by supplying a definite date for Yaśôdharman, who was known, from the Mandasôr inscription, No. 33, page 142, discovered under my direction in March, 1884, to have overthrown the well-known foreign invader and conqueror, Mihirakula, who, again, I had previously determined, must have effected the final downfall of the Early Gupta dynasty. Without these discoveries, the period of the Early Gupta supremacy would have still remained the subject of argument and doubt. Whereas, with them, I have been able now to set this question at rest, and thus to establish a starting-point from which we can work back in developing the Indo-Scythian history; and, also, through fixing, for the first time, the date of Mihirakula,—who, as we learn from the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, played a most leading and important part in early Indian history,—to furnish the means of adjusting the chronology, before and after him, of the early history of Kaśmîr, as recorded in the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, and also of testing the accuracy of the Chinese accounts of the same early period.

The collection of the required materials having been at length completed, the next step was the preparation of the photo-lithographic facsimile Plates. And this was one of the most special divisions of the work. My object throughout has been, to place before my readers, in these Plates, as good substitutes, as can possibly be provided, for the original records; in order that they may be in a position to satisfy themselves as to the correctness or otherwise of my readings, and, on any doubtful points, to adopt any improvements which future researches may indicate. Any lithographs prepared from hand-tracings, eye-copies, or any similar materials, or even from mechanical impressions subsequently worked up by hand, are, of course, of absolutely no value whatever for critical purposes; for the reason that, no matter what amount of personal learning, skill, and care, may be brought to the work, the results are, not facsimiles of the original records as they really stand, but only facsimiles of those records as they have presented themselves to the eye of the individual reader of them; and, as long as such pseudo-facsimiles are the only substitutes available, so long there cannot cease to be varieties of opinion, and doubts and speculation, as to what the readings might be found to be, if the originals could be examined again *in situ*. To avoid anything of this kind, such of the ink-impressions as have been prepared under my own direction, *i.e.* all save eleven or twelve in the whole series, have been made with the most particular care, by purely mechanical means, by a man whom I have for a long time employed on such work, and who has attained considerable proficiency in it. And, by special sanction, the reproduction of them was made over to the well-known Photo-lithographic Establishment of Mr. W. Griggs, at Peckham, in which a good deal of work of the same kind had been previously turned out; and I was allowed to proceed to England, in order to superintend this part of the work in person. My own share here has simply been to see that the photo-lithographic reproduction was a faithful and mechanical process throughout; but this, of course, entailed the minute examination of two or three Proofs of each Plate, up to the final printing, in order to guard against the occasional distortion and blocking-up of letters, which is always liable to occur in reproducing such materials; and anyone, who has had practical experience, will know that careful supervision of such work takes up no little time. The results, however, have fully compensated for all the time and trouble that were spent in attaining them. And, with the valuable co-operation given by Mr. Griggs himself, through the personal interest which he takes in the reproduction of inscriptions, I am now able to submit to my readers a series of as absolutely faithful reduced facsimiles, as could possibly be prepared, of the original inscriptions and all their surroundings.

This part of the work was finished in December, 1885. I then returned to India, to complete the volume; and the Texts and Translations were ready for the Press at the end of May, 1886; though not quite in the same form throughout, in which they now appear. It was, however, then found that a number of accented types had to be prepared specially for this volume; and, owing to this and other causes, the first proofs were not fairly in hand till the following November. That they were so far started then, and that the work has progressed so quickly since then, is due to the friendly and earnest personal co-operation of Messrs. E. J. Dean and A. Sanderson, the Superintendent and Deputy-Superintendent of Government Printing, India, in whose office the volume has been printed; and I think I may fairly say that the volume gives a most excellent specimen of the style in which, under intelligent direction, the printing of large and important books can be done in India. I would also acknowledge here much assistance given by my friend, Mr. W. Rees Philipps, in reading the final proofs; as, since the commencement of the printing, I have never been less than five days distant from the Press by post, and have been part of the time in England, the assistance given by him on the spot, in Calcutta, has been most valuable in saving time. The printing of the Texts and Translations was completed in July, 1887. And the delay since then is due to the large amount of important matter, which, while they were being taken through the Press, I found myself in a position to include in the Introduction.

It will doubtless be remarked that, in the notes to my Texts, I have but seldom referred to the readings given in previously published versions of the same inscriptions. It soon became apparent to me that, to make any such references throughout, would increase the bulk of the book to at least twice what it now is, and encumber the pages of it with hundreds of footnotes of not the slightest practical value. I therefore abandoned, almost at starting, any idea of such a course; considering that the point was one which could interest only a very limited class of readers, and that, by giving in the introduction to each Text every reference that I could find to previous versions of it by other hands, I should afford those few special readers every facility for making any comparisons that might be necessary; and I have confined myself to noting previous mislections, only when they have had a bearing upon some historical name or other point of special importance. I offer my present versions of the Texts, not as absolutely final ones throughout, but as the most reliable ones that have as yet been produced; and as rendering possible now, for the first time, a thoroughly critical start in all the lines of research connected with the epigraphical materials of the period with which I have dealt. To take one special line as an instance,—it is only now that we are beginning to know properly the correct processes by which Hindu dates may be converted into their English equivalents. Much, in connection with this, still remains to be made known. And, as our knowledge advances, many improvements will undoubtedly be made in the interpretation, for instance, of numerical symbols, and of the other particular details of recorded dates. As an apposite instance, I would refer to note 2 on page 274. In this line, as in any other, I shall be only too thankful for any suggestions that may be made to me, with a view to improvements in any future edition.

A serious obstacle, hitherto, in the prosecution of epigraphical researches, has been the want of full and systematic indexes. To the Index of the present volume, special attention has been given; in order that it shall include an easy reference to anything in this series of inscriptions that can bear on any of the lines of research connected with epigraphy. And, to this point, I trust that full attention will be paid, in future volumes of this series by other hands.

The original sanction for this volume, limited by the heavy cost of the Plates, was for two hundred and fifty copies. Towards the end of my work, however, many gratifying intimations came from England, the Continent, and India, that the book was likely to be far more popular, and a far more general subject of study, than even I myself had ever anticipated. Under these circumstances, there has now been printed an additional issue of two hundred and fifty copies, without Plates, and thus procurable at a moderate price. The copies of this issue, of course, contain everything that is essential for general readers. And the complete copy, with Plates, in the nearest Public Library, Society's Rooms. or College, will always furnish special students with the means of prosecuting inquiries on particular points of interpretation of the original texts.

As I have indicated above, the volume does not appear in quite the form in which it was originally prepared for the Press. It will not be thoroughly complete, without the Historical Chapters that should form the second part of it. These however could not be even drafted to any considerable extent, until the Texts and Translations were all in print, in order to facilitate constant reference and quotation. And the writing of the Historical Chapters will entail so enormous an amount of miscellaneous reading and annotation, for the purpose of tracing to their origin, in order to explain and completely refute, all the erroneous theories, in every connected line of inquiry, which have been started during the last fifty years in order to support any epoch rather than the correct one, that, having now again to give all my principal attention and energy to the ordinary duties of official life in the Revenue Department, I doubt much whether those chapters will ever be written by me. It has, in fact, been difficult enough for me to finish, to my satisfaction, even the present part of the volume. I have, therefore, taken advantage of the delay in printing, to incorporate in this part of the volume a variety of notes and remarks which I should have preferred keeping back for the Historical Chapters. They will, however, I think, be found to be not altogether misplaced; even if I may subsequently have to modify the views expressed in some of them.

Another point in which the delay in publication has been turned to even greater dvantage, is in respect of the valuable matter which I have been able to include in the Introduction through the kind co-operation of Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, of the Bombay Educational Department. It was only at the end of December, 1886, that I made his acquaintance. But, since then, he has been most assiduous in making all the astronomical calculations, which were suggested by me to him as each new point developed itself in the special inquiries that, through his assistance, became possible. Two of his papers will be given in full in Appendices II. and III.; and the first of them will be found to explain thoroughly the process by which, with the late Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables, anyone may now be able to calculate correctly the week-day, and the corresponding English date, for any given Hindu *tithi* or lunar day. The second point to which he has given his attention, is the elucidation of the system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years of which form so important a part in some of the records of the Early Gupta period. I find it impossible to over-estimate the work which he has done for me during the short period of our acquaintance. His assistance has been simply invaluable. Without it, I must have left all these subsidiary points for future determination; and must, of course, have left the all-important subject of the epoch of the Gupta era still open, within the limits of one year before and after the true date, to doubt and argument. With it, I am now able to prove everything that I have sought to establish, from the time when I first became aware of the full purport of the Mandasôr inscription that gives the date of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman; and to present my case, as will be seen, in a thoroughly complete and satisfactory form.

J. F. FLEET.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE entering on the leading subject of this Introduction,—the determination of the epoch of the so-called Gupta era,—I would give a brief account of the scope of the book, and the arrangement of its contents.

The leading records are, of course, those of the **Early Guptas** themselves;[1] from No. 1, the Allahâbâd posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, down to No. 16, page 68, the Indôr copper-plate grant of Skandagupta, who, as far as we know at present, was the last of the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty. The actual dates of these records extend from A.D. 401 to A.D. 466.

To the same period belong the two inscriptions of the **Rulers of Mâlava**; No. 17, page 72, the Gaṅgdhâr inscription of Viśvavarman, dated[2] in A.D. 424; and No. 18, page 79, the Mandasôr inscription, dated in A.D. 474, which gives us the date of A.D. 437 for Kumâragupta and his feudatory, Bandhuvarman; and, in doing so, has supplied what was always felt to be the most urgent desideratum, *viz.* a date, for any one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in a standard era, capable of identification, other than the era which was habitually used by the Early Guptas themselves. With the exception of a few among the Miscellaneous Inscriptions, to be noticed hereafter, No. 17 is the last record that belongs specifically to the Early Gupta dynasty.

But, shortly after the time of Skandagupta, we meet with the two names of **Budhagupta and Bhânugupta,** with the dates of respectively A.D. 484, in No. 19, page 88, and A.D. 510, in No. 20, page 91. And, coupled with the fact that, in the inscriptions of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas*, the Gupta sovereignty is distinctly stated to have continued down to A.D. 528, the termination of these names raises at least a presumption that these two kings were of the Early Gupta lineage, though possibly not connected by direct descent with Skandagupta. Budhagupta comes, chronologically, immediately after Skandagupta. Bhânugupta comes somewhat later; after Tôramâṇa, whose power meanwhile succeeded that of Budhagupta in Eastern Mâlwa. But, under all the circumstances, the most convenient arrangement has been, to place the record which mentions him, next after that of Budhagupta.

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[1] I call the members of this family the "Early Guptas," by way of easily distinguishing them from the later Guptas of Magadha, whose genealogy is given in the Aphsaḍ inscription, No. 42, page 200, and in the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription, No. 46, page 213.

[2] In respect of these three dates, I follow here the equivalents that I have given in my introductory remarks to the two inscriptions. But, when the proper value of expired years of the Mâlava or Vikrama era can be determined, perhaps it may be found that these three dates, and any others of the same series, are each one year earlier than as at present given by me.

In No. 21, page 93, down to No. 25, page 112, we have some inscriptions, ranging from A.D. 475 to A.D. 528, which overlap, on one side, the time of Budhagupta, and on the other, the periods of Tôramâṇa, Bhâṇugupta, and Mihirakula. They are the records of a feudatory family, to the members of which it is convenient to give the name of the **Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas.**[1] And the extreme importance of them lies in the fact that they expressly shew that, though the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty itself may have become extinct, the Gupta dominion still continued, and the name of the Gupta kings was still recognised as a power, down to A.D. 528. Another very special feature in them, as will be seen, is the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, in the records of the dates. As will now be shewn for the first time, this point really furnishes most valuable corroboration, if not actually independent and conclusive proof, of my general results as to the exact year from which the dates of the Early Guptas and their successors run.

Closely connected with the preceding, both chronologically and territoriahy, was another family, that of the **Mahârâjas of Uchchakalpa,** whose records we have in No. 26, page 117, to No. 31, page 135; with also a mention of one member of this family, the *Mahârâja* Śarvanâtha, in No. 24, page 110, which proves that, at the date therein referred to, he was the contemporary of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâja* Hastin. And the recorded dates of this family, if referred to the Gupta era, range from A.D. 493 to 533-34. That this is the proper interpretation of the dates, was assumed by General Cunningham who first brought all the Uchchakalpa grants, save one, to notice.[2] And my own view has been the same. But a later consideration of the question shewed that there are a few points in the inscriptions, which, if the existence of the Kalachuri or Chêdî era, as a separate era, could be satisfactorily established, render it possible that these dates are recorded, not in the Gupta era, but in the Kalachuri era; which, even with General Cunningham's proposed epoch[3] of A.D. 249-50, would suit all the requirements almost as well as the Gupta era, and, with an epoch about twenty-five or thirty years later, would suit them much better. Thus, in particular, the understanding that, while the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas* were feudatories of later members of the Early Gupta dynasty, the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa, whose territories evidently lay more to the east and south-east, were feudatories of Kâlachuri kings, would explain at once why no era is quoted in the Bhumarâ pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110; the reason being that the feudatories of the two rival dynasties could not agree as to which of the two rival eras should be used. Again, this same record shews that the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Śarvanâtha were contemporaneous in the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* that is mentioned in it. Now, for Hastin we have the extreme dates of Gupta-Saṁvat 156 and 191; and for Śarvanâtha, the extreme dates of the years 193 and 214, with the year 177 as the latest known date for his father Jayanâtha. And, as it is unlikely that Hastin continued alive and in power for any length of time after Gupta-Saṁvat 191, it seemed, on the supposition that both the series of dates were to be referred to the Gupta era, that the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* in question was the one commencing in Gupta-Saṁvat 189, rather than that commencing in Gupta-Saṁvat 201; since, the former was easily obtained by adding only four years at the commencement of the period for Śarvanâtha; whereas, to obtain the latter, we should have to add on ten years at the end of Hastin's already long enough period of thirty-six years. On the other hand, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* occurred previously, in Hastin's period, in Gupta-Saṁvat 165 and 177. If the Uchchakalpa dates were referred to the Kalachuri era, with General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 249-50, Śarvanâtha's latest date, the year 214, would be equivalent to A.D. 463-64, or Gupta-Saṁvat 144; and we should have to add on twenty-one years at the end of his known period, in order to make him the contemporary of Hastin in Gupta-Saṁvat 165. Whereas, if an epoch could be found for the Kalachuri era about twenty-five years later than that proposed by General Cunningham, the two *Mahârâjas* would be naturally contemporaneous in Gupta-Saṁvat 165 or A.D. 484-85. By calculation, however, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit found that, though General Cunningham's proposed epoch might be very close to the real truth, yet it was certainly not the absolutely correct one. Also, though he found that nearly all of the ten Kalachuri or Chêdî dates, given by General Cunningham,[1] would work out correctly with an epoch of A.D. 248-49, or just one year earlier than that proposed by General Cunningham, yet both he and I felt that the available data, in the shape of the published readings and lithographs of the dates, were not sufficiently reliable for any definite theory to be built up on the results obtained by him. Again, if the Kalachuri era really existed in that early time,[2]—in which case, of course, there were then actually kings of the Kalachuri dynasty,—it seemed strange that no distinct reference should be made to the dynasty in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, which, with much minuteness of detail, claims for Samudragupta the conquest of the whole earth;[3] especially since the Mahâkûṭ pillar inscription of the Early Chalukya king

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[1] See page 95, note 1. [2] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 9 ff. [3] See *Indian Eras*, p. 60 ff.

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[1] *Indian Eras*, p. 61.

[2] I do not overlook the 'Pardi' grant of the Traikûṭaka *Mahârâja* Dahrasêna (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 346 ff.), which is dated in the year 207 of an unspecified era; or the Kaṇheri plate (see No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India, p. 57 ff.), which is dated "in two centuries of years, increased by forty-five, of the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikûṭakas." But it still has to be proved, either, on general grounds, that the era of these two records, is the Kalachuri era; or that the Trikûṭa whence these Traikûṭakas derived their name, is identical with Tripura or Tripurî, the capital of the Kalachuris of Central India.

[3] Prinsep, indeed (see, for instance, *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 237), found the possible mention of a Tripura in the Kartṛipura which is spoken of in line 22 of this inscription. But he would have identified it with the modern 'Tipperah.' And the immediate connection of Kartṛipura, in the inscription, with Samataṭa or, Lower Bengal, Ḍavâka (? 'Dacca,' if the correct spelling really is Ḍâkâ), Kâmarûpa or Assam, and Nêpâl, shews that the place was indeed very far away from Central India.

Maṅgalîśa[1] shews that the dynastic name was very well established in at least the sixth century A.D., and mentions it under the Sanskṛitised form of Kalatsûri. As, however, the Kalachuris, in their later records, represent themselves as descendants of Sahasra-Arjuna or Sahasrabâhu-Arjuna,[3] the required reference to them in the Allahâbâd inscription might be found in the Ârjunâyanas, who are mentioned in line 22; and no special objection need be taken on that ground. The real difficulty was to prove that the Kalachuri era, and, with it, sovereigns of the Kalachuri dynasty, really existed in early times; and that the era was not merely one of somewhat later invention, fitted to an early epoch. But, since the time when I first drafted the preceding remarks, Prof. Kielhorn has determined, quite recently,[4] that, if we only take three of the ten dates in question as denoting expired years, all the dates will work out correctly with the epoch of A.D. 248-49. It is, therefore, really a question for consideration whether the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa were not indeed feudatories of early kings of the Kalachuri dynasty; and whether the dates of their records do not furnish the earliest instances of the use of the Kalachuri era. Unfortunately, these Uchchakalpa dates do not contain details for computation; and the question, accordingly, cannot at present be decided in that way.

The inscriptions contain various hints as to the causes which led to the downfall of the Early Gupta sovereignty. But, looking round on all these intimations, with the help of extraneous information, the person who accomplished their final extinction seems undoubtedly to have been the great king Mihirakula, of Śâkala in the Pañjâb, and subsequently of Kaśmîr, whose career in India is so graphically described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang. Among epigraphical records, his name had long been extant, though it had not been recognised, in an inscription at Gwâlior, No. 37, page 161, where it occurs as the name of a son of Tôramâṇa. I myself, when I first recognised the word as a proper name, took it to be the appellation of a second Mihirakula, given in memory of his father Tôramâṇa's former lord and master. The first discovery that militated against this view, was, my finding that the great Mihirakula himself is mentioned in the Mandasôr duplicate pillar inscriptions, No. 33, page 142, and No. 34, page 149, as having been overthrown by a powerful king of Northern India named Yaśôdharman; shortly after which I obtained for Yaśôdharman the date of A.D. 533-34, in the Mandasôr inscription, No. 35, page 150. From certain details in their Êraṇ inscriptions, it was evident that Tôramâṇa came, in Eastern Mâlwa, very shortly after Budhagupta; the proof of this is that Budhagupta's inscription mentions a certain *Mahârâja* named Mâtṛivishṇu, and his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu, as being both then alive; whereas Tôramâṇa's inscription mentions Dhanyavishṇu as still alive, but Mâtṛivishṇu as deceased; and these statements shew that Tôramâṇa followed Budhagupta, in Eastern Mâlwa, within the remnant of the generation to which the brothers Mâtṛivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu belonged. Putting everything together, in writing my paper on "The History and Date of Mihirakula,"[1] it soon became perfectly clear that the king who is mentioned in the Gwâlior inscription, is the great Mihirakula himself; that he was the son of Tôramâṇa; and that his downfall was accomplished by Yaśôdharman within a very few years on either side of A.D. 533-34. In proper chronological order, therefore, **Tôramâṇa and Mihirakula** come next after Budhagupta; and Tôramâṇa certainly, and probably Mihirakula also, so far as Eastern Mâlwa is concerned before Bhânugupta. Plate xxiii A. and B. should, therefore, properly have been placed next after Plate xx. To my present brief notice of these two kings,—who belonged to a foreign race, which, whether best and most properly known as Indo-Scythians, Sakas, Hûṇas, Turushkas, Shâhis, Shâhanushâhis, or Daivaputras, had established itself in the Pañjâb at an early date, and continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta,—I will only add that, the first year of Tôramâṇa, which is recorded in his inscription. and which fell for certain after A.D. 484, which is Budhagupta's inscriptional date, and before A.D. 510, which is Bhânugupta's inscriptional date, is evidently only the first year of his possession of Eastern Mâlwa. Coming down, as he did, from the extreme north-west corner of India, it is impossible that we should suddenly find him, fully established as the first of a new dynasty, in the very heart of the Gupta country, in absolutely the first year of his reign. His own dynastic date, which must correspond to just about the same year, is given in his silver coins, which follow the Early Gupta silver coins in general style, but differ from them in certain marked peculiarities that were evidently introduced for the express purpose of shewing that his power was hostile to theirs, and had superseded it. There are two excellent specimens of his coins, which I have examined, in the British Museum; and the date on them is the year 52 or 82, in numerical symbols. General Cunningham[2] has read the dates as 52 and 53; but the second symbol in each case is certainly 2; as regards the first symbol, I will not at present give a final opinion as to whether it is 50 or 80; since, though probably a 50, it is possibly an 80, turned half round on the die, so as to lie vertically, instead of horizontally, in order that it might not fall chiefly beyond the edge of the coin. Without doubt, it would make the case very simple indeed, if we could read the date as 182, as Mr. Thomas did,[3]— or even read it as 82, and, on the theory of "omitted hundreds." interpret it as 182,— and refer it to the Gupta era, with the result, now, of A.D. 501-502. But the date is either 52 or 82, and nothing else; without the slightest grounds for supposing that the symbol for 100 was stamped, but has now become obliterated, or was engraved on the die, but, in the stamping, fell beyond the edge of the coin; and, if it has to be interpreted as 152, on the theory of "omitted hundreds," then at any rate it cannot possibly be referred to the Gupta era. I have shewn elsewhere[1] that Mihirakula's fifteenth year, which is recorded in his Gwâlior inscription, must fall somewhere very close to A.D. 533-34, which is the recorded date of Yaśôdharman; and in all probability a year or two before it; so that we shall be very near the mark, if we select A.D. 515 for the commencement of his career. If, then, the date on Tôramâṇa's coins is 52, and if we apply it as his regnal date, about which there need be felt no special difficulty. Tôramâṇa's reign must have commenced, roughly, about A.D. 460. This falls very near the latest date, A.D. 466, that we have for Śkandagupta, who, up to A.D. 457-58, held the whole of Northern India, below the Pañjâb, from Kâṭhiâwâd to the frontier of Nêpâl. And it was doubtless the death of Skandagupta, that enabled the Hûnas, who had been repulsed by him, to assume the aggressive again, under the leadership of Tôramâṇa; and, on this occasion, with such success as to hold even Central India for a short time. This view is also in perfect accordance with the statement of the Valabhî inscriptions,[2] that it was the founder of their family, the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka; with the date of about A.D. 500, who successfully fought, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, against the Maitrakas, *i.e.* the Mihiras, *i.e.* the particular family or clan, among the Hûṇas, to which Tôramâṇa and Mihirakula belonged. If, on the other hand, the date on Tôramâṇa's coins is 82, then it cannot be applied as a regnal date; and, though it must then run from the period at which his own branch of the Hûṇas rose to power, it cannot be used to fix the commencement of his own accession. The general outline of the history of the period, which I have briefly indicated above, would, however, remain much the same.

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[1] See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 22, 58

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, line 16.

[3] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 92, verse 7.

[4] See the *Academy* of the 10th December, 1887, p. 394 f.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 245 ff.

[2] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 26 f.; and see *id.* Plate v. Nos. 18, 19.

[3] *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 340, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 66; see also *id.* p. 36, Plate vii. Nos. 27, 28.

To some time or other in this early period belongs the mysterious emperor **Chandra,** of whom we have a posthumous record in the iron pillar inscription at Mêharaulî, No. 32, page 139. I call him mysterious, because, though the inscription speaks of him as a powerful supreme monarch, who conquered the whole of Northern India, from beyond the river Indus down to the plains of Bengal, yet it makes no mention of his lineage, and gives no clue by which we can determine exactly his period and surroundings. All that we know for certain, is, that his inscription belongs, on palæographical grounds, to a fairly early date. In the palæography of it, there is, in fact, no real obstacle to our allotting it to Chandragupta I., the first paramount sovereign in the Early Gupta family; and the only objection that I can see, is, that it contains no reference to the Indo-Scythian kings, unless they are here called Vâhlikas, by overthrowing whom Chandragupta I. must have established the power of his own family. But there is an interesting point in the fact that the name of the village at which this inscription stands, *viz.* Mêharaulî or Mêmharaulî, is an evident corruption of Mihirapurî, 'the city of the Sun, or of the Mihiras.' Mihira, as a proper name, is a Sanśkṛitised form of the name of the family, clan, or tribe among the Hûṇas, to which belonged Mihirakula and his father Tôramâṇa. And it is not impossible that this inscription may be shewn hereafter to be a record of the younger brother of Mihirakula, who, when Mihirakula was defeated by Bâlâditya of Magadha, usurped his throne in the Pañjâb, and whose own name is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 252.

[2] See page 167, and note 11.

As has been indicated above, the Mandasôr duplicate pillar inscriptions, No. 33, page 142, and No. 34, page 149, which are brand-new discoveries, introduce us to a powerful king of Northern India, named **Yaśôdharman,** who is of extreme interest from being mentioned in them as the conqueror of Mihirakula. And the remaining Mandasôr inscription, No. 35, page 150,—again a brand-new discovery,—is another record of this same **Yaśôdharman,** coupled in this case with a king named **Vishṇuvardhana**; and it is of extreme value from the fact that, by supplying for Yaśôdharman a specific date, A.D. 533-34, it has completed the clue to the whole history of the period. Who Vishṇuvardhana was, cannot at present be determined; but he is at any rate not the feudatory Vishṇuvardhana, the Varika, who is mentioned in No. 59, page 252.

Next in chronological sequence, but slightly overlapping some of the preceding records, come the inscriptions of the **Kings of Valabhî,** ranging, so far as absolutely definite dates are concerned, from A.D. 426 to A.D. 766. Of the numerous copper-plate inscriptions of this family that have been discovered, I have given two, as specimens; No. 38, page 164, and No. 39, page 171. Apart from the full genealogical tree which they give, including twelve generations, they are of interest chiefly because they make known the historical fact that the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka, the founder of the family, successfully waged war against, and overthrew, a dynasty, tribe, or clan, called Maitrakas, which has already been the subject of comment; and because they shew that the Gupta era continued in use, in Kâthiâwâḍ and some neighbouring parts of Gujarât, at least as late as A.D. 766, and thus explain, through its special connection with their own family, how it came to have, in later times, the name, in the same part of the country, of the Valabhî era. Otherwise, the inscriptions of this family contain but little of historical importance; though a full examination of them would throw much light on the ancient geography of the localities from which they come. It is a curious fact that no stone-inscriptions of this family,—at least, none that can be definitely attributed to them,—have as yet been discovered. Last year, it is true, Colonel J. W. Watson obtained at Walâ, which is the modern representative of the ancient Valabhî, part of a stone-inscription, now in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the characters of which shewed me that it belonged to the earlier part of the Valabhî period. But it is the merest fragment; with no historical clue in it. It is, however, of interest, in shewing that the excavations at Walâ are now reaching the level of stone-remains. When that level can be properly explored, discoveries of importance ought to follow; since, for some reason or other, inscriptions on stone nearly always contain much more historical information than copper-plate grants do.

. In the Êraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gôparâja, No. 20, page 91, mention is made of the family of the Śarabha kings. Two inscriptions of the **Râjas of Śarabhapura** are given in No. 40, page 191, and No. 41, page 196. There is nothing to shew the exact period to which they belong; much less to identify either of the *Râjas* mentioned in them with Gôparâja's maternal grandfather. But the characters indicate that they may perhaps be attributed to a period not far distant from that of Gôparâja; and the present place has been found a convenient one for introducing them. At the same time, they may possibly be found hereafter to belong to a period later by a couple of centuries than the time of Gôparâja. Another inscription of the *Râja* Mahâ-Sudêvarâjâ has been published by Dr Rajendralala Mitra, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. page 195 ff.; but the original plates have disappeared, with several other valuable copper-plate grants that were presented to the Bengal Asiatic Society; and the published version is not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced. I have, therefor not been able to include that inscription in this collection.

In No. 42, page 200, to No. 46, page 213, we have some inscriptions of the **Guptas of Magadha,** a family of which one member at least, the great Âdityasêna, played an important part in the history of the seventh century A.D., when the Kanauj kingdom was broken up on the death of Harshavardhana. From the way in which, through the eleven generations of this family that are recorded, every name, except that of Âdityasêna, has the termination *gupta*, there can be little doubt that the family is an offshoot of the original Gupta stock. And, reckoning back from the time of Âdityasêna, for whom the date of A.D. 672-73 is supplied by the Shâhpur inscription, No. 43, page 208. Kṛishṇagupta, from whom the descent is traced, has to be placed between A.D. 475 and 500. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Budhagupta or Bhânugupta, or of both of them, and came very shortly after Skandagupta. His exact connection, however, with any of these three kings, still remains to be determined.

The Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 42, page 200, introduces us to two important contemporaneous families. The first of these is that of the **Maukharis,** or Mukharas, of whom we have inscriptions in No. 47, page 219, to No. 51, page 228. The great antiquity of this family is shewn by a clay seal in General Cunningham's possession, obtained at Gayâ, which has on it, in Aśôka characters, the Pâli legend *Môkhaliṇam*, "of the Môkhalis, Maukhalis, or Maukharis." No. 47, page 219, gives us the names of three feudatory *Mahârâjas*, followed by two paramount sovereigns, of one branch of this family; and it is probably the *Mahârâja* Îśvaravarman, of this branch, of whom we have a record in No. 51, page 228. A connecting link between these aukharis and the Guptas of Magadha seems to be established in Âdityavarman's wife, Harshaguptâ, who was probably the sister of Harshagupta of Magadha. Subsequently, the relations between the two families were less friendly. Thus, it can hardly be doubted that the king Îśânavarman of this family is the one who, as recorded in line 6 f. of the Aphsaḍ inscription, was conquered in battle by

Harshagupta's grandson, Kumâragupta. Dâmôdaragupta, again, in the same inscription, is mentioned as breaking-up the forces of the Maukhari king, which had previously overcome the army of the Hûṇas. And the Susthitavarman who was conquered in battle by Mahâsênagupta, doubtless belonged to the same lineage. Other references to the Maukharis are to be found in the *Harshacharita* of Bâṇa, and in the Nêpâl inscriptions.[1] Nos. 48, 49, and 50, give us another minor branch of the Maukhari lineage, of evidently much less importance, belonging to the neighbourhood of Gayâ.

The second of the contemporaneous families introduced by the Aphsaḍ inscription, is that of the **Kings of Kanauj,** to which belonged the great Harshadêva or Harshavardhana. Of this king I am able to give a brand-new inscription, in the Sônpat seal, No. 52, page 231. This is the first epigraphical record of this family that has ever been obtained; and it is of extreme interest in carrying back the genealogy to two generations before Harshavardhana's well-known father, Prabhâkaravardhana; and in shewing that the latter was the first paramount sovereign in the family. The verse in the Aphsaḍ inscription which mentions Harshavardhana, under the name of Harshadêva, is partly obliterated; but it refers to Mâdhavagupta either as a feudatory of the Kanauj king, or as seeking an alliance with him. A connection between the two families appears to be established in Mahâsênaguptâ,[2] the wife of the *Mahârâja* Âdityavardhana, who was the grandfather of Harshavardhana; it can hardly be doubted that she was a sister of Mahâsênagupta of Magadha, the father of Mâdhavagupta. Another point of importance in this Sônpat seal, is, that it shews that the father of Prabhâkaravardhana was neither Pushpabhûti or Pushyabhûti, who is mentioned by Bâṇa, in his *Harshacharita*, in connection with this family; nor king Śîlâditya of Mâlava, who is spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang, but the feudatory *Mahârâja* Âdityavardhana. That Śîlâditya of Mâlava was the father of Prabhâkaravardhana, was assumed by Mr. Fergusson.[3] And Prof. Max Müller has asserted the same relationship in respect of Pushpabhûti;[4] but Dr. F. E. Hall[5] only speaks of Pushpabhûti as an ancestor, more or less remote, of Harshavardhana; and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,[6] who writes the name Pushyabhûti, only speaks of Harshavardhana as belonging to the Pushyabhûti dynasty.

No. 53, page 233, to No. 56, page 243, are inscriptions of the **Vâkâṭaka Mahârâjas.** Their date is determined by the marriage of Rudrasêna II. with Prabhâvatiguptâ, the daughter of the paramount sovereign Dêvagupta, who, it can hardly be doubted, was Dêvagupta of Magadha,[7] the son of Âdityasêna, mentioned in the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription, No. 46, page 213, and belonging to the period of about A.D. 680 to 700. This brings the Vâkâṭaka *Mahârâjas* to a period later by fully two centuries than has hitherto been allotted to them ; but there is nothing in the palæography of their grants to oppose this result, even if it does not actually prove it. A clear instance of the comparatively long preservation of antique characters for official purposes, is furnished by the Râjim grant of the *Râja* Tîvaradêva, No. 81, page 291, which is undoubtedly almost, if not quite, the latest record in this volume, though at first sight its characters would seem to refer it to a much earlier period.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.

[2] See page 232, note 3.

[3] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. IV. p. 87.

[4] *India ; What can it teach us?*, p. 288.

[5] *Vâsavadattâ*, Preface, p. 51; in his analysis of the Harshacharita.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 74.

[7] See page 215, note 7.

In No. 57, page 249, to No. 81, page 291, I have given a variety of **Miscellaneous Inscriptions,** which, either from their not mentioning the name of any particular king, or for other reasons, it was not convenient to introduce in other places in accordance with the chronological order that has been the chief basis of the arrangement of the volume. Of these, the most interesting are No. 60, page 254, which is a spurious grant purporting to have been issued by the Early Gupta king Samudragupta ; No. 61, page 258, which, apart from its recorded date, expressly refers itself to the Early Gupta period, and which also, like No. 15, page 65, furnishes interesting proof of the existence of the Jain sect in the fourth century, A.D.; and No. 71, page 274, the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, dated in A.D. 588. This is another brand-new discovery, made by General Cunningham. And its extreme interest lies in the fact that, as the Mahânâman, whose record it is, can hardly be any other than the well-known person of that name who wrote the more ancient part of the Pâli *Mahâvaṁsa* or History of Ceylon, its date shews either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology, as hitherto accepted, are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be, or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working out those details ; and it furnishes a definite point from which the chronology may now be adjusted backwards.

THE GUPTA ERA.

We come now to the question which, for the last forty years, has been at issue among all scholars who have been interested in the ancient history of India, and which, from the impossibility, until the discovery of the Mandasôr inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, of arriving at any sound and final settlement of it, has created the almost inextricable confusion that now prevails in every line of research connected with the Early Gupta period : *viz.* the determination of the exact chronological point to which we must refer the commencement of the era that was used, for the purpose of dating their records and coins, by the Early Gupta kings and some of their successors.

For reference in the following discussion, I give, in Table I. page 17 below, a **genealogy of the dynasty,** with the official titles and recorded dates of the members of it. And, below the unbroken succession, I insert the names of Budhagupta and Bhânugupta ;

TABLE I.

Genealogy of the Early Gupta Kings.

Gupta,
Mahârâja.

|

Ghaṭôtkacha,
Mahârâja.

|

Chandragupta I.,
(Vikrama I., or Vikramâditya I.),
Mahârâjâdhirâja.
Married to Kumâradêvî, of the Lichchhavi family.

|

Samudragupta,
(Kâcha),
Mahârâjâdhirâja.
Married to Dattadêvî.

|

Chandragupta II.,
Vikrama (II.), Vikramâditya (II.), or Vikramâṅka,
Paramabhaṭṭâraka, and *Mahârâjâdhirâja.*
Married to Dhṛuvadêvî.
[Gupta-Saṁvat 82, 88, 93, and 94 or 95.]

|

Kumâragupta,
Mahêndra, or Mahêndrâditya,
Mahârâjâdhirâja.
[G. S. 96, 98, 129, and 130 odd.]

|

Skandagupta,
Kramâditya,
Paramabhaṭṭâraka, and *Mahârâjâdhirâja.*
[G. S. 136, 137, 138, 141, 144, 145, 146, 148, and 147 or 149.]

Budhagupta.
[G. S. 165, 175, and (?) 180 odd.]

Bhânugupta.
[G. S. 191.]

because there is at least a strong possibility that they were descended from the same stock, though their connection with each other, and with Skandagupta, has not as yet been made clear; and because the date of Budhagupta, at least, has always been accepted as bearing on the chronological question. The dates are taken partly from the inscriptions, and partly from the silver coins, on which I have published a note in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 65 ff. Thus, the coins supply the dates of Gupta-Saṁvat 94 or 95, for Chandragupta II.; 130 odd, for Kumâragupta;[1] 144, 145, 148, and 147 or 149, for Skandagupta: and 175, and possibly also 180 odd, for Budhagupta. The secondary names of the kings are taken partly from the silver coins, and partly from the gold coins, on which a very exhaustive and valuable treatise has been published by Mr. V. A. Smith, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 119 ff., noticed by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 92 ff. The names of Vikramâditya, Mahêndrâditya, and Kramâditya, for respectively Chandragupta II., Kumâragupta, and Skandagupta, are supplied by the silver coins; and the first two, in the abbreviated forms of Vikrama and Mahêndra, occur also on some of the gold coins; as, also, perhaps does the full name Kramâditya, for Skandagupta. And Vikramâṅka, which is of constant occurrence as a synonym for Vikrama and Vikramâditya, occurs on a silver coin which seems undoubtedly to belong to Chandragupta II. As regards Chandragupta I., it is still a moot point whether certain gold coins, which bear the name of Vikrama and Vikramâditya, are to be allotted to him, or to his grandson; but I myself do not see any difficulty about allotting them to him, and in understanding, therefore, that he also had these same secondary names; I have, however, inserted them in brackets, as being open to the possibility of doubt. Kâcha, as a possible second name of Samudragupta, is taken from some gold coins on which I have commented at page 27, note 4; this. however, is also bracketed, as being not yet quite certain. The coins, both gold and silver, present many other points of considerable interest, some of which I have briefly alluded to in my notes to the Texts and Translations; but the full consideration of them belongs to the Historical Chapters.

The genealogy, as given by Mr. Thomas in his edition of *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 245, includes the name of Dêvî, a daughter of Mahâdaitya, as one of the queens of Samudragupta; and, as a son of Skandagupta, a young prince, whose name is suggested to be Mahêndragupta. The entry of Dêvî and Mahâdaitya, appears also in the same list as republished by Mr. Thomas in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 19, and again in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 533; in each of which places we also find, as another wife of Samudragupta, a queen, name unknown, the daughter of an independent princess 'Sanhârikâ.' The second list repeats the name of Mahêndragupta; but, in the third, there are substituted the words "royal issue expected at the date of this inscription," *i.e.* of the Bhitarî pillar inscription of Skandagupta. The existence of the supposed

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[1] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Plate v. No. 7.

Mahêndragupta, however, as pointed out by me on page 56, note 2, is due to nothing but Dr. Mill's original mislection of the Bhitarî inscription, coupled with the real name of Mahêndrâditya on Kumâragupta's coins. And the existence of the independent princess 'Sanhârikâ,' with her unnamed daughter, and of Mahâdaitya, and his daughter Dêvî, is equally imaginary; being due, as indicated on page 1, only to early mislections of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription. In his first list, Mr. Thomas entered the *Mahârâja* Gupta, and his descendants, as belonging to the Solar lineage; and this mistake, though not repeated in his second and third lists, has not even yet been completely eradicated; but, as shewn on page 1, the statement rests on nothing but Dr. Mill's mislection of a passage in the Allahâbâd inscription.

The Nomenclature of the Era.

Before proceeding further, however, it is desirable now to draw attention pointedly to the fact that, though it is convenient to speak of the era in question as the Gupta era, yet **we have no ancient authority whatever for connecting the name of the Guptas with it, as the establishers of it,** and much less for accepting the early existence of any such technical appellation for it, as *Gupta-kâla*.

It is true that this term is used by **Albêṛûnî,** who speaks of the *Gûbt-kâl* or *Gûbita-kâl*, i.e. *Gupta-kâla*. But, in just the same manner, he uses also the expression *Śaka-kâla* for the Śaka era. In each instance, his use of the word *kâla* is in perfect consonance with its meaning, 'time, or a space of time,' and 'with the application of it in the sense of 'an era.' And the Hindus who furnished him with the information that he recorded, but who can have known nothing certain about the origin of the era, save only that it had come down to them through the Gupta kings, would naturally speak of it as the *Gupta-kâla*. But Albêrûnî's statements belong to the eleventh century A.D.; and furnish no real authority, on such a point as this, for early times.

It is true, also, that the words *Guptasya kâlâd*, "from the era of Gupta," were supposed by Dr. Bhau Daji[1] to exist in line 15 of the **Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta.** But the real reading there, as is quite clear even in the lithograph from which Dr. Bhau Daji worked, is not *Guptasya kâlâ*[*d*]=*gaṇanâṁ vidhâya*, "counting from the era of Gupta," but *Gupta-prakâlê gaṇanâṁ vidhâya*, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas." And there can be little doubt that Dr. Bhau Daji's reading, and his translation, which was more or less unavoidable after the adoption of the reading, were suggested by M. Reinaud's previously published translation of the extract from Albêrûnî, in which, though translating *Śaka-kâla* by "the era of Śaka," he transliterated the original Arabic by *Gupta-kâla*, with the words "era of the Guptas" added in brackets.[2] Dr. Bhau Daji's reading was unfortunately accepted without further investigation; and has stood up to the present time. And, in particular, it was most emphatically endorsed by Mr. Thomas, who, in 1876, and again in 1881, stated that he had previously had doubts as to the correctness of the reading and translation, but had then become quite satisfied concerning it, from a personal comparison of Dr. Bhau Daji's materials with others.[1] It is undoubtedly only to this erroneous opinion, that we must attribute Mr. Thomas' later belief[2] that on certain coins of 'Syaḷapati,' he could read the syllables *Gu* and *Gupta*, with possible indications of even *Guptasya*, shewing, it was supposed, that the dates on these coins referred to an era of Gupta, or the era of the Guptas. These, however, are purely imaginary readings. And the fact remains that, in the Junâgaḍh inscription, the expression *Guptasya kâla* does not occur. And,—apart from the obvious meaning of the words; and from the fact, which will be insisted on more strongly further on, that the *Mahârâja* Gupta, the founder of the family, being only a feudatory *Mahârâja*, had not the power of establishing an era at all,—that, in the real reading *Gupta-prakâlê*, we are to interpret the first member of the compound as representing the genitive plural, not singular, is expressly indicated by the use of the full genitive plural, *Guptânâm*, governed by *kâla*, in another date in line 27 of the same inscription. Of course, both these passages connect the era with the Guptas, as belonging to them, and as being used by them; which had then been the case, so far as their epigraphical records go, for at least three generations. But not either of them suffices to shew that it had been established by them; or even that it had, at that time, acquired the technical name of the "Gupta era." And what the first expression really shews, is, simply that the date was being recorded in an era which was new to Kâthiâwâḍ, and was not the customary era of that part of the country.

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[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 207; Vol. VII. pp. 114, 123.

[2] *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 143.

In dated records, the genitive plural, *Guptânâm*, occurs again in line 2 of the **Kahâuṁ pillar inscription of Skandagupta,** No. 15, page 65. But there it is governed by *vaṁśu*, in *vaṁśa-jasya* · "of Skandagupta, who is born in the lineage of the Guptas." So, also, we have *Gupt-ânvayânâm* in line 1 of the **Udayagiri cave inscription** of the year 106, No. 61, page 258. But it is governed by *kulasya*; "in the augmenting sovereignty of the family of those who belong to the lineage of the Guptas." These two passages, therefore, do not bear on the question at all.

Again, in the **grants of the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas Hastin and Saṁkshôbha,** No. 21, page 93, to No. 23, page 106, and No. 25, page 112, we have the expression *Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau*, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." And this expression is of importance, in shewing clearly that the Gupta dynasty and sway were still continuing, and that the dates of these records are to be referred to the same era with the dates of the Early Guptas themselves. But there is nothing at all in the expression, tending to give the era the name of the "Gupta era."

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[1] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 22; and *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 538.

[2] See Sir E. Clive Bayley's "Remarks on certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hind Kings of Kâbul," in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol II. p. 128 ff.

In the **Môrbî grant of Jâiṅka**, again, as read by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar,[1] we are supposed to have a very clear intimation indeed, that the era was then known as the Gupta era; his reading and translation being,—paṁch-âśîtyâ yutê=tîtê samânâṁ śata-paṁchakê । Gauptê dadâv=adô nṛipaḥ s-ôparâgê=rka-maṁḍalê,—of which a more literal translation than that given by him, would be "the Gupta fifth century of years, together with eighty-five (*years*), having elapsed, the king gave this, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed." There is a difficulty in disposing finally of the whole bearing of this inscription; for the reason that the first plate had been lost sight of, before the grant was obtained for examination at all; as the result of which, the genealogy of Jâiṅka is not known; and the second plate contains no name of a place, unless we are to find it in the verse that I have quoted. And now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid, and is not forthcoming. That the date refers in all probability to the Gupta era, I do not dispute. But the above reading of it, takes no notice of the fact that the real word, in line 17, is not *gauptê* at all, but *gôptê*; the *au* being arrived at only by applying again, as a component of the vowel, a perfectly distinct and separate sign, which is in reality nothing but the single mark of punctuation after *paṁchakê*, at the end of the half-verse, and which had already been properly interpreted as such. It is only by the deliberate correction of *ô* into *au*,[2] that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into this passage; but even then the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, *pañchaka*, which it qualifies. We might, with just as much reason, correct *gôptê* into *gôptrê*, 'to the protector, *i.e.* the local governor;' and this would be even more sustainable; for the word stands immediately before *dadau*, 'he gave,' in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative, or some other case. Or, again, without any correction at all, we might translate "the king gave this (*charter*) at (*the village of*) Gôpta." And this, I expect, will be found to be the real meaning, if ever the first plate, which is said to be now at Gaṅgâsâgar in Bengal, can be obtained for examination. As matters stand, there is at least nothing in this passage that compels us to connect the name of the Guptas with the date. And, at the best, even if a future discovery of the first plate should force us to adopt the reading of *Gauptê* in the date, the grant belongs to rather a late period, when, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Gujarât, any knowledge ot the real origin of the era must have been lost, and all that remained was that it was the Gupta kings who had introduced the era into those parts.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 258, line 16 f.

[2] The mistake of *ô* for *au* does occur in the word *svavbhânô*, for *svarbbhânau*, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word *paurvva*, the *au* is formed quite correctly and completely.

And, finally, in a curious passage from the **Achâraṭîkâ,** which I give in full at page 32 below, note 3, we have the date "when there have gone by seven centuries of years of the Guptas, increased by seventy-two;" in which there is used again the genitive plural, *Guptânâm*. But the passage contains, as will be seen, a remarkable confusion, which cannot at present be cleared up, between the Gupta and the Śaka eras. And, like the Môrbî grant, this record belongs to a late period, and furnishes no authority for early times.

In the **records of the Early Guptas** themselves, the date is always expressed simply by the word *saṁvatsara*, 'a year,' as in the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II., of the year 82, No. 3, page 25, line 2; or by the abbreviation *saṁ* as in the Sâñchi inscription of the same king, of the year 93, No. 5, page 32, line 11; or by the fuller abbreviation *saṁvat*, as in the Mankuwâr image inscription of Kumâragupta, No. 11, page 47, line 2. And such of their coins as are dated at all, give simply the numerical symbols, without the accompaniment of any word meaning 'year,' and much less of any dynastic qualification of it. For a reason which I indicate in Appendix I. below, these methods of expression, which are exactly analogous to the usages of other dynasties also, do not necessarily prove that the era was not established by the Guptas. At the same time, they contain no proof that it was established by them; and nothing to connect their name with it.

The fact remains, therefore, that **in no early record can we find any indication that the era was founded by the Guptas**; and much less that there ever existed any technical expressions analogous to *Śaka-nṛipa-kâla*, "the time or era of the Śaka king or kings;" *Śaka-nṛipa-saṁvatsara*, "the years of the Śaka king;" *Śaka-kâla*, "the Śaka era;" *Vikrama-kâla*, "the Vikrama era;" *Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita-saṁvatsara*, "the years established by Vikramâditya," &c.;[1] or even analogous to the terms *Valabhî-saṁ* and *Valabhî-saṁvat*, which are of actual occurrence in later times. This fact will become of more importance, when we come to deal with the question of the probable origin of the era. Meanwhile, I have drawn attention to it, because it is a point that must be borne in mind throughout the whole discussion. It is necessary, however, in order to avoid periphrasis, to have some convenient name for the era; and therefore, as a simple matter of convenience, I follow the custom of the last forty years, and speak of it as "the Gupta era." Also, as the era did certainly in later times, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, acquire the name of "the Valabhî era," I shall, according to the convenience of the moment, speak of it indifferently as "the Gupta era," "the Valabhî era," and "the Gupta-Valabhî era." Subject to the remarks that I have made above, this nomenclature needs no further apology, if I point out that, even by those who maintain that the Early Guptas were themselves anterior to A.D. 319, it is admitted that the Gupta era which has come down to us in the writings of Albêrûnî, had the same epoch with the Valabhî era; they only maintain that the Early Guptas used a Gupta era which was not this Gupta era.

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[1] See my notes "On the Nomenclature of the principal Hindu Eras, and the use of the word *Saṁvatsara* and its Abbreviations," in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 207 ff., 291 ff.; where, of course, owing to our advance in knowledge, my remarks on the Kaira grants (p. 208), and on the Kâvî grant, (p. 291 ff.) now require to be entirely recast.—I have shewn there that, as is now generally recognised, the use of the abbreviation *saṁvat* is in no way restricted, as was formerly held to be the case, to the Vikrama era; see also a pointed instance supplied by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 63. It is simply an abbreviation of the base *saṁvatsara*, 'a year,' or of any declensional case of it that can be used in expressing a date (see No. 5, page 30, note 3). And, bearing this in mind, such expressions as Gupta-Saṁvat, Śaka-Saṁvat, Vikrama-Saṁvat, &c., of which the two latter actually occur in original records (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 213, 293), give a uniform, convenient, and unobjectionable method of quoting the years of the different eras.

Albêrûnî's Statements, as rendered by M. Reinaud.

Until the discovery of the Mandasôr inscription, No. 18, page 79, the only direct information available as to the epoch of the Gupta era, was the statement of **Albêrûnî**, who, writing in the period[1] between the 30th April and the 30th September, A.D. 1030, left on record the following notes, as taken from **M. Reinaud's** French translation in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, page 138 ff:—

"People employ ordinarily the eras of Śrî-Harsha,[2] of Vikramâditya, of Śaka, of "**Ballaba,**[3] and of the **Guptas.** .... **Ballaba,** who also has given his name "to an era, was the prince of the town of **Ballabha,** to the south of Aṇhilwâra, at a "distance of about thirty *yôjanas.*[4] The era of **Ballaba** is subsequent to that of Śaka "by 241 years. In order to make use of it, we set down the era of Śaka, and deduct at

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[1] See Sachau's *Albêrûnî's India*, Preface, p. x.

[2] As is shewn by Albêrûnî's statement further on, this is not the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing A.D. 606 or 607, of which we have an instance in this volume, in No. 43, page 208; but an earlier era, commencing B.C. 457, of which we have no epigraphical record, and, in fact, no information of its existence beyond Albêrûnî's statement, which is accompanied by the remark that, in a Kaśmîrî almanac, he had read that Śrî-Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramâditya, and that he could obtain no explanation of the discrepancy (Sachau's *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation Vol. II. p. 5).

[3] Reinaud's Arabic text contains no authority for his use of the double *l* throughout, and of the aspirated *bh* in the name of the town. So, also, Sachau's text contains no authority for his use, once of the form *Ballabha*, and once of *Balabha*. These forms can only be attributed to some fancied connection between the name of the city of Valabhî and the Sanskṛit word *vallabha*, 'lover, husband, friend, favourite,' which was very often used as a proper name, but not in the case of any of the rulers of Valabhî. The word *valabhî* itself means 'the wooden frame of a thatch, a roof; a turret or temporary building on the roof of a house.' It occurs in No. 18, line 6, page 81; and, in the form *vaḍabhî*, in No. 66, line 2, page 268.—Albêrûnî himself, in treating the name as that of a person, as well as of a town, possibly wrote under some similar misconception. But, setting aside any such mistake as this, which is rather like that of his treating Śaka as the name of an individual, instead of a tribe, he is of course speaking of the era that was used by the well-known Kings of Valabhî.

[4] The *yôjana*, a measure of distance, seems to have varied from 2½ to 9, or even 18, English miles; but with an average length of between 4 and 5 miles.—Walâ, the modern representative of the ancient Valabhî, is about one hundred and thirty-five miles almost due south of Aṇhilwâḍ.

"the same time the cube of 6 (216) and the square of 5 (25). The remainder is the era "of **Ballaba.** This era will be discussed in its place. As to the **Gupta-kâla** (the era "of the Guptas), we understand by the word *gupta* certain people who, it is said, were "wicked and powerful; and the era which bears their name, is the epoch of their extermination. Apparently **Ballaba** followed the **Guptas** immediately; for, the era of the "**Guptas** also commences the year 241 of the era of Śaka. The era of the astronomers "commences the year 587 of the era of Śaka. It is to this era that the *Kandakhâtaka* "Tables of Brahmagupta are referred. This work has among us the title of *Arkand.* "Accordingly, placing ourselves in the year 400 of the era of Yazdajird,[1] we find ourselves "in the year 1488 of the era of Śrî-Harsha; the year 1088 of the era of Vikramâditya; the "year 953 of the era of Śaka; the year 712 of the era of **Ballaba** and of that of the "**Guptas.**"

Albêrûnî's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Sachau.

And to this we have now to add **Prof. Sachau's** English rendering of the same passages, in his *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation,[2] Vol. II. page 5 ff.:—

"For this reason, people have given up using them,[3] and have adopted instead the "eras of—(1) Śrî Harsha; (2) Vikramâditya; (3) Śaka; (4) **Ballabha;**[4] and (5) "**Gupta.** . . . . The era of **Balaba** is called so from **Balaba,** "the ruler of the town **Balabha,**[5] nearly 30 *yôjanas* south of Anhilvâra. The epoch "of this era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era. People use it in "this way. They first put down the year of the Śakakâla, and then subtract from it "the cube of 6 and the square of 5 (216+25=241). The remainder is the year of the "**Balaba** era. The history of **Balaba** is given in its proper place.[6] As regards the "**Guptakâla,** people say that the **Guptas** were wicked powerful people, and that, when "they ceased to exist, this date was used as the epoch of an era. It seems that **Balaba** "was the last of them, because the epoch of the era of the **Guptas** falls, like that of the "**Balaba** era, 241 years later than the Śakakâla. The era of the astronomers begins 587

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[1] This era dates from the accession of Yazdajird III., a Sassanian king of Persia, in A.D. 632 (see *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 302 and note). The "gauge-year," 400, selected by Albêrûnî for the comparison of dates, is one year ahead of that in which he was writing.

[2] It is not certain whether Prof. Sachau's Translation will have been actually published before the issue of this volume. But, as it will be the standard translation, he has kindly allowed me to make the necessary references to it, from advanced proofs.

[3] *i.e.* the eras of the Bhârata war and of the Kaliyuga, and certain other methods of reckoning time, just previously detailed by Albêrûnî, who states that they had been abandoned because of the very large numbers involved in the use of them.

[4] and [5] See page 23 above, note 3.

[6] The reference appears to be to the story of the fruit-seller Raṅka and the king Vallabha; Translation, Vol. I. p. 192 f., in Chapter XVII., "on Hindu Sciences which prey on the Ignorance of People."

"years later than the Śakakâla. On this era is based the canon *Khaṇḍakhâdyaka* by "Brahmagupta, which among Muhammadans is known as *Al-arkand*. Now, the year 400 "of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of "the Indian eras:—(1) to the year 1488 of the era of Śrî Harsha; (2) to the year 1088 "of the era of Vikramâditya; (3) to the year 953 of the Śakakâla; (4) to the year 712 "of the **Balaba** era, which is identical with the **Guptakâla.**"

The Results of the above Renderings.

The passages given above mention an era, connected with the names both of the Guptas and of the Valabhî family, in respect of which we have to notice the following leading points.

In the first place, **Albêrûnî calls this era, both "the Gupta era," and "the Valabhî era."** As regards **its connection with the Guptas,** he tells us, according to the above renderings, that it commenced at the time of the cessation of the Gupta sway, and seems to imply that, as a matter of fact, it was that event which led to the establishment of it; and, of course, the result of this would be, that the dates recorded in the inscriptions of the Guptas themselves, could not be referred to this Gupta era, but must belong to some era with a considerably earlier starting-point. And, as regards **its connection with the Valabhî family,** from the fact that their era had the same starting-point with this Gupta era, he infers that the members of this family came after the Guptas in chronological sequence; but he does not indicate any connection between them and the establishment of the era.

And secondly, **in respect of the initial point,** he seems first to state, very clearly, that the epoch of the era, under either name, was when Śaka-Saṁvat 216+25=241 had expired; which, taking the expired Śaka year in the way in which it has to be used for the purposes of the present Tables,[1] gives us A.D. 319-20 current[2] for the epoch or year 0 of the era, and A.D. 320-21 current for its commencement or first current year. This is shewn, first by the rule for subtracting 241 complete Śaka years; and secondly by Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 712 being quoted as equivalent to Śaka-Saṁvat 953, which is known to be intended as an expired year, since Albêrûnî gives it as the equivalent of the year 400 of Yazdajird, which is A.D. 1031-32 current. In his next mention, however, as rendered by M. Reinaud, he apparently speaks of the era as commencing with, *i.e.* as having for its first current year, Śaka-Saṁvat 241, which must be understood as an expired year; according to which its epoch would be when 240 years had expired. While, in a third passage, a little further on in the book,[1] in mentioning the "roundabout way" in which the Hindus computed the date (in January, A.D. 1026) of the destruction of Sômnâthpâṭan by Mahmûd of Ghaznî, which event took place "in the year of the Hijra 416, or 947 Śakakâla," he tells us that they first wrote down 242, then 606 under it, and then, again, 99; with the result, by addition of the figures, of Śaka-Saṁvat 947, which, as an expired year, brings us to the period A.D. 1025-26 current, inclusive of the month of January, A.D. 1026. And here the first figures would seem, at first sight, to indicate that, in this calculation, the epoch of the era was treated as being when Śaka-Saṁvat 242 had expired.[2]

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[1] *e.g.* those in Gen. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, and Prof. K. L. Chhatre's *Graha-sâdhanâchîṁ Kôshṭakêṁ*, or "Tables for calculating the Places of the Planets."

[2] Or, more accurately, the period from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320. —It is, perhaps, desirable to point out, for general readers, that the quotation of two years of the Christian era in this way, "A.D. 319-20," does not denote the whole period of the two years, but only the period from the commencement of the Śaka year in the first of them, to the end of it in the second.

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[1] *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 9.

[2] This last passage is introduced by Albêrûnî in connection with his remarks on the Lôkakâla or popular reckoning by cycles of a hundred years. And he expresses himself as being inclined to think that the number 242 indicates the years which preceded the time when the Hindus commenced to use the cycle of a hundred years, and that they adopted this cycle together with the Gupta era; also that the number 606 represents the completed cycles, *viz.* six, "each of which they must reckon as 101 years;" and that the number 99 gives the expired years of the current cycle. He goes on to say that the rule, as found by him in the writings of Durlabha of Multân, was, to write down 848, and add the Lôkakâla; the sum of which would give the Śaka year. But, in proceeding to apply this rule to Śaka-Saṁvat 953 (expired), as corresponding to the year of Yazdajird which he had already used as a "gauge-year," he points out that, subtracting 848, there remained 105 for the Lôkakâla, while the destruction of Sômnâthpâṭan would fall in the 98th year of the cycle.—There are subsidiary difficulties here, which cannot at present be fully cleared up. One of them is, the reference of the destruction of Sômnâthpâṭan to both the ninety-eighth and the ninety-ninth years of a Lôkakâla cycle; with the addition, moreover, that the ninety-eighth year is indicated as current, and the ninety-ninth is inferred to be expired.—Another is, that, according to the only Lôkakâla reckoning the nature of which has been fully explained (*Indian Eras*, p. 6 ff.), *viz.* that used in Kaśmîr,—which, Albêrûnî tells us, had been adopted by the people of Multân a few years before his own time,—the event in question would fall in the first current year of a cycle. Thus, Kalhaṇa, in the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, i. 52 (Calcutta edition, p. 3), makes a very explicit statement regarding the equation between the Śaka era and the Lôkakâla of Kaśmîr. His words are — laukikê=bdê chatur-viṁśê Śaka-kâlasya sâṁprataṁ saptaty=âtyadhikaṁ yâtaṁ sahasraṁ parivatsarâḥ,—"at this present moment, in the twenty-fourth *laukika* (or popular) year, there have gone by one thousand years, increased by seventy, of the Śaka era." In this passage, he quotes the Śaka year as expired, in accordance with the practice of astronomers; but the Lôkakâla year as current, as would naturally be the case in using a popular reckoning of that kind. He was writing, therefore, in Lôkakâla 24 current, and when Śaka-Saṁvat 1070 had expired; which is equivalent to A.D. 1148-49 current. And this gives Lôkakâla 1 current of the same cycle, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1047 expired; which is equivalent to A.D. 1025-26 current. Now, that the scheme of each year of the Kaśmîrî Lôkakâla cycle was identical with the scheme of the Śaka years of Northern India, commencing with the first day of the month Chaitra (March-April), is shewn by Albêrûnî's statements, and by the notes put together by Gen. Cunningham in his exposition of this reckoning. And it follows that the first year, current, of each Kaśmîrî Lôkakâla cycle coincides exactly with the forty-seventh year expired, and the forty-eighth current, of each century of the Śaka era, and with part of the twenty-fifth and part of the twenty-sixth years, current, of each century of the Christian era. The month of January, A.D. 1026, therefore, fell in Lôkakâla 1 current, of Kaśmîr, which coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 947 expired, and extended (see *Indian Eras*, p. 171) from the 3rd March, A.D. 1025, to the 21st March, A.D. 1026. And it is difficult to see how, in the

Albêrûnî's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Wright.

The leading historical item of Albêrûnî's information, as rendered by M. Reinaud,—*viz.* that the Gupta era commemorated the epoch of the extermination of the Gupta dynasty,—naturally at once attracted special attention; because of the *primâ-facie* improbability of such a fact. And, as will be seen further on, various attempts were made, to find an explanation for it; and with very conflicting results.

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application of a Lôkakâla reckoning introduced from Kaśmîr, an event occurring in that month can be correctly referred even to Lôkakâla 99 expired; and, much more so, to Lôkakâla 98 current. To suit the former case, we require a cycle commencing one year later than the Kaśmîrî cycle; and to suit the latter case, a cycle commencing three years later than the same. And, that there were varying starting-points of this kind, as well as a want of uniformity in respect of the scheme of the years, is indicated by Albêrûnî's remark that the totally different accounts of the Lôkakâla reckonings, given to him, rendered him unable to make out the truth about it.—One point, however, seems clear. As to the number 606, given by Albêrûnî in his first illustration, it is impossible that a centenary cycle can consist of a hundred and one years. And Albêrûnî himself had previously said distinctly (*Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8) "if a *centennium* is finished, they drop it, and simply begin to date by a new one." It is plain, in fact, that the odd six years do not belong to the cycles of the Lôkakâla. To that reckoning, only the six even centuries belong. I shall shew hereafter that the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhî era really was A.D. 319-20 current; which might be quoted either as Śaka-Saṁvat 241 expired or 242 current. If we add the odd six years to Śaka-Saṁvat 241 expired, we obtain Śaka-Saṁvat 247 expired, or 248 current, equivalent to A.D. 325-26 current; and this, as we have just seen, would coincide with the first current year of a Lôkakâla cycle, as reckoned in Kaśmîr. But it is one year too early for the first current year of any cycle of a reckoning, in a subsequent cycle of which the event in question belonged to the ninety-ninth year expired and the hundredth year current. Now, I suppose that we must assume that Albêrûnî has quoted Durlabha correctly. And, if so, then the first current year of each cycle in the Multân reckoning really was one year later than in the Kaśmîrî reckoning; and coincided with the forty-eighth year expired, and the forty-ninth current, of each century of the Śaka era, and with part of the twenty-sixth and part of the twenty-seventh years, current, of each century of the Christian era. And, if the introduction of the reckoning, at Multân, could be carried back so far, it commenced with Śaka-Saṁvat 248 expired, and 249 current. This year might have been obtained by adding seven to Śaka-Saṁvat 241 expired. But, as will be seen hereafter, the real use of Śaka-Saṁvat 241 expired is only for obtaining the basis with which Gupta-Valabhî dates have to be calculated; and it only brings us to the beginning of the Gupta epoch. The difference between Gupta-Valabhî and Śaka years, both treated as current for purposes of comparison, is 242. And Śaka-Saṁvat 242 expired brings us to the beginning of the first current Gupta year. This is the starting-point that was really wanted for a process of the kind shewn to Albêrûnî. And this is why that year was selected as the apparent basis of the computation; the true basis being Śaka-Saṁvat 848 expired.—It is evident, therefore, that the process illustrated by the figures given to Albêrûnî does involve a method of adapting the Lôkakâla reckoning to the Gupta era; or, more properly, of converting Lôkakâla dates into Śaka dates through the Gupta reckoning. So far, however, from the figures tending to support any inference that the Lôkakâla reckoning was introduced by, or in the time of, the Early Guptas, the fact that Durlabha of Multân would deduct 848, with a remainder, in the particular instance, of 105, or one complete Lôkakâla cycle and five years over, seems to indicate very clearly that the use of this reckoning in that part of the country commenced with Śaka-Saṁvat 848 expired, equivalent to A.D. 926-27 current; had it been otherwise, Durlabha's rule would surely have been worded in such a way

That the true solution was to be found, not in wrong information given to Albêrûnî or in a mistake made by him in reporting correct information, but in an erroneous interpretation of his meaning, was first indicated to me by **Mr. Rehatsek,** who, in December, 1886, gave me, from M. Reinaud's published text, the following literal rendering of the crucial passage,—"and (*as regards*) the Gupta era, it was, as is said, a nation wicked (*and*) strong; and when they perished, dating was made according to them."[1] Such a rendering as this would enable us to give to Albêrûnî's words a meaning perfectly clear and consistent with the usual order of things; *viz.* that the Guptas, though wicked and inferentially unpopular, yet had exercised so powerful a sway that, even when their dynasty came to an end, the era, that had been used by them, still continued to be used.

So also, somewhat later, **Mr. H. C. Kay,** translating the words by "dating was made by (or, according to) them," added the following remarks on the interpretation of them:—"The author's meaning is not clear. But, taking the words as they stand, I think they "can most consistently be understood as signifying an adoption or continuation of the "method of dating that had been used by the Guptas. The preceding words 'when they "came to an end' suggest the possible meaning that the dating ran from that event. But "it seems to me that this construction can be properly preferred, only if there be something "else in the context, or in the known facts of the case, that would make it obligatory; or, "at least, that clearly points to it."

I had the hope that, before it came to my own turn to write finally on the subject, Prof. Sachau's translation of the Arabic text would have removed all doubt as to Albêrûnî's real meaning on this point. This, however, has not been the case; because of the introduction in his translation as in M. Reinaud's, of the word 'epoch,' which does not exist in the original text, and the use of which gives the translation a fixed obligatory meaning that, at any rate, a literal rendering of the original does not compel us to adopt.

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that, in the particular instance, 948 must be deducted, with a remainder of only 5 years over.—Gen. Cunningham, in giving a somewhat similar explanation of the figures 606 (*Indian Eras*, p. 16), has assumed that in this process Śaka-Saṁvat 242 is a mistake for 241. But this, as I have now shewn, is not the case. And I do not agree with the manner in which he deals with the figures as a whole. Śaka-Saṁvat 241 expired or completed brings us to the end of A.D. 318-19 and the beginning of A.D. 319-20. If to this we add 6 and 600 and 99 complete years, it only brings us to Śaka-Saṁvat 946 expired, or to the end of A.D. 1023-24 and the beginning of A.D. 1024-25; and leaves us still one year short of that in which the event in question occurred.

[1] Similarly, some thirteen years ago, Mr. Blochmann (see the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 368) proposed to translate—"as regards the Guptakâl, they were, as is related, a people wicked and powerful; and when they were cut off, it was dated in them (the era commenced?)."—This translation, however, is spoilt by the bracketed words "(the era commenced?);' the use of which shews why Mr. Blochmann, though giving a translation capable of a totally different meaning, expressed himself as not able to see any fault in Reinaud's translation.

I am, therefore, glad to be able now to publish the following transliteration, with interlinear word-for-word rendering, and translation, which **Prof. William Wright**, of Cambridge, has recently been kind enough to give me, from Prof. Sachau's published text, of the original of the whole passages of which M. Reinaud's and Prof. Sachau's renderings have been printed above:—

Text and Literal Rendering.

Wa-li-dhâlika 'aʻraḍû 'an-hâ wa-jâ'û 'ilâ
And for this they have turned awa from them and have come to

tawârîkh Shrî-Hrish wa-Bigarmâdita wa-Shaḳa wa-**Bilaba**
the eras of [Śrî-Harsha] and [Vikramâditya] and [Śaka] and **[Valabhî]**

wa-**Kûbita.** .... Wa-'ammâ ta'rîkh **Balba**
and **[Gupta].** .... And as regards the era of **[Valabhî]**

wa-huwa ṣâḥib madînat **Balbah** wa-hiya janûbîyah ʻan
and he lord of the city of **[Valabhî]** and it south from

madînat 'Anhlwârah bi-ḳarîb min thalâthîn jozhan fa-'inna
the city of [Aṇhilvâḍa] by near to thirty [*yôjana*] behold

'auwala-hu muta'akhkhir ʻan ta'rîkh Shḳ bi-mi'atain
the first of it posterior to the era of [Śaka] by two hundred

wa-iḥdâ wa-'arbaʻîn sanah. Wa-mustaʻmilû-hu yaḍaʻûn Shg-kâl
and one and forty years. And the users of it put down [Śaka]-era

wa-yanḳuṣûn min-hu majmûʻ mukaʻʻab 'as-sittah wa-murabbaʻ
and lessen from it the sum of the cube of six and the square of

'al-khamsah fa-yabḳâ ta'rîkh **Balba.** Wa-khabaru-hu 'âtin
five and remains the era of **[Valabhî].** And his history is coming

fî mauḍiʻi-hi. Wa-'ammâ **Gûbt**-kâl fa-kânû kamâ ḳîla
in its place. And as regards **[Gupta]**-era they were as is said

ḳauman 'ashrâran 'aḳwiyâ'a fa-lammâ 'inḳaraḍû 'urrikha
a people wicked strong and so after they perished it was dated

bi-him. Wa-ka-'anna **Blb** kân 'akhîra-hum. Fa'inna
by them. And as if that **[Valabhî]** was the last of them. And behold

'auwala ta'rîkhi-him 'aiḍan muta'akhkhir ʻan Shg-kâl
the first of their era also posterior to [Śaka]-era

241.	Wa-ta'rîkh	al-munajjimîn	yata'akhkhar	'an	Shg-kâl
241.	And the era of	the astronomers	is posterior	to	[Śaka]-era

587	wa-'alai-hi	buniya	zîj	Kndkâtk	li-Brhmgûpt
587	and on it	is built	the canon	[Khaṇḍakâṭaka]	by [Brahmagupta]

wa-huwa	'al-ma'rûf	'inda-nâ	bi'l-Arknd.
and it	the known	with us (*chez nous*)	by (the name of) Al-Arkand.

Fa-'idhan	sinû	ta'rîkh	Shrî-Harish	li-sanati-nâ
And so then	the years of	the era of	[Śrî-Harsha]	to our year

'al-mumaththal	bi-hâ	1488	wa-ta'-rîkh	Bkrmâdt	1088
that is used as an example		1488	and the era of	[Vikramaditya]	1088

wa-Shg-kâl	953	wa-ta'rîkh	**Balba**	'alladhî	huwa	'aiḍan
and [Śaka]-era	953	and the era of	**[Valabhî]**	which	it	also

Gûbita-kâl	712.
[Gupta]-era	712.

Translation.

"And for this reason they have given them up, and have adopted the eras of Śrî-Harsha, Vikramâditya, Śaka, **Valabhî,** and the **Guptas**. .... And as regards the era of **Valabhî,**—who was the ruler of the city of **Valabhî**, which was south of the city of Aṇhilvâḍa by nearly thirty *yôjanas,*—its beginning was later than the Śaka era by two hundred and forty-one years. Those who use it put down (*the year of*) the Śaka era, and subtract from it the sum of the cube of six and the square of five; and there remains (*the year of*) the era of **Valabhî.** His history is coming in its proper place.[1] And as regards the **Gupta** era,—(*the members of this dynasty*) were, it is said, a race wicked (*and*) strong; and so, after they became extinct, people dated by them. And it seems as if **Valabhî** was the last of them. And so the beginning of their era also is later than the Śaka era (*by*) 241 (*years*). And the era of the astronomers is later than the Śaka era (*by*) 587 (*years*); and on it is based the astronomical canon (*named*) *Khaṇḍakâṭaka*, by Brahmagupta, which among us is known by (*the name of*) *Al-Arkand.* So, then, 1488 years of the era of Śrî-Harsha are in correspondence with the year (*of Yazdajird*) that we have taken as a gauge; and 1088 of the era of Vikramâditya; and 953 of the Śaka era; and 712 of the era of **Valabhî,** which is also the **Gupta** era."

The essence of the whole matter, of course, lies in the precise meaning that is to be given to the words which follow the statement that the Guptas were wicked and powerful.

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[1] See, however, page 24 above, note 6.

Prof. Wright states that, in the original, we have a vague impersonal passive, meaning "it was dated by them," "there was a dating by them," or "people dated by them ;" but that this certainly does not expressly imply that this dating took place from the year of the extinction of the Gupta power, and in consequence of that event. That such an interpretation might, if found on other grounds to be justifiable, be given to this expression may be admitted. But it is at the least equally open to us to interpret the expression as meaning that the Guptas had been so powerful that, even when they were dead and gone, people still used their era to date by. And we shall have to determine hereafter, from an examination of the details of the recorded Gupta and Valabhî dates, which of these two possible interpretations is the one that must be adopted.

There is also one other point in the revised translations, to which special attention should be paid. Prof. Wright's rendering, "(*the year*) 712 of the era of Valabhî, which is also the Gupta era,"—and Prof. Sachau's, "the year 712 of the Balaba era, which is identical with the Guptakâla,"—are essentially different, in their ultimate bearing, from M. Reinaud's, "the year 712 of the era of Ballaba and of that of the Guptas." They shew very clearly that Albêrûnî was speaking of absolutely one and the same era, under two names; not of two different eras, with the same, or almost the same, epoch.

The Theories based on M. Reinaud's rendering of Albêrûnî's Statements.

Up to the present time, however, the only rendering of Albêrûnî's statements that has been available, is that given by M. Reinaud. His translation has been taken as the basis of argument by all writers on the subject. And, for a full comprehension of the whole question, it will be necessary now to consider the matter from the light that was given by him.

According to his rendering, we had three years to choose between, for the epoch of the era,—Śaka-Saṁvat 240, 241, or 242, expired ; involving a question, especially in respect of the exact determination of the corresponding date in the Christian era, that could only be settled by accurate calculations of the data available from the inscriptions, explained in detail, so that general readers might see that the processes were satisfactory.

But, whatever might be the final settlement of this point, the fact remained that Albêrûnî had information given to him of the existence of an era, coupled with the name of the Guptas and of the city of Valabhî, which began at some point in A.D. 319, or within a year on either side of that date, and which it is convenient to speak of as the Gupta, the Valabhî, or the Gupta-Valabhî era. And, that this era was actually used in connection with the name of Valabhî, at any rate, was proved by the Verâwal inscription of the Chaulukya king Arjunadêva of Aṇhilwâḍ,[1] in which the leading record of the year is

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[1] Originally brought to notice, many years ago, by Tod, in his *Annals of Râjasthân* ; but critically edited, for the first time, by Hultzsch, in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 241 ff.

Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, together with Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320, which is equivalent to A.D. 1263-64, and with the Hijra year 662, which ran[1] from the 4th November, A.D. 1263, to the 23rd October, A.D. 1264.

So much was certain. But it was felt to be highly improbable that the Gupta era should date from the extermination of the Guptas. And students of the subject divided themselves, almost at once, into two schools.

The first, represented most publicly and with undeviating tenacity up to the last by the late **Mr. J. Fergusson,** accepted Albêrûnî's statement as to the period of the commencement of the era, but,—on the analogy of the statement which, on the authority of Hindu tradition, he also makes, that the Śaka era, too, dated from the overthrow of the Śakas; a statement which is certainly wrong,[2]—rejected the addition that it dated from the downfall of the Guptas; and took A.D. 318 for the date of the rise of the dynasty, as well as the establishment of the era; selecting this particular year on the theory that the era did not date from the accession of a king, or from any particular historical event, but, for convenience of comparison, was simply regulated by the completion of four of the Sixty-Year Cycles of Jupiter from the commencement of the Śaka era.

The other school accepted A.D. 318, or thereabouts, for the downfall of the Guptas, and took the Valabhî era of Arjunadêva's inscription, which indisputably began at that period, as being separate altogether from the real Gupta era, and as having been established in commemoration of the overthrow of the Gupta power; and began then to look about for an earlier date for the rise of the Gupta dynasty, and for the starting-point of the era used by the Gupta kings, and also,—as was maintained, with some inconsistency, by the majority,—by the Kings of Valabhî, in preference to their own Valabhî era. The chief exponents of this school have been—the late **Mr. E. Thomas,** who held that the era was identical with that of the Śakas,[3] with the epoch of A.D. 77-78;—**General Sir Alexander**

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[1] See *Indian Eras*, p. 126.

[2] See Appendix I. below.

[3] A curious instance of confusion between the Gupta and the Śaka eras, on the part of a Hindu writer, is furnished by the following two passages from the commentary named *Âchâraṭîkâ*, by Śîlâ- chârya, on the Jain work called *Âchârâṅgasûtra*; I have taken them from a manuscript, supposed to be about three hundred years old, shewn to me in the early part of 1883 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.—This first passage, on pp. 207*b* and 208*a*, is in metre, and runs—dvâsaptaty-adhikêshu hi śatêshu saptasu gatêshu Guptânâṁ I saṁvatsarêshu mâsi cha Bh[â*]drapadê śuklâ(kla)-paṁchamyâṁ II Śîlâchâryêṇa kṛitâ Gaṁbhûtâyâṁ sthitêna ṭîk=aishâ I samyag-upayujya śôdhyâ mâtsarya-vinâkṛitair=âryê (ryai)ḥ II. This passage gives Gupta-Saṁvat 772, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhâdrapada, as the date on which this portion of the Commentary was completed by Śîlâchârya, at Gambhûtâ (? Cambay).—The second passage, on p. 256*b*, at the end of the whole book, is in prose, and runs — Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêsashu(*read* śatêshu) saptasu I ashṭânavaty-adhikêshu Vaiśâkha-śuddha-paṁchamyâṁ Âchâraṭîkâ kṛit=êti II Ba II Saṁvat (page 256*b* ends here; and the next page, containing the repetition of the date in figures, and the last final words of the author, is lost). This passage gives Śaka-Saṁvat 798, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha, as the date of the completion of the whole Commentary.—The two passages, indicating, as

Cunningham, who finally fixed on A.D. 166-67 as the epoch;—and the late **Sir E. Clive Bayley,** who selected A.D. 190-91.

Examination of the previous Theories.

Mr. Fergusson's theory of A.D. 318-19 for the epoch of the era, and A.D. 319-20 for its commencement, is easily disposed of. It was wrong; but by one year only. The reason is, that, as has been said, his assumption,—based apparently on a suggestion thrown out by Dr. Bhau Daji in 1864,—was, that the commencement of it was regulated only by the completion of four of Jupiter's Sixty-Year Cycles from the commencement of the Śaka era, in order that there might be always an even and convenient difference of two hundred and forty years between the Śaka and Gupta dates. This, however, could be arranged only by applying the Sixty-Year Cycle as used now in Southern India, where it is not in reality an astronomical cycle at all; since there the cyclic years run on in regular succession, without any adjustment of them to the motion of the planet, with reference to his sign-passing or his heliacal rising, by the omission of a year on certain occasions, and are taken as commencing and ending with the luni-solar years. According to the present southern system, Śaka-Saṁvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79) was the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara*; and Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19) was again the same cyclic year, Bahudhânya; and, by this means, some justification might be found for Mr. Fergusson's view. But I shall shew hereafter that the real epoch of the Gupta era was A.D. 319-20, which does not correspond to Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current; so that there was, in reality, a completion of four cycles and one year, even by the southern system; and this, alone, is fatal to

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they stand, that Śîlâchârya treated the Gupta and Śaka eras as identical, contain a mistake of some kind or another, which must be attributed to a pedantic desire on his part to introduce a mention of an era,—whether the Gupta or the Śaka, as the case may be,—with which he was only imperfectly acquainted. And the mistake cannot be cleared away, unless we can obtain some independent record of the real date of Śîlâchârya, sufficient to shew whether the *Âchâraṭikâ* was written during Gupta-Saṁvat 772 to 798 expired (A.D. 1092 to 1118), or during Śaka-Saṁvat 772 to 798 expired (A.D. 850 to 876). As to this, I can only say that the Śaka era was used so rarely, if at all, in Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâḍ, except by the Gujarât branch of the Râshṭrakûṭa family, that probably the Gupta era gives the real date for Śîlâchârya. And I would throw out a suggestion that possibly some mistake of the same kind may account for the dates, Śaka-Saṁvat 400 and 417, of the apparently spurious Umêtâ and Ilâô grants of Dadda II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 61 ff.; and Vol. XIII. p. 115 ff).—The passages, however, are of some interest, in shewing that, in Śîlâchârya's time, there was still a recollection of the fact that the era,—which must have been known best from its use by the rulers of Valabhî, and which came eventually, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, to be called the Valabhî era,—was connected originally and specially with the Gupta kings, by whom it was introduced into Kâṭhiâwâḍ and the neighbouring parts.—After writing this note, which appeared originally in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 188, I found an allusion by Dr. Bhau Daji, in 1864, to what is evidently the same manuscript, though he quoted only the Gupta date. He wrote (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 246) "I have a Jaina manuscript which is dated in the 772nd year of the Guptakâla; but unfortunately the corresponding Vikrama or Śâlivâhana's year is not given; nor is it possible at present to ascertain the exact date of the author from other sources."

the proposed epoch of A.D. 318-19. And, in addition to this, amongst other inscriptions, the Waṇî grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III., which records[1] that in Śaka-Saṁvat 730 the Vyaya *saṁvatsara* was current on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), and the Râdhanpur grant of the same king, which records[2] that the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, the next in the cycle, was current on the new-moon day of the month Śrâvaṇa (July-August) in the same year, shew very plainly that the present arrangement was not the original one, even in Southern India.

If the Sixty-Year Cycle was in use at all at the time of the commencement of the Gupta era, then, in Northern India, and in connection with a northern era,—which the Gupta era emphatically was,—the only system that can have been followed, is the regular northern system, according to which the cycle is truly an astronomical cycle, and the *saṁvatsaras* are regulated entirely and only by the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac into another. By Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the *saṁvatsara* was Śukla, the third in the cycle; and it was followed by Pramôda, the fourth, on the full-moon day of the month Pausha, in December, A.D. 78. And, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the *saṁvatsara* was Aṅgiras, the sixth in the cycle; which was followed by Śrîmukha, the seventh, on the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phâlguna, in February, A.D. 319. Thus, four complete cycles and three *saṁvatsaras* over passed between Śaka-Saṁvat 1 and 241; and the epoch of the Gupta era, unless it were placed three years earlier, in A.D. 315-16, could not be determined by any consideration of this kind.

Nor can it have been determined by the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years of which may be regulated either by the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac to another; or, as was the more ancient custom, by his heliacal rising in a particular lunar mansion.[3] Taking first the sign-passing system, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, at the commencement of Saka-Saṁvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the *saṁvatsara* was Mahâ-Âśvayuja, the twelfth in the cycle: which was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika, the first of the next cycle, on, as before. the full-moon day of the month Pausha, in December, A.D. 78. While, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the *samvatsara* was Mahâ-Pausha, the third in the cycle; which was followed by Mahâ-Mâgha, the fourth, on, as before, the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phâlguna, in February, A.D. 319. And, by the heliacal-rising system, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the *saṁvatsara* was Mahâ-Bhâdrapada, the eleventh in the cycle; which was followed by Mahâ-Âśvayuja, the twelfth, on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha, in April, A.D. 78, soon after the commencement of the year. While, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the *saṁvatsara* was Mahâ-Pausha, the third in the cycle; which was followed by Mahâ-Mâgha, the fourth, on the sixth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrâvaṇa, in July, A.D. 318. Thus, between Śaka-Saṁvat 1 and Śaka-Saṁvat 241, there had expired twenty complete cycles and three *saṁvatsaras* over, by the sign-passing system, and twenty cycles and four *saṁvatsaras* over, by the heliacal-rising system; and the epoch of the Gupta era could not be determined by any consideration connected with this cycle, unless it should be placed in A.D. 315-16 or A.D. 314-15.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, line 46 f.

[2] *id.* Vol. VI. p. 68, line 53 f.

[3] For an explanation of the systems of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, see Appendix III. below.

The other three theories, however, are more complicated; and, in order to understand them properly, and estimate them at their right value, it will be necessary to run briefly through the facts and supposed discoveries on which they are based, and the arguments by which they have been built up, so far as those facts, discoveries, and arguments relate to the recorded dates themselves, and the interpretation of them. Our object is not now to enter into a lengthy discussion of extraneous questions of palæography, numismatics, architecture, contemporary history, &c., which, if a rational process is to be followed, have to be settled by the dates, instead of the dates by them; and which must be left for treatment at some future time, after the proper settlement of the Early Gupta chronology.

The first reference to the Gupta era that I can trace,—or, at any rate, the first suggestion of the existence of an era connected with the Guptas, apart from any general reference to the chronological period to which they might be referred,—is in **Mr. James Prinsep's** treatment of the Kahâuṁ pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15, page 65, in 1838, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 36 ff. By his rendering of this record, it was dated (*id.* p. 37) "in the year one hundred and thirty-three after the decease of Skandagupta;" on which he remarked (*id.* p. 38) "the death of this prince is here employed as an epoch in a somewhat enigmatical way." The supposed enigma refers to the actual manner in which the total of 133,—or, more properly, 141,—is arrived at. As regards the other point, the reference of the years to the death of Skandagupta is due only to a mislection of the last word in line 2 of the text. The real reading there is *śântê*, the locative singular of *śânta*, in apposition with *râjyê* in the same line; "in the tranquil reign (of Skandagupta)." Mr. Prinsep, however, read *śântêḥ*, the ablative or genitive singular of *śânti*, 'quiet, tranquillity, calmness, rest, repose;' and, with this reading, it was, of course, hardly possible to do otherwise than translate it by "after the decease," "of the repose, *i.e.* death," and "after the death," of Skandagupta, and to make the years that were recorded run from that event. No discussion of the question was then entered into. But Skandagupta then was, and still is, the last known king of the direct succession of the Early Gupta dynasty. And it is evidently the above rendering which first suggested the idea of an era dating from the extermination of the Gupta power at the death of Skandagupta. All else, serviceable for our present inquiry, that I can find in Mr. Prinsep's writings, is his statement in the same volume (p. 354), that the dates recorded in the Valabhî charters must be referred to the Vikrama era.

In 1845, **M. Reinaud** republished collectively, under the title of *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, certain extracts, with French translations, from works relating to India, which he had previously published separately in the *Journal Asiatique*, in September and October, 1844, and February-March, 1845. In this book, as we have already seen, he renders Albêrûnî (*id.* p. 143) as stating that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas. I do not find that he makes any reference to Prinsep on this specific point. But he shews, throughout, so good an acquaintance with Prinsep's writings, as also with those of other English scholars, that he must certainly have read Prinsep's translation of, and comments on, the Kahâuṁ inscription. And, though he may not have intentionally allowed himself to be guided by Prinsep's views, it can hardly be doubted that he had a reminiscence of the purport of them, when he was translating Albêrûnî's remarks. In fact, in the face of Mr. Blochmann's, Mr. Rehatsek's, and Prof. Wright's versions, it is difficult to see how M. Reinaud can have arrived at the exact words used in his translation, except under some such predisposing influence.

After this, in a paper read on the 15th April, 1848, and published in 1850 in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* F. S. Vol. XII. p. 1 ff., **Mr. Thomas** entered into an extensive disquisition on the history connected with the dynasty of the so-called 'Sâh' kings[1] of Saurâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâḍ; in the course of which, it became incumbent on him to consider the Early Gupta dates. Accepting it as proved by M. Reinaud's rendering of Albêrûnî's statements, and by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, that the Valabhî era commenced A.D. 319 (*id.* p. 4) or A.D. 318-19 (*id.* p. 4, note 1), and, by Albêrûnî's statements, that a family of Guptas reigned as paramount sovereigns in Gujarât shortly before that date, and were then exterminated, he arrived at the conclusions—(1) that this Valabhî era, commencing A.D. 319, may have been established by the *Mahârâja* Guhasêna of Valabhî, and may have dated from his accession, or from some striking event of his reign; (2) that there could scarcely be a doubt that these Guptas, who had reigned shortly before A.D. 319, were identical with the Guptas of the Allahâbâd, Junâgaḍh, and Bhitarî inscriptions; (3) that the Guptas were the immediate successors of the Indo-Scythians in Saurâshṭra, though traces of the latter might be found, west of the Indus, down to the end of the fourth century A.D.; and (4) that the so-called Sâh kings preceded the Indo-Scythians. His chronological results are tabulated on p. 48 of the same volume. Anterior to B.C. 157 he placed "one or more Sâh kings," who are represented on p. 49 by "Îśvaradatta, son of Varsha."[1] He is followed by thirteen Sâh kings, whose coin-dates are interpreted as being all dated in the fourth century of an era which was assumed to be Albêrûnî's era of Harsha commencing B.C. 457; and the result for the thirteen kings was from B.C. 157 to B.C. 57. Then comes the Indo-Scythic conquest; to which is allotted the date of B.C. 26. Then the Guptas. And then the Valabhî era, commencing A.D. 319. In this Table, curiously enough, no date is entered opposite the Guptas. But this was probably a printer's omission. For, referring to the note commencing on p. 4, we find it distinctly stated (*id.* p. 5) that the dates in the Gupta inscriptions, and in the Valabhî charters, are to be referred to the Śaka era. These results contained the first intimation that the rulers of Valabhî acted with such inconsistency as to invent an era of their own, dating from the extermination of the Guptas, and yet to continue to use the Gupta era in preference to their own; and also the first intimation of the exact epoch, anterior to A.D. 319, to which the Gupta dates were to be referred. One point on which Mr. Thomas was evidently inclined to lay some stress (*id.* p. 13 ff.), is Albêrûnî's statement,—based on, but in its application different from, Hindu tradition,—that the Śaka era commemorated the defeat and slaughter of a Śaka or Scythian king by a king named Vikramâditya, who, as Albêrûni points out, is evidently not identical with the supposed founder of the Vikrama era; coupled with the occurrence of this last name, Vikramâditya, as a secondary title, on some of the Early Gupta coins.[2]

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[1] As I have had occasion to remark elsewhere (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. pp. 65, 325), this name of 'Sâh,'—and, with it, also an idea that these princes were Śakas or Indo-Scythians,—owes its origin to nothing but the fact that, on the silver coins of this series, as also on the silver coins, and even some of the gold coins, of the Early Guptas, it was the custom, as a rule, not to cut on the dies such vowels as, if engraved, would fall on or above the top line of the writing of the marginal legend. The reason, of course, was, want of sufficient space. This custom was observed uniformly in the Gupta silver coins; and hence such legends as (*id.* p. 65 f.) *paramabhagavata-maharajadharaja-śra-Chandragupta-Vakramadatya*, which represents *paramabhâgavata-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Chandragupta-Vikramâditya*; "the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious Chandragupta-Vikramâditya." On the Saurashṭra coins, the custom was observed almost uniformly, but not quite so; and hence, to select an instance of its partial observance, such legends as (*id.* p. 325) *rajñâ mahakshatrapasa Rudradamna putrasa rajñâ mahakshatrapasa Rudrasîhasa*, in which the superscript vowel *î* is exceptionally introduced in the last word, and which represents *râjñô mahâkshatrapasya Rudradâmnaḥ putrasya râjñô mahâkshatrapasya Rudrasîhasya*; "of the *Râja*, the *Mahâkshatrapa* Rudrasîha, the son of the *Râja*, the *Mahâkshatrapa* Rudradâman." The word *sîha*, i.e. *siṁha*, 'a lion,' is the termination of the names of several of the Kshatrapas or Mahâkshatrapas. And, because the long vowel *î*, or the short vowel *i* with a following *anusvâra*, is usually omitted in the coins, thus giving the readings of *saha* and *sahasya*, these princes came to be invested with the imaginary family or dynastic name of 'Sah' or 'Sâh.' Owing to the same fact, also, the termination of some of the names in the list has occasionally been read as *sêna*.

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[1] *i.e.*, literally, "Îśvaradatta, son of a year" !! The legend on his coin is given, on *id.* p. 50, as ending with *Varsha putha*, in which *putha* is taken (*id.* p. 51) as a Zend substitute for the Sanskṛit *putra*, 'a son' !! The two *aksharas* are in reality the first two syllables of the Sanskṛit word *prathamê*,—*varshê prathamê*, "in the first year;" see Newton, in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 8, and Plate, No. 8; see also Plate i. No. 1, accompanying Thomas' paper, where the legend is almost equally clear.

[2] I myself think it not at all improbable that, hereafter, it may be shewn that the name of Vikrama, or Vikramâditya, came to be connected with the Mâlava era of B C. 57, in consequence of some confused reminiscence of a conquest of the Indo-Scythians by Chandragupta I. or II. But the establishment of the Śaka era is not concerned in this question at all.

And, in general corroboration of his views, he (*id.* p. 12, note 4) quoted some remarks by Major Kittoe to Colonel Sykes, that the grant of the *Mahârâja* Hastin of the year 163, No. 22, page 100, shewed,—on the supposed identity of this *Mahârâja* with the Hastivarman, king of Veṅgî in the south, who is mentioned in line 20 of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription,—that one hundred and sixty-three years of the Gupta dynasty had passed in the time of Samudragupta, and thus proved that the Guptas reigned from the second to the fifth century A.D. This, however, hardly fits in with Mr. Thomas' reference to A.D. 172 (*id.* p. 5, note) of a Chandragupta whose date in the Gupta era is the year 93, and who could only be the father or the son of Samudragupta.

In 1854, **General Cunningham** published his *Bhilsa Topes*, in which, on p. 138 ff., he drew particular attention to the fact that Albêrûnî three times mentions the Gupta and Valabhî eras, and identifies them with each other; and on each occasion specifies them as starting from the same date, A.D. 319. He proceeded to remark—"but it appears to "me that the most important of these passages must be either corrupt or obscure; for "the translation given by M. Reinaud makes the epoch of the Guptas commence from "the date of their extermination! If this is a correct translation, there can be little "doubt that the text of Abu Rihân must be erroneous; for we know positively that the "Guptas were reigning during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. .... "The statement made in M. Reinaud's version is so extraordinary, that, even without "any direct proofs of its inaccuracy, I would have set it aside as erroneous. The era of "the Seleukidæ *began* with the foundation of the Syrian empire by Seleukos; the Chris-"tian era is dated from the *establishment* of Christianity; and the era of the Guptas "without doubt commenced with the *settlement* of their own dynasty. For the Guptas, "as I have mentioned before, date their inscriptions in an era of their own; which, though "not so named by them, was actually a *Gupta-Kâl*, and must, therefore, have been called "such by the people." And he suggested a different translation of Albêrûnî's statement; to the effect that the Gupta era became extinct with the Gupta dynasty, instead of dating from the extermination of it; and throughout the rest of his book, he applied the epoch of A.D. 319 to the Gupta dates. If General Cunningham, our leader in Indian archæology since the death of Prinsep, had continued to hold these views, and had worked out his other researches in accordance with them, we should probably have heard but little more of any theory assigning to the Guptas an earlier period. But, as we shall see, he soon adopted other opinions

In 1855, in his paper "On the Epoch of the Gupta Dynasty," published in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXIV. p. 371 ff., **Mr. Thomas** made a special reply to General Cunningham's views and arguments as set forth in *Bhilsa Topes*. This paper, however, contains nothing at all worth quoting. And we pass on to 1858, when, under his own editing, he published a collection of the works of Mr. James Prinsep, then deceased, under the title of *Essays on Indian Antiquities*. Prinsep, in his account of

Hindu eras, had mentioned the Valabhî era (*id.* Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 158), to which, on the authority of the Sômnâthpâṭan or Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, he allotted the epoch of A.D. 318. But he had made no mention of a Gupta era. Mr. Thomas, however (*id.* Vol. I. p. 270 ff.), introduced his own previously expressed opinion that the Gupta dates had to be referred to the Śaka era; and supplied some further facts which seemed to give additional corroboration to this view. And, on this occasion, he wound up with the general conclusions (*id.* Vol. I. p. 276) that the dates in the Valabhî grants, if applied to the Valabhî era of A.D. 318-19, would give far too modern a period; that these dates did not appear to belong to the same consecutive series with the numbers employed by the Guptas themselves; and that, while still applying the Śaka era to the Gupta dates, the Vikrama era was probably the one which, "in spite of any apparent inconsistency involved," should apply preferentially to the Valabhî grants. Curiously enough he quoted (*id.* Vol. I. p. 271, note 1) a modification of meaning which one portion of Albêrûnî's original words would bear; *viz.* "again, the Kûbat-Kâl (Gupta era), "that was, as is said, a wicked and powerful family; when it ceased, it was dated from; "and, as it were (it would seem that), *Balab was the last of them*, for the first of their era "also is 241 years after the Śaka-Kâl." But, he still had not arrived at the absolutely literal translation of the words which he rendered by "when it ceased, it was dated from;" and, partly through this, partly through having his attention directed principally to the connection between the Kings of Valabhî and the Guptas, as described in the words italicised by him, he still failed to see the real bearing of this passage on the epoch of both the Gupta and the Valabhî eras. In this treatment of the question, he quoted Prof. Lassen's views (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II.), to the effect that the rise of the Guptas took place between A.D. 150 to 160; but I have not had the opportunity of examining that theory.

Meanwhile, in 1853, 1857, and 1858, there had been published **M. Stanislas Julien's** French translation of the Life and Travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, in which there is contained the important statement that, when the pilgrim visited Valabhî,—which was in or about A.D. 640,—the reigning king there, a nephew of Śîlâditya of Mâlava, a son-in-law of Śîlâditya of Kanauj, and a member of the Kshatriya caste, was named *Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o* (*id.* Vol. I. p. 206), *Tou-lou-po-pa-tch'a* (*id.* Vol. I. p. 254), or *T'ou-lou-p'o-po-tou* (*id.* Vol. III. p. 163). Such were M. Julien's renderings of the Chinese transliteration of the original Sanskrit name; which latter he restored as 'Dhrouvapaṭou,' *i.e.* Dhruvapaṭu. And it had already been suggested that this name represented that of one of the Dhruvasênas of the Valabhî family. Mr. Thomas himself (*Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 267, note 4) had attached no value to this supposed identification. But Hiuen Tsiang's statement had begun to be looked on, and very properly, as an important factor in the general inquiry. And I, therefore, now give, for ready reference, in Table II. on page 41 below, a complete genealogy of the Valabhî family, with the official titles of the members of it, and their dates as far as I have been able to verify them. Here, however, in connection with Hiuen Tsiang's statements, I have to draw attention to one or two points which still remain to be cleared up. In his general account of the Life and Travels of the Chinese pilgrim, M. Julien (*id.* Vol. I. p. 206) represents him as telling us, in respect of the kingdom of Valabhî, that "the present king is of the race of the Kshatriyas (*Tsa-*"*ti-li*); he is the son-in-law of Śîlâditya (*Chi-lo-'o-tie-to*), king of Kanyâkubja (*Kie-jo-*"*kio-che*); his name is Dhruvapaṭu (*Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o*)." Whereas, in the more detailed account of the Travels, M. Julien renders the pilgrim as speaking, in the same connection, of not one king only, but more than one, and as saying (*id.* Vol. III. p. 163) "the kings of "the present period are of the race of the Kshatriyas (*T'sa-ti-li*); they all are nephews of "king Śîlâditya (*Chi-lo-'o-t'ie-to*), of the kingdom of Mâlava (*Mo-la-p'o*). Now the son of "king Śîlâditya (*Chi-lo-'o-t'ie-to*), of the kingdom of Kanyâkubja (*Kie-jo-ko-che*), has "a son-in-law named Dhruvapaṭu (*T'ou-lou-p'o-po-tou*)." While, in Mr. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, published in 1884, Vol. II. p. 267, this latter passage appears in the singular again,—"the present king is of the Kshatriya caste, as they all "are. He is the nephew of Śîlâdityarâja of Mâlava, and son-in-law of the son of Śîlâditya, "the present king of Kanyâkubja. His name is Dhruvapaṭa (*T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu*),"—without any comment explaining the important difference between his rendering and that given by M. Julien. And again, according to M. Julien (*id.* Vol. I. pp. 254 f., 260), the pilgrim speaks of a Dhruvapaṭu (*Tou-lou-po-pa-tch'a*, and also simply *Pa-tch'a*), king of Southern India; but the kingdom of Valabhî can hardly be included in, and much less can it include, Southern India; and the statement is inconsistent with the fact that, at that time, the king of the greater part, if not of the whole, of Southern India, was Pulikêśin II., of the Western Chalukya dynasty, for whom we have on record no title that at all resembles the Chinese transliteration, unless it can be found in the second component of the name of Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman, the supreme lord or governor of four *vishayas* and *maṇḍalas*, stationed or resident at Rêvatîdvîpa, who is mentioned in line 4 f. of the Goa grant of Maṅgalîśa,[1] the uncle of Pulikêśin II., and the wielder of sovereignty during the minority of the latter. These passages present points which must be carefully considered, before any final opinion is arrived at in respect of the identity of the person, or persons, intended by Hiuen Tsiang; the more especially because the dates render it impossible that he should be Śîlâditya VII. of Valabhî, the only one in the family for whom as yet we have obtained the second name of Dhruvabhaṭa; and because M. Julien tells us (*id.* Vol. III. p. 163, note) that the Chinese translation of the name of Dhruvapaṭu of Valabhî was Tch'ang-jouï, 'constantly intelligent,' which of course supports the supposition that

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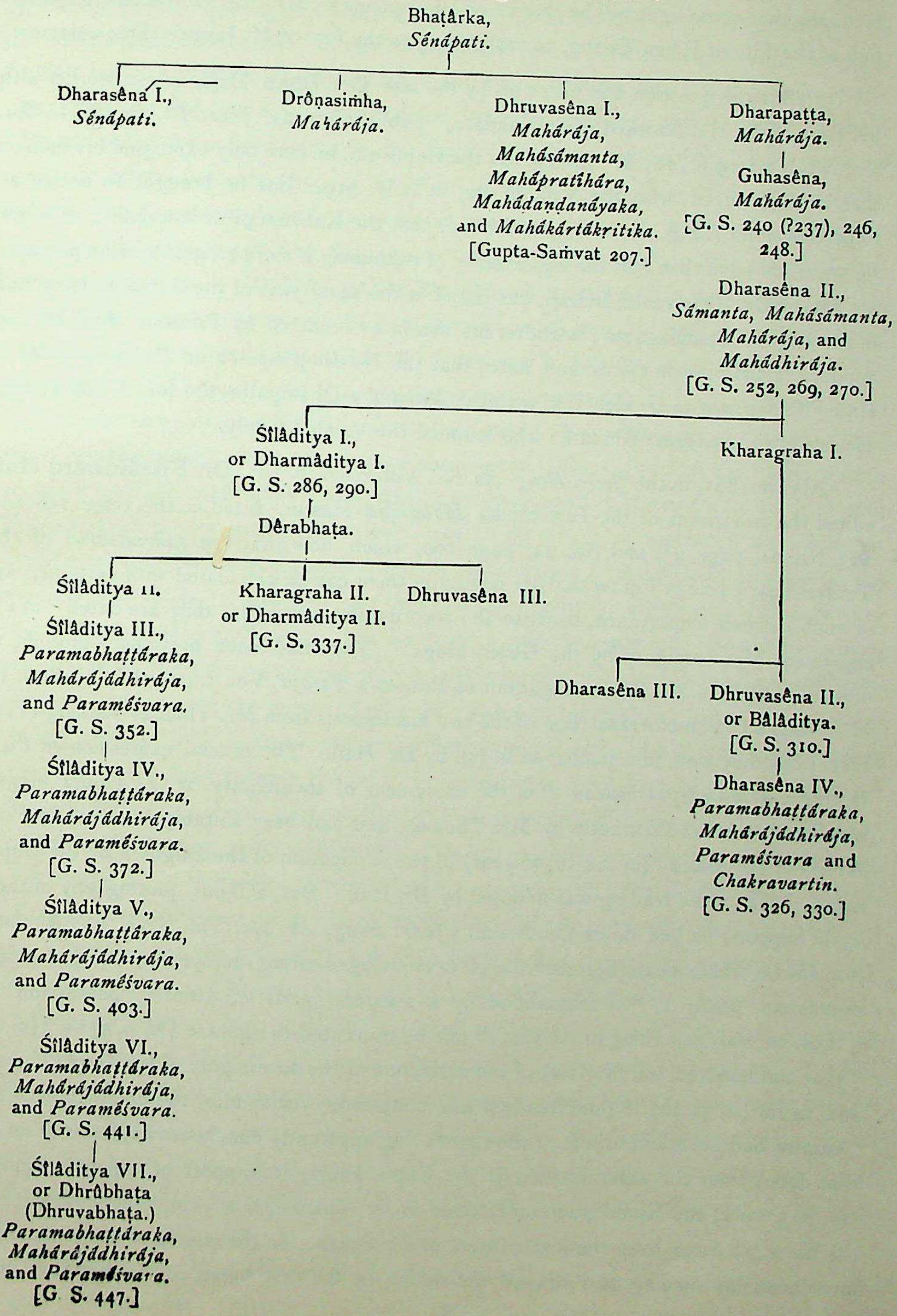
[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365.—This person, however, may be a son of Maṅgalîśa; see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 22.

TABLE II.

Genealogy of the Kings of Valabhi.



Bhaṭârka,
Sênâpati.

Dharasêna I.,
Sênâpati.

Drôṇasiṁha,
Mahârâja.

Dhruvasêna I.,
Mahârâja,
Mahâsâmanta,
Mahâpratîhâra,
Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka,
and *Mahâkârtâkṛitika.*
[Gupta-Saṁvat 207.]

Dharapaṭṭa,
Mahârâja.

Guhasêna,
Mahârâja.
[G. S. 240 (?237), 246,
248.]

Dharasêna II.,
Sâmanta, Mahâsâmanta,
Mahârâja, and
Mahâdhirâja.
[G. S. 252, 269, 270.]

Śîlâditya I.,
or Dharmâditya I.
[G. S. 286, 290.]

Kharagraha I.

Dêrabhaṭa.

Śîlâditya II.

Kharagraha II.
or Dharmâditya II.
[G. S. 337.]

Dhruvasêna III.

Śîlâditya III.,
Paramabhaṭṭâraka,
Mahârâjâdhirâja,
and *Paramêśvara.*
[G. S. 352.]

Dharasêna III.

Dhruvasêna II.,
or Bâlâditya.
[G. S. 310.]

Dharasêna IV.,
Paramabhaṭṭâraka,
Mahârâjâdhirâja,
Paramêśvara and
Chakravartin.
[G. S. 326, 330.]

Śîlâditya IV.,
Paramabhaṭṭâraka,
Mahârâjâdhirâja,
and *Paramêśvara.*
[G. S. 372.]

Śîlâditya V.,
Paramabhaṭṭâraka,
Mahârâjâdhirâja,
and *Paramêśvara.*
[G. S. 403.]

Śîlâditya VI.,
Paramabhaṭṭâraka,
Mahârâjâdhirâja,
and *Paramêśvara.*
[G. S. 441.]

Śîlâditya VII.,
or Dhrûbhaṭa
(Dhruvabhaṭa.)
Paramabhaṭṭâraka,
Mahârâjâdhirâja,
and *Paramêśvara.*
[G. S. 447.]

the termination of the Sanskrit name, the first part of which, *dhruva*, means 'constant,' really was *paṭu*, 'smart, dexterous, intellectual,' rather than *bhaṭa*, 'a warrior.' It is to be hoped that some light will be thrown on these points by Mr. Beal's forthcoming translation of the Life of Hiuen Tsiang, corresponding to the first of M. Julien's three volumes.

In 1861 the question was taken up by the late **Dr. Bhau Daji,** in connection with his paper "On the Sanskṛit poet Kâlidâsa," published in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. pp. 19 ff., 207 ff. As regards the Gupta era, he here only expressed his opinion that it commenced, with the Valabhî era, in A.D. 319. But he brought to notice an important point (*id.* p. 207, note), in the fact that the Kahâuṁ pillar inscription, of which he seems to have then had the opportunity of examining a more reliable version prepared for him by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, was dated in the 141st year of the Gupta dynasty, and in the reign of Skandagupta; not after his death, as rendered by Prinsep. And he also announced his opinion (*id.* p. 208, note) that the *Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o* or *T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang was to be identified with the *Mahârâja* Dharapaṭṭa, the fourth and youngest son of the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka who founded the Valabhî family.

Also in 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 1 ff., **Dr. FitzEdward Hall** edited the two grants of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâja* Hastin, dated in the years 156 and 163, No. 21, page 93, and No. 22, page 100, which, now that the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter that are quoted in them can be calculated with certainty, are of such extreme importance, because the records also state that they are dated "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." They had been previously brought to notice, in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251 f., by Prof. H. H. Wilson's combined translation of the two inscriptions from Mr. Thomas' reading of the texts; but they were first published in full by Dr. Hall. The crucial expression in them is *Gupta-nṛipa-râjya-bhuktau*, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings," which had been read correctly by Mr. Thomas, and had been suitably rendered by Prof. Wilson in the words "(in the 163rd year) of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta kings." The same reading was adopted by Dr. Hall. But, without quoting any authority in support, he laid down the dictum (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 3 ff., note) that *bhukti*, which means literally 'the act of enjoying or eating; enjoyment, eating; fruition, possession, usufruct,' "if unqualified by a temporal particle, denotes 'possession' or "'fruition' only as a thing of the past;" and he translated the phrase (*id.* p. 7) by "(in the "year one hundred and fifty-six) of the extinction of the sovereignty of the Gupta kings;" and, again (*id.* p. 12), "(one hundred and sixty-three years) after the domination of the "Guptas had been laid to rest;" thus producing apparently conclusive evidence of an era that dated from the extermination of the Gupta kings; in support of which he quoted (*id.* p. 5, note) the Hindu tradition referred to by Albêrûnî, now completely refuted, that the Śaka era dates from the discomfiture of the Śakas. In the course of his remarks, he introduced his reading and revised translation of the first verse of the Kahâuṁ pillar inscription, in which, though he adopted the correct reading, *śântê*, at the end of line 2, he followed the general tenor of Prinsep's translation, and rendered the date (*id.* p. 3, note) by "the empire of Skandagupta being extinct for the hundred and forty-first year." To this he appended the remark, "in supersession of a proposal formerly put forth, and from "which my present state of information would have withheld me, I now accede to the "view that the Kahâuṁ inscription is dated from the overthrow of the Guptas, of whom "Skanda must have been virtually the last." These words referred to his previous treatment of the verse in 1859, in the *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 530, when he had rendered the date by "in the one hundred and forty-first year; the empire of Skanda-"gupta being quiescent;" with the remark "there is, then, nothing here recorded con-"cerning the death of Skandagupta, as Mr. Prinsep supposes. Being neither the first "ruler of the Gupta dynasty, nor the last, nor of special note, it would be extraordinary "indeed, if time had been computed from his decease." As regards the expression in the grants of the *Mahârâja* Hastin, it seems almost needless to comment further on its meaning; because any unbiassed Sanskṛit scholar will see at once what the real purport of it is. But it is curious what vitality some mistakes possess. The suggestion has been made to me, quite recently, that possibly even Albêrûnî's own apparent statement, as to the Gupta era dating from the extermination of the Gupta kings, may have originated in a misunderstanding, by the Hindus who supplied him with information, of this same expression *Gupta-nṛipa-râjya-bhuktau*. I can only say that it is absolutely and utterly impossible that any Hindu, acquainted with Sanskṛit, could interpret this expression as meaning anything except that, at the date connected with it, the sovereignty of the Guptas was still continuing. And it is equally impossible for any European Sanskṛitist to give it any other meaning; unless, as I have said elsewhere, under the influence of a preconceived bias, so strong as to preclude entirely the critical consideration which would at once shew the error.—In the same volume, page 14 ff., Dr. Hall published his own versions of the Êraṇ inscriptions of Budhagupta and Tôramâṇa, No. 19, page 88, and No. 20, page 91; and, in the course of his remarks, announced (*id.* p. 15, note) that the details of the date of Budhagupta's record were correct if referred to the Vikrama era, the English equivalent being Thursday, the 7th June, A.D. 108, New Style.—And the general question was taken up by him again in his "Note on Budhagupta," published in the same volume (p. 139 ff.); with the conclusion (*id.* p. 148 ff.) that Budhagupta was probably the first sovereign of a more ancient branch of the Gupta family which ended with himself; and that the dates in the records of Skandagupta and his ancestors possibly ran from an epoch in A.D. 278, which Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri of Benares had found, by actual calculation, to suit the details of the Bhêra Ghaut inscription of the Kalachuri king Narasiṁhadêva, dated in the year 907 (of the era used by his dynasty), and the Têwar inscription of the same king, dated in the year 928.

In 1862, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 1 ff., **Mr. Newton** published a lengthy disquisition "On the Sâh, Gupta, and other Ancient Dynasties of Kâṭhiâwâd

f 2₆

and Gujarât," based on their coins, which, in respect at any rate of the so-called Sâh coins, were then properly examined for the first time. And his conclusions were (*id.* p. 30) that the dates on the Sâh coins were to be referred to the Vikrama era, with the result that the kings of this dynasty extended from A.D. 30 or 40 to A.D. 240 or 250; (*id.* p. 36) that they were immediately succeeded, in Gujarât, by Kumâragupta and Skandagupta, without any intervention of the Indo-Scythians there; and that these two were followed by the Valabhî dynasty, in A.D. 319. His conclusions, however, were chiefly founded on the basis (*id.* p. 31) that "Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Thomas, and Prof. Wilson, agree that the "Sâhs preceded the Guptas; and it seems clear that the Guptas preceded the Valabhî "dynasty;" coupled with his acceptance of the fact that the Valabhî era,—and with it I conclude, the rise of the family after the last of the Guptas,—had been satisfactorily fixed at A.D. 319; though he also held the opinion (*id.* p. 30) that the dates in the Valabhî grants were probably to be referred to the Vikrama era.

In the same volume, p. 113 ff., **Dr. Bhau Daji** published his readings and translations of the Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14, page 56, and of the so-called Sâh inscription of the *Mahâkshatrapa* Rudradâman on the same boulder. For our present purpose, this paper is chiefly of importance because, in line 15 of Skandagupta's inscription, instead of *Gupta-prakâlê gaṇanâṁ vidhâya*, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas," Dr. Bhau Daji read (*id.* pp. 123, 129) *Guptasya kâlâ[d*]=gaṇanâṁ vidhâya*, "counting from the era of Gupta." It is upon this mislection that we are entirely dependent in any supposition that the era dates from the time of the *Mahârâja* Gupta, who is given in the inscriptions as the founder of the family; and it is to this mislection alone that we have to attribute the supposition that the era had the technical name of *Guptasya kâla*, "the era of Gupta." Attached to Dr. Bhau Daji's rendering of these two inscriptions, there are a few general observations, promising a more ample inquiry afterwards; from which we learn that his views then were (*id.* p. 115) that the Gupta dates were evidently dated in the Gupta era and should be referred to the Valabhî epoch, which was known, from the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, to be A.D. 318; that accordingly, with his revised translation of the Kahâuṁ inscription, Skandagupta must be placed in the period A.D. 448 to 459, with a margin of five or ten years on either side; that the dates in the Valabhî grants themselves were to be referred to the Śaka era, with the result that such of them as were then known, belonged to the period A.D. 388 to 443; and that, accordingly, the Valabhî family, founded by the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka, had its rise shortly before Skandagupta.

In 1864, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 236 ff., **Dr. Bhau Daji** took the matter up again, in his "Brief Survey of Indian Chronology, from the first century of the Christian era to the fifth;" giving, on this occasion, the more ample inquiry that he had previously promised. In this paper he brought to notice the spurious grant of the *Mahârâja* Dharasêna II. of Valabhî, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 400, which has now been edited by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 277 ff. Dr. Bhau Daji fully recognised the spurious nature of the grant. But, treating the date as being in the fourth century of the Śaka era,—not in specifically the Śaka year 400,—and expressing his belief that the grant though a forgery, was an ancient one, and was forged within fifty years of the latest of the Valabhî grants discovered up to that time, he recorded his opinion (*id.* p. 244) that "whether the grant be genuine or not, the evidence in regard to the name of the era does "not materially lose its value; as the forger has been careful not to give the exact year, "but simply to state the century of the era, which we must accept as correct, as this "forger may naturally be expected to avoid an error in date, which would vitiate the "document more than any other single error." His general conclusions were much the same as those arrived at on the previous occasion; *viz.* (*id.* p. 247) that the dates in the Valabhî grants refer to the Śaka era, which, he held (*id.* p. 238), was the era "of Nahapâṇa, in all likelihood a Parthian monarch, and a descendant of Phrahates;" (*id.* p. 246) that the Gupta era commenced A.D. 318, and Kumâragupta and Skandagupta succeeded the last of the kings of Vâlabhî; and consequently (*id.* p. 247 f.) that the Valabhî era of Albêrûnî, if identical with the Gupta era, was certainly not the era used by the Kings of Valabhî themselves, but was the Gupta era, introduced into Kâṭhiâwâḍ by Kumâragupta and Skandagupta. His results led him also to the conclusion (*id.* p. 249 ff.) that Hiuen Tsiang's visit to India, must really be placed about sixty years earlier than the accepted and well-established period, about A.D. 630 to 643; a proposition which in itself almost ought to have shewn him that there was some radical error in his deductions. And on this occasion (*id.* p. 246) he put forward the suggestion, afterwards accepted and endorsed by Mr. Fergusson,—or at least he drew pointed attention to the apparent fact,—that the Gupta era commenced on the completion of four of the Sixty-Year Cycles of Jupiter after the commencement of the Śaka era; to suit this suggestion, however, he had to distinctly put aside Albêrûnî's statement that the difference between the two eras is two-hundred and forty-one years, which, of course, by any arrangement, is one year over and above four cycles of sixty years each. These conclusions are, of course, about as good a sample as could well be sought, of the general state of confusion into which the question had then fallen.

Meanwhile, in 1863, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXII. pp. ii. to cxix., **General Cunningham** had published his Archæological Report for 1861-62, which was subsequently reprinted in 1871 in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 1 to 130, and which I shall notice again further on. In this, he laid aside his original opinion of A.D. 319 for the commencement of the Gupta era; and adopted, instead of it, the view that this year was really the date of the extermination of the dynasty, and that their recorded dates should be referred, as proposed by Mr. Thomas, to the Śaka era. Again, in 1865, in his paper on the "Coins of the nine Nâgas," in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 115 ff., he stated that, from a comparison of the Gupta gold coins with their Indo-Scythian prototypes, and of the Gupta silver coins with the Sâh coins of Saurâshṭra, he had seen (*id.* p. 118) "that the first Guptas must certainly have been contemporary with the earlier princes of the

"Kushân Scythians, and consequently that their date could not possibly be later than the "first century of the Christian era." And, on the grounds that the only scheme, as far as he could see, that would suit all the known dates and other conditions of the dynasty, was to make Chandragupta I. the founder of the era; that Albêrûnî's information was that the Śaka era was established by a king named Vikramâditya, after a victory over the Śakas; that the name of Vikramâditya was found on coins which were properly assigned to Chandragupta I.; and that the Allahâbâd pillar inscription mentions Samudragupta, the son of Chandragupta I., as receiving tribute from the Śakas,—he expressed himself (*id.* p. 119) as "inclined to adopt the Śaka era, which began in A.D. 79, "as the actual era of the Gupta dynasty and to attribute its establishment to Chandra- "gupta I."

In 1870, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. IV. p. 81 ff., **Mr. Fergusson** published his paper "On Indian Chronology," which had been read before the Society two years earlier, in February, 1869. In this paper, the facts were dealt with in considerable detail, and with a good deal of soundness, except for one serious and radical error, *viz.* that the Early and Western Chalukyas and the Kings of Valabhî belonged to one and the same family, of which the Chalukyas were the southern branch (*id.* pp. 89, 91); the grounds for this assumption seem to be nothing except the supposition that (*id.* p. 94) it was Dharasêna IV., the first paramount sovereign in the Valabhî family,[1] who overthrew the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya II., the son of Pulikêśin II.; but this, again, is a purely mistaken supposition, in support of which there is not the slightest evidence whatever, and against which there is plenty, of the most conclusive kind. Setting aside this, and other important mistakes,—such as his endorsement of Dr. Bhau Daji's reading of *Guptasya kâlât* in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta, but his variation of the translation, so as to make it mean, not "from the era of Gupta," but (*id.* p. 112) "from the era of the Guptas;" such as his assumption (*id.* pp. 108, 126) that the Udayagiri cave inscription of the year 82, and the Sâñchi inscription of the year 93, belong to the time of Chandragupta I., with the result that his son Samudragupta could not have ascended the throne before A.D. 411; and such as (*id.* p. 118) his identification of the Budhagupta of the Êraṇ pillar inscription with the Buddhagupta of Magadha, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang,[2]—there is a good deal that is sound in the arguments employed and the results arrived at; but, of course, they were established only as matters of argument, and not by means of any definite proof. On the grounds that (*id.* p. 90) it was inconceivable that the Valabhî era should not have been used by the Kings of Valabhî themselves; that (*id.* p. 89 f.), by applying the Valabhî dates to A.D. 318, we obtained a Dhruvasêna, who would answer to the Dhruvapaṭu who was on the throne at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit to India; that (*id.* p. 104), in addition to the inherent improbability in Albêrûnî's statement about the Gupta era dating from the extermination of the dynasty, there was no battle, massacre, or other important event that could be placed in A.D. 318; that (*id.* p. 104), the latest date of the Guptas themselves being that of Budhagupta in the year 165, this, if referred to the Śaka era, with the result of A.D. 243, still left a gap of seventy-five years, with no names to fill it, before we arrived at the last of the Guptas in A.D. 318, and (*id.* p. 107) a still longer interval if referred to the Vikrama era; on the general admission that (*id.* p. 121) the order of succession was, first the so-called Sâhs, then the Guptas, and then the Kings of Valabhî; and on architectural grounds, and general historical and numismatic arguments which are not within the scope of my present remarks, Mr. Fergusson arrived at the conclusions that (*id.* p. 128 ff.) the Vikrama era of B.C. 57 was founded by the so-called Sâh dynasty; that this dynasty continued down to A.D. 235; that there then rose the Andhra dynasty, in which Gôtamiputra was the king of Western India in A.D. 318-19; that the Valabhî era was established then, probably on the building of the city of Valabhî; that the *Mahârâja* Gupta, the founder of the Gupta family, must have been the viceroy of one of the Andhra kings, but not necessarily at the time of the building of Valabhî; and that the Early Guptas and the Kings of Valabhî thus derived the era which afterwards came to be known by the names of both of them. And, in the course of this paper, Mr. Fergusson first broached the theory (*id.* p. 131 ff.) that no such person as Vikramâditya, the traditional enemy of the Śakas and founder of the Vikrama era, existed anterior to the Christian era, or within some centuries of that time; but that, "some "time after Vikramâditya of Mâlwa," whom he placed (*id.* p. 90) about A.D. 490 to 530, "had rendered the name so celebrated, the Hindus, on the revival of Brâhmaṇism, wished to "possess an era which should, at least, be older than the Buddhist era of Śâlivâhana," *i.e.* the Śaka era. "At that time, the Sâh era, established by Nahapâṇa, was vacant, having "fallen into disuse on the destruction of that dynasty and its supersession by the era of "Valabhî; and that the Hindus then appropriated it, by attaching to it the name that it "now bears, and inventing the history requisite to render its adoption feasible." This adaptation of the era was then allotted by him either to the time of Bhôja of Dhârâ, about A.D. 993, or to the restoration of the Western Châlukya dynasty, in A.D. 973.

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[1] Mr. Fergusson says Dharasêna III.; but this is an evident mistake.

[2] On this point, Mr. Fergusson wrote—"I do not think the difference of spelling here indicated, of any importance. Hiuen Tsiang's name was translated first from Sanskṛit into Chinese, and from Chinese into French; and might easily have been more changed in the process."—The same mistake has been made in more recent times. And I will, therefore, now point out that the two names are utterly distinct, and belong to totally different persons. In respect of the king mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang (Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 168 ff.; Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, Vol. I. p. 149 f., Vol. III. p. 41 ff.), we are not dependent on the correctness of the restoration in the French or English translation. Hiuen Tsiang gives, as the first component of this name, the well-known *Fo-t'o*, which he uses so habitually for Buddha, the teacher, the holy Śâkya-Tathâgata, and in respect of which he could not possibly be

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mistaken. Whereas, in respect of the king mentioned in the Eraṇ inscription, the metre, as well as the perfect clearness of the reading, shews as conclusively that the first component of that name is Budha, the planet Mercury. Sanskṛit scholars will recognise at once the thorough difference between the two names.—For my own remarks on the date of Buddhagupta of Magadha, see the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 251 f.

In 1871, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 193 ff., **General Cunningham** attached a note to Professor Dowson's paper on "Ancient Inscriptions from Mathurâ;" in which (*id.* p. 196), on the grounds that both Kanishka and Huvishka must have preceded the establishment of the Śaka era, he referred the dates of their inscriptions to the Vikrama era; and he quoted the reference, in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, to the Daivaputras and Shâhânushâhis, "who must have been the Turushka kings of the Pañjâb," as shewing that Samudragupta was "a contemporary of the Turushka kings, whose dominion, according to the Chinese authorities, had already passed away in the beginning of "the third century after Christ." As to this last point, I will only say that what we have in reality, in the Allahâbâd inscription, is, not the means of fixing the date of Samudragupta through the Chinese accounts, but the means of correcting the Chinese accounts by the date of Samudragupta.

In the same year, 1871, **General Cunningham** published his *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., containing, in the first part of it, his Archæological Report for the season 1861-62, which, as already noted, had appeared originally in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXII. pp. iii to cix. In this (*id.* p. 94), he expressed the opinion that the Śaka era, for the Early Gupta dates, would accord best with the then general acceptance of the fact that the Gupta dynasty was overthrown in A.D. 319; and he consequently now interpreted the date of the year 141, in the Kahâuṁ pillar inscription of Skandagupta, as equivalent to A.D. 219. And, incidentally, (*id.* p. 139 f.) in connection with the question of the Vikrama and Śaka eras, he identified the Vikramâditya, mentioned by Albêrûnî,—in commemoration of whose victory over the Śakas at Karûr, between Multân and Lônî, one hundred and thirty-five years after the establishment of the Vikrama era of B.C. 57, the Śaka era was supposed to have been founded,[1]—with the Śâlivâhana, whose name came subsequently to be connected by the Hindus with the Śaka era, as the founder of it. The same opinion, as to the dominion of the Guptas having probably commenced about A.D. 78, was also expressed by him in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 4; in which volume he also (*id.* p. 41 ff.) referred the dates of Kanishka and Huvishka to the Vikrama era; proposed to take the three kings Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, of the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, i. 168-73, as being represented by the Vikramâditya who, according to Mêrutuṅga, reigned for sixty years; and fixed the Indo-Scythian rule, in India, as commencing B.C. 57 and ending A.D. 79, "at which latter date, according to Hindu belief, the dynasty of "Vikramâditya was finally overthrown by Śâlivâhana."

In 1872, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 72 ff., **Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar** threw in his adherence to the opinion held by Mr. Thomas and Dr. Bhau Daji, that the era to which the dates in the Valabhî grants refer, is the Śaka era, as affording "an intelligible starting-point for the Valabhî era, ascertained by Colonel Tod to have commenced in A.D. 319;" his own opinion as to the establishment of this Valabhî era being that it commemorated the coronation, as *Mahârâja*, of Drôṇasiṁha, the second son of the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka, by a sovereign who, in the Valabhî grants, *e.g.* No. 38, line 5, page 168, is described as "the paramount master, the sole lord of the circumference of the "territory of the whole earth;" from the date of this event, he held, the members of the Valabhî family were independent kings. In 1874, however, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. p. 303 f., on the grounds that the alphabet used in the Valabhî grants resembles very much that used in the Western Chalukya grants belonging to the early part of the eighth century, and for other reasons not fully specified, he modified this opinion, so far as "to think "that the Valabhî dates must be referred to an era other than the Śaka;" and he proceeded to join Mr. Fergusson in referring them to an era commencing A.D. 318. But he still maintained a verbal difference with Mr. Fergusson, to the effect that, since in the Valabhî family there was no individual named 'Ballaba,' or Valabhî, "it is doubtful whether the "era was really of Bhaṭârka's family. If the era was not the era of the dynasty, but was "in use in Surâshṭra before the foundation of the dynasty, the Valabhî dates may be referred "to it. Or, more likely, since the Guptas, who preceded that dynasty, introduced their "era into the country, the grants must have been dated in that era. But there is no difference in effect; since the initial dates of both are the same."

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[1] Albêrûnî Indi Transhation Vol. II. p. 6.

In 1873, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 313, **Col. J. W. Watson** published the following tradition, attributed to the bards of Kâṭhiâwâḍ:—"The bards relate that Vâḷâ Râma "Râjâ, son of Vâḷâ Warsiṅgjî, reigned at Junâgaḍh and Vanthalî. He was famed for his "munificence; and it is told of him that, when his beard was shaved for the first time, he "gave in charity twenty-one villages, and distributed fifty *lakhs* of rupees[1] as alms to the "poor. Râma Râjâ was of the Vâḷâ race. It is said in Saurâshṭra that, previous to the "rise of the kingdom of Junâgaḍh-Vanthalî, Valabhînagara was the capital of Gujarât. "The rise of Valabhî is thus told by the bards. The Gupta kings reigned between the "Ganges and Jamnâ rivers. One of these kings sent his son, Kumârapâlagupta, to "conquer Saurâshṭra; and placed his viceroy Chakrapâṇi, son of Prâṇadatta, one of his "*Amîrs,* to reign as a provincial Governor in the city of Wâmanasthalî (the modern Vanthalî). Kumârapâla now returned to his father's kingdom. His father reigned twenty-"three years after the conquest of Saurâshṭra, and then died; and Kumârapâla ascended "the throne. Kumârapâlagupta reigned twenty years, and then died, and was succeeded "by Skandagupta; but this king was of weak intellect. His *Sênâpati* Bhaṭṭâraka, who "was of the Gehlotî race, taking a strong army, came into Saurâshṭra, and made his rule "firm there. Two years after this, Skandagupta died. The *Sênâpati* now assumed the "title of King of Saurâshṭra; and, having placed a Governor at Wâmanasthalî, founded "the city of Valabhînagara. At this time, the Gupta race were dethroned by foreign invaders. The *Sênâpati* was a Gehlot, and his forefathers reigned at Ayôdhyânagarî, "until displaced by the Gupta dynasty. After founding Valabhî, he established his rule

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[1] Nominally, half a million pounds sterling.

"in Saurâshṭra, Kachchh, Lâṭadêśa, and Mâlava. The Vâḷâs were a branch of the Geh-"lots. After the fall of Valabhî, the Vâḷâ governor of Wâmanasthalî became indepen-"dent. Râma Râjâ had no son; but his sister was married to the Râjâ of Nagar Ṭhâṭha," &c. This story was criticised by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. p. 303; his opinion being that "the tradition itself, though interesting, as giving the truth gene-"rally, cannot be considered to be true in the particulars; .... it simply gives "us what was known before, that the Valabhîs succeeded the Guptas." In reply to this, and in defence of the supposed tradition, Mr. Thomas[1] said that it "may be imperfect, as "such old-world tales are liable to become; but there is an instructive confirmation of "one obscure portion of the earlier history given by the Muhammadan inquirer,[2] and a "clear explanation of the causes of the local transfer of power, combined with an impor-"tant reference to the conventional imperial delegation of authority to a son, as well as an "indication of the length of the reigns of two kings, to be found nowhere else; and, to "complete the tale, we trace in its details, a fully reasonable accord with the more precise "data furnished by inscriptions and coins." Of course, this supposed tradition is of that half-perfect kind which carries its own confirmation with it; if we could but accept it. Nothing is more natural, for instance, than the introduction of the termination *pâla* into the middle of the name of Kumâragupta; and than the substitution of Prâṇadatta and Chakrapâṇi for the Parṇadatta, and his son Chakrapâlita, of the Junâgaḍh rock-inscription of Skandagupta, and of Bhaṭṭâraka for Bhaṭârka, as the name of the upstart *Sênâpati*. But no further attention need be paid to the matter; since I have it on the best possible authority,—that of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji himself,—that the supposed tradition has only sprung into existence within the last fifteen or twenty years, and owes its origin only to certain speculations of his, which found their way to the bards through an educational treatise! It simply furnishes an instance of the extreme suspicion with which we must view every Hindu historical legend.

In 1874, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 363 ff., the question was considered by **Dr. Rajendralala Mitra,** in then bringing to notice the Indôr grant of Skandagupta, No. 16, page 68. He introduced (*id.* p. 369 ff.) a new, and perfectly gratuitous, point in the Kahâuṁ pillar inscription, by connecting the word *śântê,* in line 3, with *varshê*, in line 4; and, hankering after the meanings given by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Hall, to the word *śânta* in particular, though he aimed also at giving to the whole verse a purport which should be more correct than that made out by them, and should be an improvement even on Dr. Bhau Daji's translation, he translated (*id.* p. 371) "in the empire "of Skandagupta; the year one hundred and forty-one having passed away." The paper adds nothing of any value to the general discussion; beyond (*id.* p. 371) following, in contradiction to Dr. F. E. Hall, Prof. H. H. Wilson's rendering of the expression in the *Mahâ-*

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[1] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 30.

[2] *i.e.* Albêrûnî.

râja Hastin's grants as shewing that the supremacy of the Gupta kings was still continuing in his time; and beyond introducing (*id.* p. 368) Mr. Blochmann's proposed emendation of the translation of Albêrûnî's statement, which I have quoted at page 28 above, note 1. But Dr. R. Mitra failed to see the interpretation that might be put upon the emended rendering; and he expressed his own conviction (*id.* p. 372) that the Early Gupta dates, and those of Budhagupta and of the *Mahârâja* Hastin, are recorded in the Śaka era; and that Albêrûnî's Gupta era commemorates the expulsion of the Guptas from Gujarât by the Kings of Valabhî.

In 1876, in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 18 ff., **Mr. Thomas** published a chapter on the "Sâh and Gupta Coins, &c.," in which, as already noted, he included some strong remarks in support of the authenticity of the supposed bardic tradition from Kâṭhiâwâḍ, that had been brought to notice by Col. Watson. In his tabular statement of the Early Gupta dynasty (*id.* p. 70), he referred the Gupta dates, as before, to the Saka era, and, with them, the date on Tôramâṇa's coin, which he interpreted (*id.* p. 66) as 182; on the authority of the supposed tradition, he placed the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka, the founder of the Valabhî family, specifically two years before the death of Skandagupta; and he added a remark indicating apparently that his opinion was, that the Valabhî era, commencing A.D. 319, was established by the *Mahârâja* Dharasêna II., "who seems "to have been the earliest monarch of any real pretensions."

In 1878, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 79 ff., **Dr. Bühler** brought to notice the newly discovered Alînâ grant of Śîlâditya VII. of Valabhî, No. 39, page 171, which gives for him the date of Gupta-Saṁvat 447 (A.D. 766-67), and the *biruda*, or title or second name, of Dhrûbhaṭa or Dhruvabhaṭa. Drawing attention (*id.* p. 80) to the pointed similarity of this name with the *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang's account, and suggesting that Hiuen Tsiang's translation of the name by 'constantly intelligent' might be due to incorrect information, or to some confusion between *bhaṭa*, 'a warrior,' and *bhaṭṭa*, 'a learned man,' Dr. Bühler expressed himself as inclined to believe that Śîlâditya VII. was Hiuen Tsiang's contemporary; the result of which would be that the era used in the Valabhî grants must have commenced either shortly before or shortly after A.D. 200. He pointed out, however, (*id.* p. 81) that the occurrence of the title of Dhrûbhaṭa or Dhruvabhaṭa in this grant, was in reality only one point among many, requiring careful consideration, in connection with a question that was by no means a simple one.

In 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 9 ff., **General Cunningham** brought to notice the grant of the *Mahârâja* Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106; the Bhumarâ pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110; the *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha's grant, of the year 209, No. 25, page 112; and, with the exception of No. 28, page 125, the grants of the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa, No. 26, page 117, to No. 31, page 135, ranging from the year 174 to the year 214. And, in the grants of Hastin and Saṁkshôbha, he followed Prof. Wilson in giving to the expression *Gupta-nṛipa-râjya-bhuktau* interpretations which, though not grammatically, were substantially correct, in shewing that it indicated that the Gupta sovereignty was still continuing when the grants in question were issued. To his notice of these inscriptions he annexed some remarks (*id.* p. 16 ff.) on the "Date of the Guptas," in which he arrived at the conclusion that the probable epoch of the Gupta era was A.D. 194-95, and its commencement A.D. 195-96. Starting with accepting it to be almost certain that Śîlâditya VII. was the king of Valabhî who was reigning at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit in A.D. 640, he pointed out (*id.* p. 17) that, as the year 447 of the grant might fall twenty-five or thirty years either earlier or later than the pilgrim's visit, the initial point of the Gupta era might lie anywhere between A.D. 163 and 223. Within this period, he found, the only year which would suit the conditions of the record in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta and the Môrbî grant of Jâiṅkadêva, was A.D. 194-95 as the epoch of the era. Applying this epoch to the Êraṇ date, the result (*id.* p. 18) was A.D. 359; in which year the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Âshâḍha, according to his calculation, was, as required, a Thursday; *viz.* the 24th June. And applying it to the solar eclipse mentioned in the Môrbî grant, which he assumed to have occurred on the new-moon day of the month Mâgha, five days before the writing of the grant, the result was the 10th February, A.D. 780, "on which very day there was an eclipse of the sun, "visible in Eastern Asia."[1] The fourth test, which, he indicated, should be applied, was the mention of some of the *saṁvatsaras* of Jupiter's Twelve-Year Cycle in the grants of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Saṁkshôbha. Exact information about this cycle, however, was not then forthcoming; and, in making the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara* correspond (*id.* p. 19) with A.D. 350, which, with the epoch of A.D. 194-95, would be the equivalent of Gupta-Saṁvat 156, recorded in the *Mahârâja* Hastin's grant, No. 21, page 93, he seems to have acted on pure assumption; while, in order to make the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara*, recorded in the same *Mahârâja's* grant of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, No. 22, page 100, fit in with his view of the cycle, he had to alter[2] the original date from 163 to 173, with the result of A.D. 367. On this occasion, General Cunningham (*id.* p. 21) again referred the establishment of the Gupta era to Chandragupta I.; and he placed the foundation of the Valabhî era of A.D. 319 in the twentieth year of the reign of Kumâragupta. And, in connection with this Valabhî era, he expressed the opinion (*id.* p. 20) that it could have no connection whatever with the downfall of the Gupta dynasty; for the reason that, applied to the epoch of A.D. 194-95, the dates of 138 and 139 in the Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14, page 56, shewed that the Gupta dominion was still intact, in Saurâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâḍ, up to[3] A.D. 333. And he expressed the opinion that the apparent inconsistencies in Albêrûnî's statements arose from his finding that the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhî had actually used one and the same era, and from his taking it for granted that that era must have been the era which he found to be called the Valabhî era, and to have commenced in A.D. 319. He placed the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka of Valabhî in A.D. 339 (*id.* p. 21), twenty years after the establishment of the Valabhî era of 319. And, interpreting the coin-dates of Tôramâṇa as 52 and 53 (*id.* p. 27), he referred them (*id.* p. 21) to the Valabhî era of A.D. 319.

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[1] For the full details of this eclipse, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 308.

[2] See page 102, note 1, below my introductory remarks to this inscription, where I have shewn that a very material obstacle exists in the way of this alteration of the text. Also, as will be seen further on, from the correct point of view as regards the Gupta era, any alteration is quite unnecessary.

[3] This is with the supposed date of 139. But the real dates in the record are 136, 137, and 138: they do not include 139.

The subject was taken up again by **General Cunningham** in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 111 ff., in his Appendix on "The Gupta Era;" and on this occasion he arrived at the final conclusion, that (*id.* p. 126) the commencement of the era was probably in A.D. 167 and, therefore, its epoch was A.D. 166-67. Of the leading general facts on which he relied (*id.* p. 116), the first was that Samudragupta's date seemed to be fixed approximately, within rather narrow limits, by two facts; *viz.*—(1) "his own mention" (in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription) "of the tribute received from "the Daivaputra, Shâhi, Shâhânushâhi, which we now know to be the titles of the Yue-chi "Indo-Scythians, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudeva, and their successors, shews him to "have been a contemporary of some prince of this race;" and (2) "according to "Chinese authority, the Yue-chi, during the period between A.D. 220-80, put their kings "to death, and established military chiefs." From a comparison of these two statements, General Cunningham inferred that Samudragupta must have reigned before the time when the Yue-chi put their kings to death, or not later than some time between A.D. 200 and 250; and that his father, Chandragupta I., must be placed towards the end of the second century A.D. But, with regard to this, I have only to repeat a remark which I have already had occasion to make; *viz.* that what we really have, is, not the means of fixing the period of Samudragupta through the Chinese accounts, but the means of correcting the Chinese accounts through the Early Gupta chronology. The second leading point was that, as already indicated by him, the Alînâ grant of Śîlâditya VII. shewed that the initial point of the Gupta era must fall between A.D. 164 and 224. Putting these two approximate results together, he inferred that the beginning of the Gupta era must have been not very far from A.D. 180 to 200. Meanwhile, he had obtained certain information regarding the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, from Bapu Deva Shastri, Professor of Mathematics in the Benares College, which enabled him now to take this test also into consideration; with the result that, subject to the approximate limits which he had already arrived at on general grounds, and having regard also to the week-day recorded in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, the only years that would meet all the requirements of the case were A.D. 166-67 as the epoch, and A.D. 167-68 as the commencement, of the Gupta era. In order, however, to make all the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, mentioned in the grants of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Saṁkshôbha, tally with this epoch, he had still to maintain the alteration of the date of

Gupta-Saṁvat 163 into 173. Accepting this alteration, his theory and arrangement of the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle, and his general results, have seemed sound, consistent, and reliable. But it is now known that his process for determining the *saṁvatsaras* is wrong, and cannot give satisfactory results. This part of the subject will be explained fully further on. Meanwhile I will only state here that General Cunningham's theory of the Twelve-Year Cycle is based on the assumption, the incorrectness of which can now be proved, that the *saṁvatsaras* of it begin and end with the luni-solar years; and that his process for determining the *saṁvatsaras* (*id.* pp. vi. 114 f., and *Indian Eras*, p. 27 f.) only gives the *saṁvatsara* that is current, according to the sign-passing system, at the commencement of any given luni-solar year; it does not provide for the really essential point, even of this system, which is the determination of the *saṁvatsara* that is current on any given date in a given year after the commencement of it. On this occasion (*id.* p. 112) General Cunningham fully accepted Albêrûnî's apparent statement regarding the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty, in the Valabhî country, in A.D. 319, in which year he now placed the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka of Valabhî. And he recorded the opinion (*id.* p.126) that the foundation of the Valabhî era of A.D. 319 might very probably have been brought about by the opportunity afforded by the death of Skandagupta, for whom the latest recorded date, supplied by a coin of the year 149, would be, according to his new theory, A.D. 315. In general support of his results, he also quoted certain numismatic facts, such as (*id.* p. 112) that a comparison of the gold coins of the Guptas with those of the Indo-Scythian king Vâsudêva, shewed that they must have followed him very closely; while a comparison of their silver coins with those of the Satraps of Saurâshṭra,—formerly called the Sâh kings,—and those of the Valabhî family, proved distinctly that the Guptas must have followed the Satraps of Saurâshṭra and preceded the Valabhî family; but this is a line of study with which we are not concerned in the present inquiry.

In the same year, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XII. p. 259 ff., **Mr. Fergusson** issued his paper "On the Śaka, Saṁvat, and Gupta Eras," as a supplement to his original paper "On Indian Chronology," which has been noticed at page 46 f. above. In his previous paper, he had adopted General Cunningham's view that Kanishka died A.D. 24. Now, however, on arguments based (*id.* p. 264) on the comparative state of decay exhibited by coins of Kanishka and by some belonging to the Roman Consular period, found in Kanishka's *Stûpa* at 'Manikyala;' on the understanding (*id.* p. 265) that the legend of St. Thomas having visited the East in the reign of a certain king Gondophares,—which visit, if it really occurred, must have been after A.D. 33 and probably before A.D. 50,—is at any rate admissible so far as to shew that the inventors of the legend must have known that the king of 'Taxila' at that time was Gondophares, whose name occurs, on coins, among a series of kings "who reigned in the north-west of India, certainly subse-"quent to the fall of the Greek dynasties, and as certainly anterior to Kanishka;" and on similar grounds, he arrived at the conclusion (*id.* p. 261) that the Śaka era was established by Kanishka, and took the name of the Śâlivâhana era from having been introduced into India in the reign of Śâtakarṇi II. of the Andhra dynasty, the "chief of the "Śâtavâhana or Śâlivâhana race." As regards the Gupta era, Mr. Fergusson took this opportunity of recording his impression (*id.* p. 285) that his view of it "would "never have been considered doubtful, had it not been that the chronology of that period "had hitherto been based almost exclusively on numismatic researches." And, in repeating his conviction (*id.* p. 281) that the commencement of the era was in A.D. 319, and (*id.* p. 270) that it was established in the reign of the Andhra king Gôtamiputra, he also now maintained (*id.* p. 271) that the era did not necessarily date from the accession of the king, or from his death, or from any specific event in his reign, but that, in order that dates in the new era might be easily convertible into the old era, the commencement of the new era was simply fixed by the expiration of four of Jupiter's Sixty-Year Cycles from the commencement of the Śaka era. In respect of his theory that the Śaka era was established by Kanishkà, and of some others of his general results, I see no reason, at present, to dispute them, apart from the arguments on which they were based. But a few words seem necessary in connection with the key-note to his whole paper, which is plainly to be recognised in his desire to find for the Vikrama era some origin other than its actual establishment in B.C. 57, and, according to tradition, by a king Vikrama or Vikramâditya, actually reigning at that time. He had already thrown out this suggestion in his previous paper. And now he claimed that, granting the correctness of his other conclusions, there could be found (*id.* p. 271) no direct evidence for the existence of a Vikrama era in the first century B.C., nor for a very long time afterwards; for so long, in fact, that it was impossible to establish any connection between a king Vikrama and the original establishment of the era. Referring to two passages in the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, one of which[1] speaks of Pratâpâditya, who was brought from another country to be crowned king of Kaśmîr, as a kinsman of a king Vikramâditya who, the book states, was wrongly thought by some to be the Śakâri or 'enemy of the Śakas,' and the other of which[2] states that, at the time of the death of Hiraṇya of Kaśmîr, there reigned at Ujjain a powerful king Vikramâditya, who had the second name of Harsha, and who also had destroyed the Śakas; and quoting also Albêrûnî's explanation that the Vikramâditya who, according to the tradition given to him, conquered the Śakas a hundred and thirty-five years after the establishment of the Vikrama era, could not be identical with the founder of that era,—the conclusions at which he arrived were (*id.* p. 274) that the Vikramâditya who conquered the Śakas at the battle of Karûr, was Harsha-Vikramâditya of Ujjain; that his death took place about A.D. 550, and the battle of Karûr, in A.D. 544; that, about or before A.D. 1000, when "the struggle with the Buddhists was over, and a new era was opening for the "Hindu religion," the Hindus sought to establish some new method of marking time, to supersede the Buddhist Saka era of Kanishka; that, the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhî having then passed away, and having also been insignificant and of doubtful orthodoxy, in looking back for some name and event of sufficient importance to mark the commencement of a new era, they hit on the name of Vikramâditya, as the most illustrious known to them, and his victory at Karûr as the most important event of his reign; and that then, since the date of that victory, A.D. 544, was too recent to be adopted, they antedated the epoch by ten cycles of sixty years, thus arriving at B.C. 56 for their Vikrama era, and also, not content with this, devised another era, which they called the Harsha era, from the other part of his name, and the epoch of which was fixed in B.C. 456, by placing it ten even centuries before the date of the battle of Karûr. It is an actual fact, that the name of Vikrama does not occur in connection with the era of B.C. 57 until a comparatively late date.[1] But Mr. Fergusson's arguments are vitiated throughout by the undue reliance which he placed on the quasi-historical records of the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*. The early chronology of Kaśmîr has still to be fixed; and the means of adjusting it are to be found in A.D. 533 as the date of Mihirakula, who, according to the book itself, reigned in the eighth century B.C. And, if the date of Harsha-Vikramâditya of Ujjain is really dependent on the date of Hiraṇya of Kaśmîr, it certainly cannot be placed as early as the sixth century A.D.

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[1] Calcutta edition, ii. line 6; page 15.

[2] Calcutta edition, iii. lines 125, 128; page 26.

In 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 213 ff., **Dr. Oldenberg** published his paper "On the Dates of ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins," the whole of which well deserves careful study. Holding (*id.* p. 214) as the result of Herr von Sallet's numismatic researches, that Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudêva, cannot be placed earlier than the first century A.D., and must be placed before A.D. 200; quoting the Bâdâmi cave inscription of the Western Chalukya king Maṅgalîsa,[2] dated Śaka-Saṁvat 500 expired, as proving conclusively that the Śaka era ran from the coronation, not the defeat or death, of a Śaka king (or kings); finding (*id.* p. 214 f.), from the coins, that Kanishka belonged undoubtedly to the Śaka tribe; and finding also (*id.* p. 215) that, at the time to which Kanishka must be referred, there was no Indian king who at all equalled him in power and fame, he arrived at the primary conclusion that the era used in the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudêva, is the Śaka era, and that the event from which it dates, is the accession of Kanishka. Working from this starting-point, after indicating very correctly (*id.* p. 217) that the fundamental mistake which vitiates the researches of Mr. Thomas and others "consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct "and very clear ancient tradition," preserved by Albêrûnî, "which we possess regarding "the Gupta era, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground, and of "systematically discussing the question whether any serious objections can be opposed

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[1] I am not prepared at present to specify the exact date. But the 'Gyâraspur' or 'Gyârispur' inscription (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 33, and Plate xi.) shews that the era was still known as the Mâlava era, in Central India, down to about A.D. 880.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 363 f. and Vol. X. p. 57 ff.

"to it," he arrived, by a series of historical, numismatic, and palæographical arguments, at the conclusion that the rise of the Early Guptas must be placed in A.D. 319, and their downfall about A.D. 480. In the course of the paper, he suggested (*id.* p. 219) that the *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang may be Dêrabhaṭa of Valabhî, or may indicate one of the Dharasênas or one of the earlier Śîlâdityas of that family; and that, at any rate, the occurrence of the title Dhrûbhaṭa in the Alînâ grant, as only a secondary title, furnishes no conclusive evidence against the commencement of the era in A.D. 319. He announced (*id.* p. 220) that, with the epoch of A.D. 319, the record of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, that the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha of Gupta-Saṁvat[1] 165 was a Thursday, was quite correct by the Tables and formulæ in Warren's *Kala-Sankalita*. And (*id.* p. 222), referring to the supposed tradition of the bards of Kâṭhiâwâḍ, he gave perfectly good reasons for holding, even without further proof, that it was nothing but "a very poor compilation, pieced up of what those "'bards' knew by hearsay of the results of modern epigraphical and numismatical investigation."

In the same year, the general question was taken up again by **Mr. Thomas,** in his paper on "The Epoch of the Guptas," published in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 524 ff. On this occasion (*id.* p. 524) he abandoned the opinion that the dates on the Sâh coins were to be referred to the supposed Harsha era commencing B.C. 456; and expressed himself as inclined to accept Mr. Newton's theory that they are recorded in the Vikrama era of B.C. 57. But, as regards the Gupta era, he still (*id.* p. 549) adhered to the view that it was identical with the Śaka era, or, at any rate, that the Gupta dates were to be referred to the Śaka epoch. In this paper (*id.* p. 529 f.) he introduced some other passages from Albêrûnî, shewing that eras had been established from the death of 'Alexander the Founder' and of 'Yazdajird ben Shahryâr,' which were used by him as indicating that Albêrûnî must have exercised due deliberation before making the (supposed) statement that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas; and he brought forward a discovery (*id.* p. 545) that certain signs in front of the horse's head on the reverse of some coins of 'Syalapati,' Sâmantadêva, 'Khadavayaka,' and Bhîmadêva, of Kâbul, represented, in various degrees of legibility, the syllables *Gu*, *Gup*, and *Gupta*, which were consequently held to refer to the Gupta era the conventional date, 617, which these signs introduced. He had previously suggested A.D. 935 for the accession of Sâmantadêva.[2] And, pointing out that the conventional

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[1] Or, rather, of Gupta-Saṁvat 166; since he treated the record as meaning the year 165 expired and 166 current. But the epoch would then be A.D. 318, not 319. It was probably through an oversight that Dr. Oldenberg spoke in this connection of A.D. 319 as the epoch. Elsewhere (*id.* pp. 215, 227) he distinctly specifies A.D. 319 as the beginning of the Gupta era; according to which, A.D. 318 would be the epoch selected by him.

[2] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* F. S. Vol. IX. p. 179.

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date of 617, if added to A.D. 319, gave A.D. 936,—within one year of his date for Sâmantadêva,—he quoted these coins (*id*. p. 544) as proof of "the practical survival of "the method of dating from the extinction of the Gupta rule."

Closely connected with the preceding, is **Sir E. Clive Bayley's** paper "On certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hindu kings of Kâbul, expressed in the Gupta Era and in Arabic (or quasi-Arabic) numerals," published in 1882, in the *Numismatic Chronicle,* Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff. This paper was issued in support of his theory of A.D. 189-(90) or 190-(91) for the epoch of the Gupta era; which was based to a great extent on the apparent deduction from the Alînâ grant of Sîlâditya VII., noted at page 51 above, that the era cannot have commenced later than A.D. 200; coupled with his reading of "698 Gupta" on the earliest of the coins of 'Syalapati,' which, as he placed 'Syalapati' between A.D. 887 and 916, would shew that the Gupta era commenced after A.D. 180. As regards the era of A.D. 319, his suggestion, based on the weakness attributed to Skandagupta in the supposed tradition of the Kâṭhiâvâḍ bards, was (*id.* p. 155 f.) that it might date from the death of Kumâragupta, and might memorialise a rebellion against Skandagupta by the members of the Valabhî family. The latter dynasty, he held, still continued, in spite of any such circumstances, to use the Gupta era. The key-note to the whole theory is to be found in Sir E. Clive Bayley's agreement with Mr. Thomas, that the specified abbreviations of a full legend, which must be taken as '*Guptasya Kâl,*' were really to be found in the dates on the Kâbul coins. But in details he differed widely from Mr. Thomas. Thus (*id.* p. 145) he read the signs in the opposite way to that in which Mr. Thomas would read them; and, instead of accepting the conventional date of 617, he found in the figures various values, to suit the period, A.D. 887 to 916, which he assigned to 'Syalapati.' The question of the true interpretation of the dates on the coins in question, depends chiefly on the real period, still to be proved, that is to be assigned to 'Syalapati'[1] and the other kings in question. And, without attempting any full discussion of the matter here, where it would be out of place, I will only bring forward a few points to shew that, at any rate, Sir E. Clive Bayley's interpretation of the dates is quite untenable. Of the coins in question, those that have the clearest dates on them (*id.* Plate vii. Nos. 24 to 27), belong to some unnamed king. They are not attributed to 'Syalapati;' but are considered to be rather more recent. It is admitted, however, that they belong to the same series; and I take them first, because they are so very clear. If we examine them with the help of Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table of Numerals (*id.* Plate vii.), it is evident at once that No. 24 reads, not "802 Gu," but simply "804," with nothing after it; and that Nos. 25, 26, and 27 read, not "812 Gu," but simply "814," again with nothing after it; the figures being, in fact, absolutely identical with those which Sir E. Clive Bayley himself read as simply "814" on Nos. 19 to 23, 29 to 31, and 34. In these instances, the supposed *Gu* is nothing but the sign that makes the difference in these numerals between a 2 and a 4. And Sir E. Clive Bayley's reading further involves the peculiar anomaly that the figures have to be read in one direction, from the rim of the coin, and the supposed *Gu* in the opposite direction, from the inside of the coin; which results in the curious arrangement of "802 nɔ" and "812 nɔ." We have here to note that Sir E. Clive Bayley reported (*id.* p. 145 f.) that Mr. Thomas, reading the signs that were supposed to mean *Gu*, *Gup*, and *Gupta*, in the opposite way to that in which he himself read them, read the whole date in one direction, from the inside of the coins, and interpreted all the figures as giving only one uniform and conventional date, *viz.* "Gu 617," denoting the initial date of Sâmanta's dynasty according to the Gupta era. Allowing for the possibility of the first sign being capable of meaning *Gu*, this way of interpreting the figures seems to be equally well borne out by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table. But the first sign cannot mean *Gu*, and does not mean *Gu*. And a reference to the Table will shew immediately that the figures have to be read, as Sir E. Clive Bayley read them, from the rims of the coins; and that the dates are in reality nothing but 804 and 814, as I have pointed out above. Of the coins of 'Syalapati' himself (Plate i. Nos. 3 to 5, and 7 to 10), No. 7 is read as "707," and Nos. 8, 9, and 10 as "727," without any supposed reference at all to the Gupta era; and these readings are in accordance with the Table of Numerals, if the dates are read from the rim of the coins, like the dates of Nos. 19 to 27, 29 to 31, and 34, referred to above. On the other hand, if we might read the figures on these seven coins from the inside, there appears no particular objection to interpreting them as respectively "808" and "868." There remain Nos. 3, 4, and 5, which are read respectively as "Gupta" with two doubtful figures, "98 Gu," and "99 Gu;" meaning (6)98 and (6)99 on the principle of "omitted hundreds." And these, unfortunately, are not so easy to deal with; since,—though the signs that are supposed to mean *Gupta* must be in reality numerals of some kind or another,—there is nothing in Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, and I can obtain nothing elsewhere, to explain their value as numerals. But, in attempting to find a proper reading of them, we must in the first place notice that the sign which, on Nos. 4 and 5, Sir E. Clive Bayley interpreted as the figure 9, and entered as such in his Table, occupies exactly the position which is filled in Prinsep's coin No. 1, referred to on page 58 above, note 1, by a symbol resembling a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle; and this suggests that the sign in question is not a figure at all. I give here a reproduction of Sir E. Clive Bayley's representation (*id.* Plate vi. No. 6) of the signs in question, which were supposed by him, and by Mr. Thomas, to represent the word *Gupta,* and were claimed by him (*id.* p. 127) to be "a fair rendering of the usual form of the word." What they really mean, I will not attempt to decide; beyond pointing out that, as I have said above, they must be numerals of some kind or another. But it will be admitted at once, by any qualified palæographist, that they answer in no way whatever to the usual form of the word *Gupta*, and cannot be so interpreted in accordance with any known alphabet; even though we should follow Mr. Thomas (*id.* p. 128) in looking upon them as "a degraded and contracted form of the word," or Sir E. Clive Bayley (*id.* p. 145) in holding them to be "a gross corruption of it." And to these remarks I will only add that, as I have shewn at page 19 ff. above, the very expression *Guptasya kâla* or *Gupta-kâla* is a purely imaginary one, without any real epigraphical existence; and, therefore, abbreviations of it cannot possibly exist on the Kâbul coins, or on any others. As a Postscript to his paper, Sir E. Clive Bayley shortly afterwards issued some remarks on the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, as used in the grants of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Saṁkshôbha. His views on this point, however, were radically vitiated, in the first place, by his following General Cunningham's mistaken assumption that the *samvatsaras* of this cycle always begin and end with the luni-solar years; and, further, by a series of mistakes which it is really difficult to know how to criticise properly. He took the *saṁvatsara* that is mentioned in the Bhumarâ pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110, to be Mahâ-Mârgaśira, instead of Mahâ-Mâgha; a mistake which threw this record out by two *saṁvatsaras*. He proved General Cunningham's results to be right only in one instance out of the five, *viz.* in the case of this supposed Mahâ-Mârgaśira *saṁvatsara* of the Bhumarâ record, by himself making them gratuitously wrong, in assuming that General Cunningham's epoch for the era was A.D. 167-68, instead of A.D. 166-67. And he entirely overlooked the fact that, as there are ordinarily twelve years in each cycle, and as his own proposed epoch was exactly twenty-four years later than that proposed by General Cunningham, his own results could be neither any more nor any less correct than General Cunningham's under ordinary circumstances; but would, in the particular case, be less correct than General Cunningham's, because, by General Cunningham's Table, which he accepted as correct, there was an expunction of a *saṁvatsara* between A.D. 394 and 395, which, while it did not affect General Cunningham's results, did affect his own, in making Gupta-Saṁvat 209 coincide with the Mahâ-Kârttika *saṁvatsaru*, instead of Mahâ-Âśvayuja (for which, by the way, Sir E. Clive Bayley again wrote Mahâ-Mârgaśira) as recorded in the grant itself, No. 25, page 112. In fact, a full examination of the original

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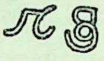
[1] In connection with this, I would draw special attention to the coin of 'Syalapati' figured in *Prinsep's Essays,* Vol. I. p. 304, Pl. xxv. No. 2, which, as now explained by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, gives the unmistakable date of 814, traces of which are also discernible in No. 1 on the same Plate. This No. 2 has behind the horseman the same monogram, *u u,* (not *ṭ ṭ,*) as Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 have; also, as explained by No. 1, it has in the upper corner, in front of the horseman, the same symbol (interpreted by Sir E. Clive Bayley on his No. 20 as a rude imitation of *adal,* 'just [weight or value]') that appears in the same position on others of these coins, and resembles a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle. These points of similarity suggest that possibly Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 (and others) belong really to 'Syalapati,' though his name is not on the obverse. And the unmistakable date of 814 on at any rate *Prinsep's Essays,* Pl. xxv. No. 2, further suggests that the figures on Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, should not be read as 707 and 727.—Sir E. Clive Bayley placed 'Syalapati' in A.D. 887 to 916; which would agree very satisfactorily with the date of 814 on Prinsep's coin, if we might refer it to the Śaka era, with the result of A.D. 891-92. Mr. Thomas (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* F. S Vol. IX. p. 179) placed him about the same time; *viz.* "early in the tenth century." On the other hand, General Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XIV. p. 45) has placed him rather earlier, about A.D. 800; but he quoted no authority for this. I have not been able to find any other information as to the probable date of 'Syalapati.'


Gu-pta.

paper and its Postscript, will shew that, for the proposed epoch of A.D. 190, there are absolutely no grounds whatever; and that the theory has no importance at all, except in introducing one of the side-issues which, endorsed by a name that carries authority, have to be disposed of, before any settlement of the main question will be accepted as final by general readers.

In 1883, **General Cunningham** published his *Book of Indian Eras*, in which he recast, with some additions, his treatise on the Gupta era and the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, that had appeared in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 111 ff.; and with the same results as on the former occasion. He admitted (*id* p. x.) that the question of the Gupta era had still not been quite finally settled. But, of the two dates, A.D. 167-68 and 262-63, to which his investigations seemed to limit him for the commencement of the era, he still (*id.* p. 57) much preferred the earlier date, both as contrasted specially with A.D. 262, and also as having (*id.* p. 58) "a better claim for acceptance than any other that has yet been proposed." And, accordingly, in the column for the Gupta era in his Table XVII., we find (*id* p. 142) the epoch entered as A.D. 166-67, and the commencement as A.D. 167-68. The *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter are shewn in another column of the same Table; and, from his detailed remarks on this cycle (*id.* p. 26 ff.), we find that his method of determining the *saṁvatsaras* was the same as that applied on the previous occasion. In respect of the Valabhî era, he still held (*id.* pp. 53, 63) that the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945 proves that A.D. 319 was its commencement; not its epoch. And he also (*id.* p. 50) seems to indicate very clearly that, in his opinion, the scheme of the years of this era was identical with that of the years of the southern Vikrama era, commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November). He also held (*id.* p. 57) "that the era used by the Valabhî kings "was that of the Guptas, seems to be almost certain; as the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka, the founder "of the Valabhî dynasty, is said," in the supposed tradition of the bards of Kâṭhiâwâḍ, "to have been the governor of Surâshṭra during the last two years of Skandagupta's reign." And he suggested (*id.* p. 53) that it is to this use by the Valabhî family, of the Gupta era of A.D. 166-67, instead of the Valabhî era itself, that we must attribute all the existing confusion. Of the new points brought forward on this occasion, the most important is (*id.* pp. x f., 47 ff., 58) the reference to the Dhiniki copper-plate grant of king Jâikadêva of Saurâshṭra, published by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 151. This grant is dated in Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, equivalent to A.D. 736-37; and, on the assumption that it is genuine, and that this Jâikadêva is identical with the Jâiṅka of the Môrbî grant, the date of which, (Gupta)-Saṁvat 585 expired, by General Cunningham's view would represent A.D. 751-52, the synchronism established by the two grants would, of course, lend strong support to his theory. Upon a full examination, however, of the details of the date, which from the first evidently contained elements of doubt, I think that this Dhiniki grant must certainly be rejected as spurious.[1] If not so, then it can only be held that Jâiṅka and Jâikadêva were distinct and separate persons. Under any circumstances, this grant is of no use in connection with the question of the Gupta era.

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[1] In this grant, the date (from the published lithograph; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 155, and Plate, line 1 ff.) runs—*Vikrama-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu chatur-navaty-adhikêshv=aṁkataḥ 974 Kârttikamâs-âpara-pakshê amâvâsyâyâṁ Âdityavârê Jyêshṭhâ-nakshatrê ravigrahaṇa-parvaṇi asyâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-divasa-pûrvâyâṁ tithâv=ady=êha Bhûmilikâyâṁ &c.*,—"in seven centuries, increased by ninety-four, of the years of Vikrama, (*or*) in figures, 974 [the interpretation of the figures, however, with the exception of the 4, depends purely on the preceding expression in words; the first two of them present anything but the appearance of 7 and 9]; in the latter fortnight of the month Kârttika; on the new-moon *tithi*; on Sunday; under the Jyêshṭhâ *nakshatra*; on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun; on this lunar day, (*specified*) as above by the year, and month, and fortnight, and (solar) day; to-day; here, at Bhûmilikâ," &c.—This gives us for calculation, Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, current according to the literal meaning of the text; the month Kârttika (October-November); the second, and as shewn by the following mention of the new-moon day and a solar eclipse, the dark fortnight; the new-moon *tithi*; Sunday; an eclipse of the sun; and the Jyêshṭhâ *nakshatra* or lunar mansion. And, as the details of the inscription connect it specifically with Saurâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâḍ, we have to understand that the Vikrama year quoted is the southern Vikrama year, commencing with Kârttika śukla 1, and having the *Amânta* southern arrangement of the months (see Table III., page 71 below), in which the second fortnight of each month is the dark fortnight. This is, in fact, proved by the record itself, in allotting to the second fortnight of the month the new-moon *tithi*, which of course belongs to the dark fortnight. And, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit tells me, it is also shewn by the mention of the Jyêshṭhâ *nakshatra*, which can never occur on the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pûrṇimânta* northern Kârttika.—As belonging to southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, the given *tithi* belonged, according to the Tables, to Śaka-Saṁvat 659, expired; and, if it belonged to southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 795, it would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 660, expired. With the basis of these two Śaka years, taken as expired, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit gives me the following English equivalents of the recorded date;—for Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, Monday, the 28th October, A.D. 737, when there was the Anurâdhâ *nakshatra*, and most probably no eclipse of the sun (none, at least, is recorded in *Indian Eras*, p. 211);—and for Vikrama-Saṁvat 795, Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738, when there was the Jyêshṭhâ *nakshatra*; but there cannot have been an eclipse of the sun, since there was one on the preceding new-moon *tithi*, on Friday, the 17th October, A.D. 738, or, by the English Tables (*Indian Eras*, p. 211) Saturday, the 18th October (the difference in the day is because the conjunction of the sun and the moon occurred late towards sunrise; and, for the same reason, the eclipse was not visible in India). This, of course, was the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pûrṇimânta* northern Kârttika that fell in A.D 738; but the supposition that this is the day intended, is barred by the facts that I have mentioned above, which prevent our understanding that the month recorded is the *Pûrṇimânta* northern month at all; and also by the fact, ascertained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, that on the 17th October, A.D. 738, the *nakshatras* were Svâti and Viśâkhâ. To complete the details, I would add that he finds that the English equivalent of the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pûrṇimânta* northern Kârttika, which fell in A.D. 737, was Saturday, the 28th September, A.D. 737, when the *nakshatras* were Chitrâ and Svâti, and there was no solar eclipse.—The only English date, therefore, which at all answers to the record, is Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738; and this is the date that was accepted by Dr. Bühler, in publishing the inscription, on calculations made by Prof. Jacobi. In order to arrive at it, however, he translated the record as meaning Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 expired and 795 current. And in dealing with the eclipse, which, according to the same *Amânta* reckoning, occurred one lunation earlier, on the new-moon *tithi* of the preceding month Âśvina, he arrived at the conclusions, that the

In 1884, **Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar** issued a note on the question in his *Early History of the Dekkan*, Appendix A. p. 97 ff.; and announced his acceptance of the theory of A.D.

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grant was actually made on the new-moon *tithi* of Âśvina, because, though the eclipse was not visible, yet the occurrence of it was known, and therefore the occasion was one of special merit; but that the actual drafting of the charter was done a month later, on the new-moon *tithi* of Kârttika, and the person who drafted it was careless, and omitted to draw a distinction between the two occasions.—This date has also been discussed by Gen. Cunningham, in his *Indian Eras*, p. 48 f. His conclusions were, that the date belongs to Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, not 795; but that the eclipse intended really is that of the (17th or) 18th October, A.D. 738. In order, however, to arrive at these conflicting results, he assumed that the year commenced, not with the month Kârttika, but with the month Mârgaśîrsha (November-December), in accordance with a custom which Albêrûnî tells us, was current among the people of Sindh and Kanauj and other localities, and had been followed at Multân up to a few years before his own time. By this arrangement, of course, the month Kârttika of Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 would belong to the end of the year, and would therefore fall in A.D. 738, not 737. But, by the southern reckoning, the new-moon day of Kârttika in A.D. 738 would be the 16th November, which was not the day of the eclipse. Accordingly, there remained something still to be explained; and Gen. Cunningham proposed to complete the arrangement by reading Âśvina, instead of Kârttika; which would agree with the real eclipse-day, *viz.* the (17th or) 18th October, A.D. 738. "But, as that day was a Saturday, a very inauspicious day, the writing of the grant was probably "made on the following day, or Sunday, which was the first day of Kârttika; and this might have led "to the substitution of the name of Kârttika, for that of Âśvina, as the actual day of the eclipse." There was, really, no reason at all for proposing this alteration of the text; for, from the localities mentioned by Albêrûnî, a year commencing with Mârgaśîrsha could only be coupled with the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the months; and, by that arrangement, the 17th October, A.D. 738, on which day, as we have seen, the eclipse occurred for India, actually was the new-moon day of Kârttika. The *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement, however, is barred in the present case by the points to which I have drawn attention above.—Gen. Cunningham's proposals, therefore, will not do, Nor will Dr. Bühler's interpretation of the date. For, though it remains to be finally decided whether the given date in the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, current, or expired, belongs to Śaka-Saṁvat 659 expired, or to 660 expired, yet the eclipse selected by him, as by General Cunningham, was not visible in India; and the assumption that it is the one referred to, also entails a greater variation between the facts and the recorded statements than could possibly occur in a genuine charter.—I confess that from the first, I have thought that the Dhiniki grant is not genuine; partly from the type of the Dêvanâgarî characters used in it, which, though they present some apparently antique characteristic, are much inferior to those used in certain early palm-leaf MSS., and are also rude, even as compared with the characters of the Sâmângaḍ grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dantidurga, of Śaka-Saṁvat 675 expired (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 108 ff. and Plate), which belongs to just about the alleged period; and partly from its giving so much earlier an instance than can be found anywhere else, of the use of the name of Vikrama in connection with the era. My impression has been that the grant was made spurious by substituting the word Vikrama for Valabhî. This view, I find, cannot be upheld; as the recorded details are not correct for Valabhî-Saṁvat 794 (A.D. 1113-14), or a year before or after. But, that the grant really is spurious, is, I think, now certain, from all the results that I have recited above. And judging by the characters, I should be inclined to refer the fabrication of it to about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. As the Jyêshṭhâ *nakshatra* appears to occur always on, or within two days after, the new-moon *tithi* of Kârttika, this detail was probably selected as a fairly safe one; the others being purely fictitious.

318-19 for the epoch of the Gupta era.[1] He held (*id.* p. 97) that Albêrûnî's statement regarding the era dating from the extermination of the Guptas, was to be attributed to nothing but the fact that, as in the case also of the Śaka era, the Hindus had repeated to him a mistaken tradition; and that the only reasonable course was, while accepting his initial date for the era, to reject his explanation of the circumstances under which it was established; and he held (*id.* p. 98) that the fact that this era came to be known in later times by the name of the Valabhî era, was due only to its having been introduced into Saurâshṭra by the Valabhî family, who were originally dependents of the Guptas, and the dates in whose grants could, at any rate, plainly not be referred to the rise of the family under the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka. The principal tests applied by him were, the record of the week-day in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta; and the names of the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, as recorded in the grants of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Saṁkshôbha. In respect of the Êraṇ record, he announced (*id.* p. 99) that Prof. K. L. Chhatre had found that it was correct for Śaka-Saṁvat 406, as an expired year,[2] and equivalent to A.D. 484-85, *i.e.* for the Śaka year for which it should be correct according to the initial date given by Albêrûnî; and his grounds so far were correct. In respect, however, of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter (*id.* p. 99) he went quite astray; partly through accepting the view that the *saṁvatsaras* of the cycle begin and end with the luni-solar years; partly through assuming, evidently in order to apply General Cunningham's Tables of the *saṁvatsaras*, that the Gupta dates denoted expired years, with current *saṁvatsaras*, which led to the result that Gupta-Saṁvat 156 should be the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara*, instead of Mahâ-Vaiśâkha as recorded; and partly through his acceptance of General Cunningham's alteration of the date of No. 22, page 100, from Gupta-Saṁvat 163 to 173. In the course of the arguments which occupy the rest of his paper, he suggested that the *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang was Dhruvasêna II. of Valabhî. But on this point it is hardly possible to endorse any part of his statement (*id.* p. 100) that "nothing "important is involved in the suffix *bhaṭa*. It was a mere title or honorific termination, "as *pant* and *râv* are among us, the Marâṭhâs. *Sêna*, *siṁha*, and *bhaṭa* were the Vala"bhî honorific endings; and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in "the plates as Dhruvasiṁha, may have been called Dhruvabhaṭa by ordinary people, from "whom Hiuen Tsiang must have got the name." But the name of Dhruvasiṁha does not occur at all in any of the numerous Valabhî grants that have come to light; nor does any one of them furnish the slightest grounds for the assertion that there was ever any confusion between the terminations *sêna*, *siṁha*, and *bhaṭa*. And, though Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar pointed out that Hiuen Tsiang seems to be referring to more than one king of Valabhî, whom he held to be the two brothers Dharasêna III. and Dhruvasêna II., yet I cannot find any authority, either in M. Stanislas Julien's translation, or in Mr. Beal's, for his assertion that Hiuen Tsiang was speaking of only two kings, and that it was the younger of them whom he denoted by the name of *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu*. This, however, as I have indicated at page 40 f. above, is a point which cannot be finally cleared up, until we have some more explicit and reliable exposition of the words actually used by Hiuen Tsiang.

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[1] He seems to quote A.D. 319-20 as the epoch (*e.g.* p. 99, line 15). But, since he treated the Gupta years as expired years, the epoch that he apparently proved is A.D. 318-19.

[2] It was from this that he inferred that the Gupta-Saṁvat 165 of the record, was itself an expired year. But this does not follow at all. The equation between the Gupta date and the corresponding English date, is not intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all; only, in using Hindu Tables, we have to arrive at it through a Śaka year, and to use as the basis of the calculation, the last Śaka year expired before the current Śaka year corresponding to Gupta-Saṁvat 165 current.—A most curious confusion between current and expired years of the Śaka era runs through his remarks. Thus, though quite rightly taking Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired to be equivalent to A.D. 484-85, with a difference of 78-79, he also, with the same difference, took, *e.g.*, A.D. 511-12 as the equivalent of Śaka-Saṁvat 433 current.

And finally, in 1885, in the *Centenary Review* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1784 to 1883, **Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle,** after a brief résumé of the results of the work of preceding investigators, arrived at the opinion (*id.* Part II. p. 111) that "the terminal "date," A.D. 319, "of the Gupta empire, as determined by Mr. Thomas, may now be con- "sidered as one of those great historical landmarks, the truth of which is admittedly no "more open to question;" and (*id.* 113) that General Cunningham's theory of A.D. 166-67 for the epoch[1] of the Gupta era, "has every prospect of ultimately meeting with univer- "sal assent, and being the final verdict of the historic researches regarding the Gupta "dynasty."

The Mandasôr Inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 529.

The summary that I have given above will shew sufficiently well the curious ingenuity that was displayed from time to time, in aiming at any settlement of the question rather than the correct one; and also the insufficiency of the arguments used in support of the true solution, even by those who perceived it.

But of course it may be claimed that, as long as M. Reinaud's translation of the statement regarding the circumstances under which the era of A.D. 319-20 or thereabouts was established, remained without correction, there was something to be said from the point of view that we had to deal with a mistake made by Albêrûnî, lying in a confusion between a true Gupta era, anterior to A.D. 319, used by the Early Gupta kings themselves, and another Gupta era, or more properly a Valabhî era, with an epoch of A.D. 319-20 or thereabouts, established, whether used or not, by some member of the Valabhî family; and that he was right in respect of the historical event, from which, as he appeared to assert, this latter era took its origin. And, in default of definite evidence, settling the question one way or the other, perhaps the strongest argument against the views held by Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, was to be found in the following anomalous position, which had occasionally been noticed more or less directly, but had never been disposed of. It was held by all that the Valabhî family came immediately after the Guptas. It was also held that in A.D. 318 or 319, some member of this family founded the city of Valabhî; and, in commemoration partly of that event, and partly of the Gupta rule having then ceased and the power having passed into his own hands, established the Valabhî era dating from then. And yet,—as is proved by, amongst other things, the fact that Bhaṭârka, the founder of the family, came only one generation before the year 207, the earliest date that we have in the era used in their own charters,—the founder of this era, and his successors, did not allow this era of their own, established under such memorable circumstances, to supersede the Gupta era; but continued the use of the Gupta era for, in accordance with the three earlier starting-points given on page 32 f. above, respectively 205, 294, and 318 years at least, (as is shewn by the Alînâ grant of Śîlâditya VII., dated in the year 447), after the establishment of their own era! This surely involves an improbability far greater than any other, of whatever kind, that can be imagined in connection with the whole subject.

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[1] Dr. Hoernle called A.D. 166 the initial year of the era; but this is not an exact representation of Gen. Cunningham's results.

In order to arrive at any prospect of a final settlement of the question, what was wanted was a date for one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in some era, capable of identification, other than that which was specially used by them in their own inscriptions. This has now, at length, been found in my new **Mandasôr inscription**, which, composed and engraved when the year 529 had expired from the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas gives us, through his feudatory Bandhuvarman, the date of the year 493, expired, of the same era, for Kumâragupta.

This was not the first instance that had been obtained of the use of this era, which may for convenience be called the Mâlava era. For, it is obviously identical with the era which is alluded to in the Kanaswa inscription[1] dated when the 795th year of the Mâlava lords had expired; and is also mentioned, under the specific name of the Mâlava-kâla, *i.e.* 'the Mâlava era,' or 'the time of the Mâlavas,' in a fragmentary inscription at 'Gyâraspur' or 'Gyârispur' in Central India, dated when the 936th year had expired.[2] But though, in commenting on this latter inscription, General Cunningham expressed the opinion[1] that this Mâlava era must be the same as the era of Vikramâditya of Ujjain, commencing in B.C. 57, this point has not hitherto been capable of proof; for the reason that neither of these two dates gave sufficient details for actual computation, or any other available grounds for historical identification. Nor does the Mandasôr inscription, now brought to notice, furnish any details for calculation. But, in its mention of Kumâragupta, it answers the purpose equally well.

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[1] Edited by Dr. Kielhorn, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 162 ff. The date (from the published text; p. 164 f.; line 14 f.) runs—*samvatsara-śatair=yâtaiḥ sa-pañcha-navaty-argalaiḥ saptabhir=Mâlavêśânâm mandiraṁ Dhurjaṭêḥ kṛitam*,—"(in the year that is denoted) by seven expired centuries of "years, coupled with ninety-five, of the Mâlava lords, (this) temple of (the god) Dhurjaṭi has been "made."

[2] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 33 f., and Plate xi. The date, part of which is broken away, (from the Plate) runs — *Mâlava-kâlâch=chharadâṁ shaṭ-triṁśat-saṁyutêshv=atîtêshu navasu śatêshu*,—"when nine centuries of autumns, joined with thirty-six, have gone by, from (the commencement of) the Mâlava era (or, from the time of the Mâlavas)."—The counting of the era by autumns is followed also in line 21 of the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishnuvardhana, of Mâlava-Saṁvat 589 expired, No. 35, page 150. And it is worth noting, as being one of the points which identify the Mâlava era with the Vikrama era. It can hardly be doubted, that the

Turning to the Gupta inscriptions and coins, the earliest and latest dates that we have for Kumâragupta, are, respectively, Gupta-Saṁvat 96 and 130 odd. The first is established by his well-known Bilsaḍ pillar inscription, No. 10, page 42; and the latter, by one of General Cunningham's coins.[2] Lest, however, the coin-date should be looked upon as at all doubtful, we must note also his Mankuwâr inscription, No. 11, page 45, dated Gupta-Saṁvat 129. And, of these extreme dates, we may take Gupta-Saṁvat 113 as the mean.

Applying this mean year to the various theories regarding the epoch of the Gupta era, it represents — (1) according to Mr. Thomas, A.D. 190-91; (2) according to General Cunningham, A.D. 279-80; (3) according to Sir E. Clive Bayley, A.D. 303-304; and (4) according to my own view, A.D. 432-33.

Next, applying to these figures the date of Mâlava-Saṁvat 493 expired, recorded for Kumâragupta in the inscription under notice, we find that the initial point of the Mâlava era must lie within a few years on either side of—(1) B.C. 301; (2) B.C. 214; (3) B.C. 190; and (4) B.C. 61-60.

The first three results, however, each entail the supposition of a brand-new era, hitherto unheard-of, and entirely unexpected. At the same time, as regards the second possible result of about B.C. 214, we must not overlook the existence of certain coins, found in large numbers at Nâgar in the north of Mâlwa, about forty-five miles north of Kôṭâ, and originally brought to notice by Mr. Carlleyle,[3] which have on them the legend *Mâlavânâṁ jayaḥ*, "the victory of the Mâlavas," in characters ranging, in General Cunningham's opinion, "from perhaps B.C. 250 to A.D. 250." These coins shew that the Mâlavas existed, as a recognised and important clan, long before the time when, as I consider, their "tribal

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original scheme of the Vikrama years is the one commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika (October-November). And Kârttika is still the second month in the Hindu autumn, according to the usual division of the six seasons. It seems, however, to be more properly the first autumn month, according to the true southern division of the seasons. And it appears also to have been the first month of a season, when the year was divided, in ancient times, into only three seasons.

[1] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 34.

[2] *id.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Plate v. No. 7.

id. Vol. VI. pp. 165 f., and 174 ff. see also *id.* Vol. XIV. p. 149 ff., and Pl. xxxi. Nos. 19 to 25 constitution," which led to the establishment of their era, took place; and so also, in the other direction, does the mention of them in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta, shew that, down to his time at least, they maintained their tribal constitution and importance. And, if we were compelled to have recourse to a new era, these coins might justifiably induce us to select, as its epoch, B.C. 223, the date fixed by General Cunningham for the death of Aśôka;[1] which would make the date of Mâlava-Saṁvat 493 correspond with A.D. 270, or well on into the first decade of Kumâragupta's reign according to General Cunningham's theory. But this entails, as I have said, the supposition of the existence of an era, of which not the slightest indication has ever yet been afforded by the very numerous inscriptions that have now been examined from all parts of the country; and this is an expedient that must by all possible means be avoided. And, further, it forces the Kaṇaswa inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 795, and the 'Gyâras-pur' inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 936, back to respectively A.D. 572 and 713; periods to which, from their alphabets, they cannot possibly belong. And thus,—since, within certain limits, palæographical evidence must be followed,—it creates a palæographical difficulty that is insuperable. So also does the third result, to practically the same extent; and the first, to a still more marked degree.

The fourth result, on the contrary, satisfies all the palæographical requirements of the case. And it brings us so very close to B.C. 57, the commencement of the well-known Vikrama era,—which, by the tradition of later times, is closely connected with the country of the Mâlavas, through the name of its supposed founder, king Vikramâditya, whose capital, Ujjain, was the principal city in Mâlwa,—that we are compelled to find in it the solution of the question, and to adjust the equation of the dates thus,—Gupta-Saṁvat 113 (the mean date for Kumâragupta) + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 432-33; and Mâlava-Saṁvat 493 − B.C. 57-56 = A.D. 436-37; which, of course, falls well within the seventeen years of Kumâragupta's reign, remaining after his mean date.

My new **Mandasôr inscription, therefore, proves** — (1) that any statement by Albêrûnî that the Early Gupta power came to an end in or about A.D. 319, must certainly be wrong;—(2) that, on the contrary, Kumâragupta's dynastic dates,—and, with them, those of his father Chandragupta II., and his son Skandagupta, which belong undeniably to the same series; and also any others which can be shewn to run uniformly with them,—must be referred to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, or thereabouts, brought to notice by Albêrûnî and substantiated by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945;—and (3) incidentally, that, under another name, connecting it with the Mâlava tribe, the Vikrama era did undoubtedly exist anterior to A.D. 544, which, as we have seen, at page 55 above, was held by Mr. Fergusson to be the year in which it was invented. These results are, of course, independent of the question whether the Early Guptas established an era of their own, with the above-mentioned epoch, or whether they only adopted the era of some other dynasty.

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[1] *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. Preface, p. vii.

The Determination of the Exact Epoch of the Era.

I have shewn, so far, that the Early Gupta dates, and, with them, any others that can be proved to belong to the same uniform series, are to be referred to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, or thereabouts, brought to notice by Albêrûnî and substantiated by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945.

It now remains to be shewn why, out of the three possible epochs of A.D. 318-19, 319-20, and 320-21, current, which appear, at first sight, to be deducible from Albêrûnî's statements, **we have to select, as the true and exact epoch, that of A.D. 319-20,** equivalent to Śaka-Saṁvat 241 expired.

This point is one that can be settled only by accurate calculations of the recorded dates, explained in detail, so that it may be seen that the process applied is satisfactory, and that the inferences drawn are correct. And, as a preliminary matter, we must determine what was the nature of the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era.

The Scheme of the Gupta-Valabhî Year.

Bearing in mind that, in all cases in which the notation and computation of *tithis* or lunar days are concerned, as also of solar days connected with lunar months, the years of the Kaliyuga era[1] and of the northern Vikrama era have to be treated as commencing, like the years of the Śaka era, with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April); and also that the decision as to the order of the dark and bright lunar fortnights of the months must of necessity go with the decision as to the general northern or southern nature of the era and its years, since we cannot have a northern year coupled with the southern arrangement of the fortnights, or a southern year coupled with the northern arrangement,—the question now before us is, whether the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era had a distinct scheme and initial day of their own, or whether they followed the scheme and initial day of the years of the Śaka era, according to either the northern or the southern arrangement, or the scheme and initial day of the years of the southern Vikrama era.

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[1] This era is also of extremely exceptional use in epigraphical records. The only instances that I can quote are (1) the Aihoḷe inscription of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff.), which is dated when three thousand seven hundred and thirty-five years had elapsed from the Bhârata war, supplemented by the statement that, at the same time, five hundred and fifty-six years of the Śaka kings also had gone by, in (their own era as a sub-division of) the Kali age, the figures of which are marked by those of the Bhârata war; and (2) some of the inscriptions of the Kâdambas of Goa, ranging from A.D. 1167 to 1247 (*Jour. Bo. Br. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. pp. 241 f., 262 ff., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 288 ff.), which, for some capricious reason, are dated in the Kaliyuga, without any reference to the Śaka era at all, though other records of the same family (see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 90 ff.) are dated in the Śaka era, and in that alone.

A reference to Table III. on page 71 below, will explain at once the difference in the schemes of these years, and the necessity for determining the question that we have under consideration.[1]

The Śaka years of both Northern and Southern India commence with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, immediately after the new-moon conjunction. But, in the scheme of the year, there is the important difference that, in the northern arrangement, the dark fortnight of each month precedes the bright;[2] whereas in the southern year, it is the bright fortnight that stands first. Popularly, and in *Pañchâṅgs* or Hindu almanacs, the northern arrangement is called *Pûrṇimânta*, or 'ending with the full-moon,' and the southern arrangement is called *Amânta*, or 'ending with the conjunction (of the sun and the moon), *i.e.* with the new-moon;' and these terms will be found very convenient for practical use. The result of this difference of arrangement, is, that, in the northern year, the dark fortnight of Chaitra stands at the end of the year, instead of in the place of the second fortnight, which it occupies in the southern year; and that the dark half of the southern Chaitra is the same lunar period as the dark half of the northern Vaiśâkha; and so on all through the year. For dates in the bright fortnights of Śaka years, it obviously is immaterial whether we follow the northern or the southern scheme. But, for dates in the dark fortnights, it is as obviously essential, in order to compute them correctly, that we should know exactly which scheme they conform to; since, for instance, the thirteenth lunar or solar day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month Âshâḍha represents, if treated as a southern date, an English day later by one complete lunation, or practically a month, than the English equivalent of it as a northern date.

In the southern Vikrama year, the arrangement of the fortnights is the regular *Amânta* southern arrangement. But the year commences seven lunations later than the equivalent Śaka year, and corresponding northern Vikrama year;[3] *viz.* with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November). Here, again, for purposes of computation, any date in a southern Vikrama year has to be treated as the same date in the equivalent Śaka year. And a reference to the right-hand columns in Table III. on page 71, will shew at once the way in which the years overlap; and will explain fully the

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[1] Contrary to the hitherto prevalent custom, I enter the current Hindu years in the Table. It is, under any circumstances, quite illogical to speak of, for instance, "Chaitra śukla 1 of, in, or belonging to, Śaka-Saṁvat 500," when the Śaka year is intended as an expired year. And it is particularly necessary to use the current Hindu years, when the object is to compare them with years of the Christian era, of which the current years are always quoted; leaving it to any one who has to calculate a date by Hindu Tables, to take the preceding expired year as the basis of the calculation.

[2] See Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 71, where Hiuen Tsiang's account shews that the arrangement was just the same twelve centuries ago.

[3] This is the customary way of putting it. But the more correct statement would be, that the Vikrama year of Northern India now commences, with the equivalent Śaka year, seven lunations earlier than the corresponding southern Vikrama year (see page 66 above, note 2.)

TABLE III.

Comparative Table of the Vikrama, Śaka, and Gupta-Valabhî Years.

Northern India. *Pûrṇimânta.*	Months and Fortnights.			Southern India. *Amânta.*	
Śaka-Saṁvat 1186. Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321. Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 944. A.D. 1263-64.	Chaitra	bright	Chaitra	Saka-Saṁvat 1186. A.D. 1263-64.	Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320. A.D. 1262-63.
	Vaiśâkha	dark			
		bright	Vaiśâkha		
	Jyêshṭha	dark			
		bright	Jyêshṭha		
	Âshâḍha	dark			
		bright	Âshâḍha		
	Śrâvaṇa	dark			
		bright	Śrâvaṇa		
	Bhâdrapada	dark			
		bright	Bhâdrapada		
	Âśvina	dark			
		bright	Âśvina		
	Kârttika	dark			
		bright	Kârttika		Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321. A.D. 1263-64.
	Mârgaśîrsha	dark			
		bright	Mârgaśîrsha		
	Pausha	dark			
		bright	Pausha		
	Mâgha	dark			
		bright	Mâgha		
	Phâlguna	dark			
		bright	Phâlguna		
Śaka-Saṁvat 1187. Vikrama-Saṁvat 1322. Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 945. A.D. 1264-65.	Chaitra	dark			
		bright	Chaitra	Śaka-Saṁvat 1187. A.D. 1264-65.	
	Vaiśâkha	dark			
		bright	Vaiśâkha		
	Jyêshṭha	dark			
		bright	Jyêshṭha		
(*Yerâwal Inscription. Âshâḍha; the dark fortnight; the 13th solar day; Sunday.*)	Âshâḍha	dark			
		bright	Âshâḍha		
	Śrâvaṇa	dark			
		bright	Śrâvaṇa		
	Bhâdrapada	dark			
		bright	Bhâdrapada		
	Âśvina	dark			
		bright	Âśvina		
	Kârttika	dark			
		bright	Kârttika		Vikrama-Saṁvat 1322. A.D. 1264-65.
	Mârgaśîrsha	dark			
		bright	Mârgaśîrsha		
	Pausha	dark			
		bright	Pausha		
	Mâgha	dark			
		bright	Mâgha		
	Phâlguna	dark			
		bright	Phâlguna		
	Chaitra	dark			

necessity of determining the question with which we are concerned. By the epochs of the two eras, the nearest equivalent of, for instance, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321 current is Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 current; and this is also its actual equivalent for any date from Kârttika śukla 1 up to Phâlguna kṛishṇa 15, both included; but, for any date from the following Chaitra śukla 1 up to Âśvina kṛishṇa 15, both included, the actual equivalent of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321 current is the following Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 current. Consequently, if the Gupta-Valabhî year is to be treated as a southern Vikrama year, any such date as Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 944, Chaitra śukla 1, up to Âśvina kṛishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent later by twelve complete lunations, or practically a year,[1] or else any such date as Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 944, Kârttika śukla 1, up to Phâlguna kṛishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent earlier by twelve complete lunations, than the English equivalents if the year is to be treated as a Śaka year.

The question, whether by any chance we can be concerned, in the Gupta-Valabhî era, at any period, with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, is, if possible, still more an essential point, because the dates that we have in the era, under its later name of the Valabhî era, come from Kâṭhiâwâḍ, where, as in the neighbouring provinces of Gujarât and the Northern Koṅkaṇ, the national era is the Vikrama era, in the southern arrangement. In those parts there would of course be a tendency, sooner or later, to adapt the original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhî year to the scheme of the years of the local national era. And a distinct instance of this adaptation having been actually made in Gujarât, is furnished by the Kaira (Khêḍâ) grant of Dharasêna IV. of Valabhî, published by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 335 ff. Its date is the year 330; the "second" month Mârgaśira (November-December); the bright fortnight; and the second *tithi* or lunar day. And the interest and importance of it result from its shewing that, in that year, there was an intercalation of a month, which, according to this record, was Mârgaśira or Mârgaśîrsha. Now, allowing for the moment, what I shall shortly prove, as closely as absolute certainty can be obtained, *viz.* that the true original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhî year is the scheme of the northern Śaka year, the month Mârgaśîrsha of this record should belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 572 current, and should fall in A.D. 649. The detailed consideration of this date, however, at page 93 ff. below, shews that the intercalation in question can only have occurred in A.D. 648, and belonged to Śaka-Saṁvat 571 current, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarât, to the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 706 current. And, since the localities mentioned in the charter connect it absolutely with a district in Gujarât, the year 330 of this record must have commenced, like the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 706, with the month Kârttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṁvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 572 current, according to the original scheme of the years of the era. Bearing in mind, however, that this record belongs to Gujarât, we have not to seek far for the explanation of this discrepancy. When once the Gupta-Valabhî era had been fairly introduced in Gujarât, the natural tendency, as I have said, would soon be to disregard the original scheme of its years, and to substitute for it the scheme of the southern Vikrama years. Let us assume that this substitution took place in Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat[1] 303, which commenced, approximately, on the 19th March, A.D. 622, about half-way through southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 679 current. Then, if the change of scheme was effected in the first seven lunations of the Gupta-Valabhî year, the Gujarâtîs would make the new year, Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 304, commence with their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 680, on the next Kârttika śukla 1, or approximately the 12th October, A.D. 622; and Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 303, as thus adapted and shortened by them, would contain only seven lunations, from Chaitra śukla 1 up to Âśvina kṛishṇa 15. If, on the other hand, the change was effected in the last five lunations of the Gupta-Valabhî year, when southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 680 current had already commenced, then the Gujarâtîs would defer the commencement of the new year, Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 304, until the commencement of their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 681, on again the next Kârttika śukla 1, or approximately the 1st October, A.D. 623; and Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 303, as thus adapted and prolonged, would contain nineteen lunations. The years of the era would, for the future, always commence, in Gujarât, with the years of the southern Vikrama era, on the first day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika. Under the second condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence seven lunations later than it would in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, as long as the true original reckoning was preserved in the latter country; which was the case up to at least Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 945. Under the first condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence five lunations earlier than in Kâthiâwâḍ. And the grant of Dharasêna IV., now under notice, shews that this latter was the manner in which the change of scheme, which had already been accomplished, was effected; since this is the only method by which the intercalary Mârgaśîrsha of this record can be made to belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 330, instead of to 329.

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[1] Or, in the case of certain intercalations, later here, and in the other case earlier, by thirteen lunations, or practically a year and a month.

The Verâwal inscription, however, of the Chaulukya king Arjunadêva, dated Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, which I have mentioned at page 31 f. above, and the surroundings and full bearings of which will be explained in detail further on, contains such particulars, in the record of its date, as shew that, in it at all events, there is no reference to the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, or even of the southern Śaka year.

But, apart from any particular instances which supply proof by means of the circumstances under which the recorded week-days are found to be correct, there is, as I have said, the general fact that we cannot have either a southern year coupled with the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the fortnights of the months, or a northern year coupled with the *Amânta* southern arrangement. And, in proof of this position, I will here adduce some very instructive information gathered from the Nêpâl inscriptions, which were published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.

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[1] I do not mean to assert that the change took place in this particular year; or even within a few years on either side of it. All that is certain, is, that it took place before Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 330. And I have used the year 303, instead of 300 in round numbers, for purposes of illustration, only in order to avoid a year with an intercalary month.

The earliest eras used in these inscriptions, are the Gupta era, and the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. And the recorded dates in them range, respectively, from A.D 635 to 854, and from A.D. 639 to 758. Soon after that time, these eras were supplanted, in Nêpâl, by the Nêwâr[1] era, the epoch of which, according to Mr. Prinsep's statement[2] that the year 951 ended in A.D. 1831, is A.D. 879-80; and the commencement, A.D. 880-81. Mr. Prinsep also recorded that each year of the era began in October; which is in accordance, broadly, with the information obtained by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, when travelling in Nêpâl, that the initial day of each year is the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November).

As regards the origin of the era, the Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvali*, or List of Kings, states[3] that it was established by Jayadêvamalla, of the second Ṭhâkurî dynasty of Aṁśuvarman. But a more important indication of the truth is given by its immediately following statement, that, on the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrâvaṇa, in the ninth year of the era, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 811 which as an expired year is equivalent to A.D. 889-90, during the joint reign of Jayadêvamalla and his younger brother Ânandamalla, there came from the south a certain Nânyadêva, who conquered the whole of Nêpâl, and established the Karṇâṭaka Dynasty. The truth probably is that Nânyadêva was a minister of Jayadêvamalla, and eventually usurped the sovereignty, which, according to the *Vaṁśâvali*, remained with his descendants for five generations after him. Whether Nânyadêva really came from the south, it is of course difficult to say. That statement, and the name of his dynasty, may perhaps be only inventions, to account for the nature of the year that was coupled with the new era, which was evidently introduced by him, and not by Jayadêvamalla. But it is plain that, in addition to the establishment of a new era, there was made an important change in the calendar, consisting of the substitution of a foreign Karṇâtaka year for the year that had hitherto been used in Nêpâl. The available dates do not furnish absolute proof that the initial day of the new year was Kârttika śukla 1. But the *Vaṁśâvali* gives the following two equations,—under Nânyadêva, as already noted, Nêpâla-Saṁvat 9 = Saka-Saṁvat 811 (expired), with the date of Śrâvaṇa śukla 7; and under Harisiṁhadêva, No. 1 in the Sûryavaṁśi Dynasty of Bhâtgâm, Nêpâla-Saṁvat 444

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[1] Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji tells me that this word, Nêwâr, is a local corruption of 'Nêpâl.'—In the inscriptions, this era, when it is not simply referred to in the usual way by the word *saṁvat*, is spoken of by the terms *Nêpâla-varsha* (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 185, line 13 from the bottom), *Nêpâla-saṁvata* (*id.* p. 191, line 4 from the top), and *Nêpâla-abda* (*id.* p. 192, line 2 from the top).

[2] *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 166; see also *Indian Eras*, p. 74.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 414.

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=Śaka-Saṁvat 1245 (expired),—which, as the difference in the first case is 802 years, and in the second, 801, shew that the scheme of the year differed from that of the Śaka years. And, taking this in connection with the information obtained by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and with the fact that all such dates as have been examined tend to support the result, it seems certain that the initial day of each year was Kârttika śukla 1; and it is evident that the year was borrowed from the southern Vikrama year. The question remains as regards the arrangement of the fortnights of the months; and here, though we might most reasonably expect that, so far north as Nêpâl, even a year borrowed from the southern Vikrama year, would be coupled with the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights, yet we find that this distinctly was not the case, but the *Amânta* southern arrangement was preserved. This is proved, in the first instance, by the mention in the inscription of Siddhinrisiṁha, dated Nêpâla-Saṁvat 757, of Śrâvaṇa kṛishṇa 8 after Śrâvaṇa śukla 12; and still more explicitly by the provision, in the same passage,[1] for performing the *janmâshṭamî-pûjâ*, or 'worship on the eighth lunar day which is (the anniversary of) the birth (of Kṛishṇa),' on the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Śrâvaṇa; for, a comparison of any *Pañchâṅgs* will shew that the festival in question occurs in the dark fortnight of Śrâvaṇa only according to the *Amânta* southern reckoning, but, according to the *Pûrṇimânta* northern reckoning, on the same *tithi* in the dark fortnight of Bhâdrapada. Further, the inscription of Ṛiddhilakshmî gives a date in a dark fortnight, available for calculation. The details[2] are Nêpâla-Saṁvat 810 current; the month Kârttika; the dark fortnight; the second lunar day; and Sunday. With the epoch of A.D. 879-80, the given *tithi* should fall in A.D. 1689; and, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, by the *Amânta* southern arrangement, it did end on a Sunday, *viz.* the 20th October, A.D. 1689; while, by the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement, it ended on a Friday, *viz.* the 20th September. Also, in connection with the question of the epoch itself being A.D. 879-80, he finds that the given *tithi* did not end on a Sunday in either A.D. 1688 or 1690, by either the *Amânta* or the *Pûrṇimânta* arrangement.[3] It is absolutely certain, therefore, that the year which was used in connection with the Nêwâr era of Nêpâl, and which had Kârttika śukla 1 for its initial day, was a southern year. On the other hand, when the Nêpâlese abandoned this offshoot of the southern Vikrama era, and introduced the Vikrama era itself from the neighbouring parts of Northern India, they adopted it in its northern variety, with Chaitra śukla 1 as its initial day, and with the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the fortnights; as is proved by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations of the dates in dark fortnights, recorded in the inscription of queen Lalitatripurasundarî.[1] The dates are, Vikrama-Saṁvat 1874, Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 9, Śukravâra[2] or Friday; Vikrama-Saṁvat 1875, Mârgaśîrsha kṛishṇa 5, Budhavâra or Wednesday; and Vikrama-Saṁvat 1877, Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 10, Ravivâra or Sunday. By the *Amânta* southern arrangement, the week-days do not come out right at all. While by the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement, the English equivalents are, as required, Friday, the 5th September, A.D. 1817; Wednesday, the 18th November, A.D. 1818; and Sunday, the 7th May, A.D. 1820.

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 186, last two lines.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 192,—*Nêpâl-âbdê gagana-dhariṇî-nâga-yuktê kil=Ôrjê mâsê pakshê vidhu-virahitê su-dvitîyâ-tithau sâ kṛitvâ dêvâlayam=api Ravau Ṛiddhilakshmî prasannâ chakrê dêvî su-vidhi-viditâṁ Śaṅkarasya pratishṭhâm,*—"in the Nêpâl year possessed of the sky (=0), the earth (=1), and the (8) Nâgas; in (the month) Ûrja (*i.e.* Kârttika); in the fortnight which is deprived of the moon; on the excellent second lunar day; on Sunday; having made (this) temple, she, the gracious (and) majestic Ṛiddhilakshmî, made an installation, according to all the proper rites, of (the god) Śaṁkara."—The name of the week-day is overlooked in the published version.

[3] The English equivalents for those years, are, by the *Amânta* arrangement, Tuesday, the 30th October, A.D. 1688, and Saturday, the 8th November, A.D. 1690; and, by the *Purṇimânta* arrangement, Monday, the 1st October, A.D. 1688, and Thursday, the 9th October, A.D. 1690.

These facts amply establish my position that we cannot have either the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the fortnights coupled with a southern year and era, or the *Amânta* southern arrangement of the fortnights coupled with a northern year and era. And now I shall bring forward some perfectly conclusive evidence, to prove that the scheme of the months of the Gupta-Valabhî year proper was the regular *Pûrṇimânta* northern scheme; and that, therefore, in this era, in its original constitution, we cannot be concerned with any southern reckoning at all.

The Khôh copper-plate grant of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha, of the year 209 (A.D. 528-29), No. 25, page 112, is dated "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara*;" and, as regards other details, in fortunately a double manner. In line 2 f. we have—Chaitra-mâsa-śukla-paksha-trayôdaśyâm (where, in apposition with *trayôdaśyâm*, we have to supply *tithau*),—" on the thirteenth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra." And at the end, in line 24, in numerical symbols, this date is repeated as — Chaitra di[3] 20 7 (where the abbreviation *di* stands for *dina*, *dinê*, *divasa*, or *divasê*),—" (the month) Chaitra; the (solar) day 20 (*and*) 7." This double record is explicable only on the understanding that, in the scheme of the months of the Gupta year, the dark fortnights stood first, according to the regular *Pûrṇimânta* northern scheme. By this means only can the thirteenth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight answer to the twenty-seventh solar day of the whole month. A double record of precisely the same kind is given in the Majhgawâṁ grant of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâja* Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106, in which we have, in line 2,—Mâgha-mâsa-bahula-paksha-tṛitîyâyâm,—"on the third *tithi*, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha;" and, in line 21,—Mâgha di 3, —"Mâgha, the (solar) day 3." But, the number of the solar day in this instance being under sixteen, this record is not in itself sufficient to prove the case, one way or the other.[1] What we require is a double date, in which the *tithi* of the fortnight, the number of which cannot exceed fifteen is connected with a solar day, the number of which, exceeding sixteen, shews itself to be referred to the whole month, and not to the fortnight. This we have in the grant of the *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha. And the record proves absolutely that, **in the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year, it is the Pûrṇimânta northern system that is concerned; and, consequently, the general scheme of the years of the era was not that of any southern year at all.**

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 193 f.

[2] The published text has *śuklê*, which is obviously a mistake for *śukrê*.

[3] In my printed version of this inscription, the second numerical symbol is given as 9, with a reference (page 112, note 4) to a note that it might possibly be 7, 8, or 9. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit having found by calculation that this *tithi* was the twenty-seventh solar day in the month, I now substitute 7 for 9 (see page 274, note 2).—The point that is proved by this double record had been missed, until I brought it to notice in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 145; because Gen. Cunningham, who first brought the inscription to notice, read the first symbol in line 24 as 10, instead of 20, and overlooked the second symbol altogether. He thus obtained "Chaitra, day 10:" and added the remark "this figure should be 13, to agree with the written date given above" [in line 2 f.] (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. p. 15). There are, however, distinctly two symbols, meaning 20 and 7; or, together, 27.

At present, the Verâwal inscription of Arjunadêva, dated Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, is the only instance in which the equation of the Gupta-Valabhî era and another era is accompanied by the full details of a month, fortnight, and day.[2] And the thirteenth solar day in the dark fortnight of Âshâḍha, which is mentioned in it, might be the last or the first day of the Gupta-Valabhî year. As a single instance, therefore, it does not help us in any way to fix the initial day of the year.

Consequently, the remaining point,—whether the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era followed in all respects the scheme of the northern Śaka year, or whether they had some distinct initial day of their own,—is one which cannot be absolutely settled, until we obtain, either some more double records like that of the Verâwal inscription, which will enable us to gradually decrease the limits within which the commencement of the Gupta-Valabhî year is to be placed on the sliding scale of the twelve months; or the entry of an early date, approximating closely to Chaitra śukla 1, followed, in the same record, by a late date, approximating closely to the new-moon of Chaitra, both of them referred to one and the same Gupta-Valabhî year, and the latter of them distinctly connected with an event or ceremony which is specifically said to follow after the event or ceremony with which the former is connected; or the entry of a late date, approximating closely to the new-moon of Chaitra, followed, in the same record, by an early date approximating closely to Chaitra śukla 1, the two of them referred to two consecutive Gupta-Valabhî years, and, in the same way, the latter of them distinctly connected with an event or ceremony which is specifically said to follow the event or ceremony with which the former is connected. And these conditions, of course, are rather difficult of fulfilment.

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[1] There seemed to be also a double record of the same kind in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Gôparâja, of the year 191, No. 20, page 91, in which we have, in line 2, *Śrâvaṇa ba di 7*, "(the month) Śrâvaṇa; the dark fortnight; the (solar) day 7;" and, in line 1, apparently *Śrâvaṇa-bahula-paksha-sap*[*t*]*amy*[*âṁ*] (or *sap*[*t*]*am*[*yâṁ*]), "on the seventh *tithi*, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of (the month) Śrâvaṇa." Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, finds that, in Gupta-Saṁvat 191, the seventh *tithi* or lunar day of the dark fortnight of Śrâvaṇa, ended on Monday, the 14th June, A.D. 510; and that this was the sixth solar day in the fortnight or month; since, the preceding new-moon *tithi* ended on Tuesday, the 8th June. Accordingly, at the end of line 1, we should perhaps read *sap*[*t*]*am*[*ê*], *sap*[*t*]*am*[*ê=hni*], or *sap*[*t*]*am*[*ê dinê.*]

[2] The only other instance in which the Gupta-Valabhî era is mentioned in direct connection with another era, is Albêrûnî's statement (page 30 above), in which Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 712 is given as equivalent to Vikrama-Saṁvat 1088, and Śaka-Saṁvat 953. It cannot be turned to any practical use, in determining the scheme of the year, because he does not give any details of a month, &c.; and because we do not know for certain whether he is referring to the northern or to the southern Vikrama year.

Meanwhile, I have now made it clear that the original Gupta year was a northern year with the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights; as was, in fact, to be expected in the case of a year used by so essentially a Northern India dynasty as the Early Guptas were. And, further on, I shall shew that the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, which are quoted in the grants of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Saṁkshôbha, not only confirm the above results by proving that the details of them cannot be referred to a year commencing with the month Kârttika, but also prove that we cannot be concerned even with a year commencing with the new-moon of the month Mârgaśîrsha (November-December), which is mentioned by Albêrûnî[1] as having been in use, at any rate in connection with the Lôkakâla reckoning, by the people of Sindh, Multân, Kanauj, and other parts, and as having been abandoned at Multân only shortly before his own time. As a matter of fact, a year commencing with Mârgaśîrsha, and having the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the fortnights, would suit the details of every Gupta-Valabhî date,—including even the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 330 mentioned above, and a Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 927 which will be fully exhibited further on,—except one, *viz.* the Majhgawâṁ grant of the *Mahârâja* Hastin of the year 191, which has been referred to above. This being the sole exception, the calculations which determine the commencement and end of the *saṁvatsara* that is quoted in it, were gone through again and tested with very great care. But the result is that they distinctly bar the use of a year commencing with Mârgaśîrsha. And thus,—having no other known year of general use to fall back on, except the Śaka year;[1] and giving due consideration to the explicit manner in which Albêrûnî connects the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era with those of the Śaka era by an even number, without any fractions; and having regard also to the fact that any Hindu date has to be converted, for purposes of calculation, into its equivalent Śaka date,—we may accept it as almost certain that, whatever may have been the real historical initial point of the Gupta-Valabhî era, after no great lapse of time **the scheme of its years became in all respects identical with the scheme of the Śaka year,** with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra as the initial day of each year, and with the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights, in accordance, in both respects, with what seems to have been always the custom of Northern India.[2]

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[1] *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8 f.—He also, in the same place, mentions a year commencing with the month Bhâdrapada (August-September). But, from his statement, it seems to have been confined to the vicinity of Kaśmîr. And, under any circumstances, as Bhâdrapada is earlier than Kârttika in the Śaka year, the circumstances which bar a year commencing with Kârttika, still more emphatically bar one commencing with Bhâdrapada.

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[1] I have heard from Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar that, in the west of Kâṭhiâwâḍ, there is current a year commencing with the Âshâḍha śukla 1 that precedes the Kârttika śukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. This year is called the Hâlârî year, as belonging to the Hâlâr Prânt or Sub-Division of Kâṭhiâwâḍ. I do not know whether it is coupled with the *Amânta* or with the *Pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights. But it appears to be of purely local usage; it does not help to reconcile the discrepancy in the results for the dates of the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 330 and the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 927, as compared with the results for all the other dates; and, in order to suit the dates in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta and other records, it ought to commence with the Âshâḍha śukla 1 following, not preceding, the Kârttika śukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. There appear, therefore, no grounds for supposing that this Hâlârî year is any remnant of the Gupta reckoning.

[2] Evidence is, in fact accumulating that, even in Southern India, or at least in some parts of it, the *Amânta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights was not coupled with the Śaka years until a comparatively late period.—One point in favour of this is the Haidarâbâd (Dekkan) grant of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II., in which the details for computation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 73, line 11 ff.) are Śaka-Saṁvat 534 expired, the month Bhâdrapada (August-September), the new-moon *tithi*, and an eclipse of the sun. I have noticed this date in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 109 ff.; and I arrived then at the conclusion that the solar eclipse in question is that of the 23rd July, A.D. 613. This, however, was in consequence of a mistake as to the English equivalent of the indicated current Śaka year, due to the manner in which the Tables are arranged for expired years without any distinct intimation to that effect, and (see Appendix I. below) by no means confined to myself. Śaka-Saṁvat 534 expired, and 535 current, is really equivalent to A.D. 612-13. In this period there was an eclipse of the sun (see *Indian Eras*, p. 210) on the 2nd August, A.D. 612; which was the new-moon *tithi* of Bhâdrapada according to the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, however, by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, that the *tithi* ended at 35 *ghaṭîs*, 46 *palas*; and consequently that the eclipse, occurring in the night, was not visible in India. Accordingly, there being no eclipse of the sun on the given *tithi* in the preceding year, it is doubtful whether the record really refers to the eclipse of the 2nd August, A.D. 612; or whether we have here a genuine instance of a mistake in the year that is quoted, and the eclipse that is really intended is that which occurred, fully visible under very impressive circumstances at the locality, Bâdâmi, to which the record refers itself, on the 23rd July, A.D. 613, which date again answers to the new-moon *tithi* of Bhâdrapada according to the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement. But the point to which I have to draw attention here, is, that, whichever of these two eclipses we select, the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the lunar fort-

The Calculation of Recorded Dates.

Our next step, therefore, will be, to see how far the available Gupta-Valabhî dates, **converted into Śaka dates** by the addition of two hundred and forty-one years in accordance with Albêrûnî's most specific statement regarding the equation of the two eras, and **treated as northern dates,** with the *Pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, and with Chaitra śukla 1 as the initial day of the year, give satisfactory results; and what uniform equations can be established between, on the one hand, the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era, and, on the other, those of the Śaka and the Christian eras.

The Êraṇ Inscription of the year 165.

The earliest record that furnishes the easy test which is provided by the mention of the name of a week-day, combined with the other necessary details, and the first that was tested for me by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, is that given in the **Êraṇ pillar inscription**

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nights has to be applied.—Again, in a grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III., from the Kanarese country, we have for calculation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 126, line 1 ff.) Śaka-Saṁvat 726, the Subhânu *saṁvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), the dark fortnight, the fifth *tithi*, and Bṛihaspativâra or Thursday. Whether a literal translation of the text indicates the given Śaka year as current, or as expired, is not quite certain. But correct results can be obtained only by taking it as an expired year. With the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 726 expired, the given *tithi*, belonging to Śaka-Saṁvat 727 current, ended, by the *Amânta* arrangement, on Friday, the 3rd May, A.D. 804; but, by the *Pûrṇimânta* arrangement, on Thursday, the 4th April, as required. And this is in accordance with the Northern System of the Sixty-Year Cycle, by which the Subhânu *saṁvatsara* commenced in Śaka-Saṁvat 726 current, on the 17th June, A.D. 803, and was followed by the Târaṇa *saṁvatsara* in Saka-Saṁvat 727 current, on the 12th June, A.D. 804; so that it was current, as recorded, on the given date. By the Southern System of the cycle, the Subhânu *saṁvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 726 current (A.D. 803-804). And for this year, with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 725 expired, the equivalents of the given *tithi* are, by the *Amânta* arrangement, Saturday, the 15th April, A.D. 803, and, by the *Pûrṇimânta* arrangement, Friday, the 17th March.—On the other hand, the Śirûr (Dhârwâḍ District) inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I. gives us for calculation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 219, line 15 ff.) Śaka-Saṁvat 788, the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, the month Jyêshṭha (May-June), the new-moon *tithi* Âdityavâra or Sunday, and an eclipse of the sun. Here, again, it is not quite certain whether a literal translation of the text indicates the given Saka year as current, or as expired. But correct results can be obtained only by taking it as an expired year. In Śaka-Saṁvat 788 current (A.D. 865-66), there was no eclipse of the sun on the given *tithi*. Also, by the Southern System of the Sixty-Year Cycle the Vyaya *saṁvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 789 current (A.D. 866-67); and by the Northern System it commenced in Śaka-Saṁvat 788 current, on the 23rd September, A.D. 865, and was followed by the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara* in Śaka-Saṁvat 789 current, on the 20th September, A.D. 866. With the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 788 expired, the given *tithi* ended, by the *Pûrṇimânta* arrangement, on Saturday, the 18th May, A.D. 866, when there was no solar eclipse; but, by the *Amânta* arrangement, on Sunday, the 16th June, as required, when there was an eclipse of the sun (see *Indian Eras*, p. 212), which, as the *tithi* ended about 2·0 P.M. (for Bombay), would, *cæteris paribus*, be visible in India.—It would appear, therefore, that the *Amânta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights was applied to the Śaka years, in Southern India, at some point between A.D. 804 and 866.

of Budhagupta, from the Sâgar District in the Central Provinces, No. 19, page 88; in which the date (line 2 f.) runs — śatê pañcha-shashṭy-adhikê varshâṇâṁ bhûpatau cha Budhaguptê I Âshâḍha-mâsa-śukla-dvâdaśyâṁ Suragurôr=divasê II Saṁ 100 60 5,—"in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (*is*) king; on the twelfth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha; on the day of Suraguru; (*or in figures*) the year 100 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 5."

As the palæography of this record shews that the year quoted in it belongs to the same uniform series with the years quoted in the Early Gupta records,—a point, in fact, that has never been disputed,—this gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṁvat 165, current; the month Âshâḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the twelfth *tithi*; and the day of Suraguru, which, — Suraguru, 'the preceptor of the gods,' being another name of Bṛihaspati, the regent of the planet Jupiter, — is Bṛihaspativâra or Guruvâra, *i.e.* **Thursday.**

This date has been constantly the subject of calculation and controversy. Thus, in 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 15, note, Dr. F. E. Hall announced, on the authority of Bapu Deva Shastri of Benares, that, as applied to the epoch of the Vikrama era, it represented Thursday, the 7th June, A.D. 108, New Style.

Again, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 17 f., General Cunningham,—whose theory then was that the epoch should be A.D. 194-(95),—announced as the result, Thursday, the 24th June, A.D. 359, Old Style.[1] The basis of this calculation was Tuesday, the 16th March, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 194-95 = A.D. 359-60 = Śaka-Saṁvat 281 expired; and the result was derived from the assumption that the given *tithi* fell on its theoretical normal place on the 101st solar day of the year.[2] And, in the same place, he intimated that, with the epoch of A.D. 318-(19), the result would be Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483. The basis of this latter calculation was Wednesday, the 23rd February, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 318-19 = A.D. 483-84 = Śaka-Saṁvat 405 expired; and the result was derived from the same assumption as regards the position of the *tithi*.

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[1] It will be understood that the English equivalents of all Hindu dates anterior to the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar or New Style, given by me and I believe by Gen. Cunningham, are given according to the Julian Calendar or Old Style. It is not necessary to complicate matters by using the New Style for a period anterior to its introduction in England

[2] This is on the assumption that the lunar months of the Hindu luni-solar years contain thirty and twenty-nine solar days alternately, in regular succession; see, for instance, Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology*, p. 66 ff., Tables III. to XIII., and Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 66, Table X. The arrangement given in those Tables, is convenient enough for obtaining approximate results. But, apart from the principles involved, an examination of any *Pañchâṅgs*, for any series of years, will shew that the assumption is not in accordance with facts; and that no definite rule of this kind can be laid down, to determine, more closely than within one and occasionally two days, the exact running solar day, from the commencement of the year, on which a given *tithi* will fall. As a matter of fact, in the ten years Śaka-Saṁvat 1809 to 1808 inclusive, the position of the end of the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Âshâḍha, varied from the 100th to the 102nd solar day of the year; and there is a chance of the *tithi* in question ending on a Thursday, in any year of which the initial day is a Monday, a Tuesday, or a Wednesday.—The theoretical arrangement in question also involves a peculiar anomaly. The first month of the year is supposed to consist of thirty days; and the result is that, in a Śaka year,

In 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 115 ff., General Cunningham,—who had then modified his theory, so as to select A.D. 166-(67) as the epoch,—announced that the result obtained by Bapu Deva Shastri from the reckoning of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, was a Friday in A.D. 331; but that his own result, obtained from the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, was a Thursday in the same year. He did not then give any further details. But, from the fuller particulars given in his recapitulation of these statements in 1883, in his *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 55 f., we learn that the dates intended were respectively Friday, the 4th June, and Thursday, the 3rd June, A.D. 331; and that his own result was arrived at, in the same way, with the basis of Tuesday, the 23rd February, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 331-32 = Śaka-Saṁvat 253 expired, and with the same assumption as regards the position of the *tithi*. In the former reference, he repeated the same result of Friday (the 3rd June), A.D. 483, for the epoch of A.D. 318-(19).

In 1882, in the Postscript to his paper on the "Dates on Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kâbul" which was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff., Sir E. Clive Bayley,—whose theory was that the epoch should be A.D. 190-(91),—announced that the result was a Thursday in A.D. 355, and that it seemed to be Thursday, the 17th May, in that year. But he gave no indication of the way in which this result was obtained; beyond a general reference to Prinsep's Tables in Thomas' Edition of his *Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, pp. 180, 181. And, as a matter of fact, this result was altogether wrong. The 17th May, A.D. 355, was a Wednesday, not a Thursday; and, as closely as can be ascertained by General Cunningham's Tables, it represents Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 5 of the northern year. Sir E. Clive Bayley seems to have very soon become aware of the mistake; since, at the end of the copy of the Postscript which, with a copy of the principal article, reached me from him in May, 1883, there is added, in manuscript, the remark—"this date is erroneous; but the real date, as calculated by Professor Jacobi, comes out a Thursday." The real date of Âshâḍha śukla 12 of Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 355-56 = Śaka-Saṁvat 277 expired, is Thursday, the 8th June, A.D. 355; as obtained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, from Prof. Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables.

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when there is no intervening intercalation of a month, the month Kârttika, as the eighth month, is to contain twenty-nine solar days (see *Chronology*, Tables IV. and XIII., and *Indian Eras*, Table X.) But, as standing first in the southern Vikrama year, the same month Kârttika is to contain thirty solar days (see *Chronology*, Table III.) This is an obvious impossibility.

And in 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 220, Dr. Oldenberg announced, from the Tables in Warren's *Kala-Sankalita*, the correct result ; *viz.* Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484.

Now, the results given by Dr. Hall, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, whether right or wrong, and any similar coincidences, may be accepted without hesitation. And I would only point out, as regards General Cunningham's results for the epoch of A.D. 166-67, that Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, by actual calculation from all the authorities, including the *Ârya-Siddhânta* on which General Cunningham specially relied, finds that, in A.D. 331, the given *tithi*, belonging to Śaka-Saṁvat 254 current, and calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 253 expired, ended on Friday, the 4th June, and at such an hour that there is no possibility whatever of Thursday, the 3rd June ;[1] and, incidentally, that the initial day of the same Śaka year was Wednesday, the 24th February, A.D. 331, not Tuesday, the 23rd February.

The essential point with which we are concerned, is, whether the week-day of Âshâḍha śukla 12 was a Thursday, if, following Albêrûnî's most specific statement regarding an even difference of two hundred and forty-one years between the Gupta-Valabhî and the Śaka eras, we make the calculation for Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + 241 = Śaka-Saṁvat 406; or, if the result fails for that year, for the immediately preceding or following Śaka year.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has made the necessary calculations, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, with these three Śaka years as expired years. And his results are — with Śaka-Saṁvat 405 expired, Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483; with Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, **Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484**;[2] and with Śaka-Saṁvat 407 expired, Tuesday, the 11th June, A.D. 485. The process by which these results are obtained, is exhibited in detail, for the second result, in Appendix II. below.

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[1] It will be sufficient to quote the four principal authorities. The times for the ending of the given *tithi* on Friday, the 4th June, A.D. 331, reckoned (1) from mean sunrise at Bombay, (2) from mean sunrise at Ujjain, (3) from mean sunrise at Êraṇ, and (4) from apparent sunrise at Êraṇ, are—by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, (1) 5 *ghaṭîs*, 46 *palas*; (2) 6 *gh.* 15 *p.*; (3) 6 *gh.* 40 *p.*; (4) 8 *gh.* 40 *p.*;—by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, (1) 7 *gh.* 0 *p.*; (2) 7 *gh.* 29 *p.*; (3) 7 *gh.* 54 *p.*; (4) 9 *gh.* 54 *p.*;—by the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, (1) 8 *gh.* 14 *p.*; (2) 8 *gh.* 43 *p.*; (3) 9 *gh.* 8 *p.*; (4) 11 *gh.* 8 *p.*;—and by the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, (1) 9 *gh.* 16 *p.*; (2) 9 *gh.* 45 *p.*; (3) 10 *gh.* 10 *p.*; (4) 12 *gh.* 10 *p.* The times are not absolutely accurate; but the results obtained by absolute accuracy would differ by only a few *palas*.

[2] The results are put in this way for the sake of brevity. The more absolutely accurate method of expressing them, would be to say, in this instance, that the given *tithi*, as belonging to Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, and as calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, ended on a Hindu Thursday, and at such a time that it ended also during the English Thursday, which was the 21st June, A.D. 484, Old Style.—The hours at which the *tithi* ended, according to the different authorities, and as reckoned from mean or from apparent sunrise at Bombay, Ujjain, and Êraṇ, are given in Appendix II. Table VI.

The second result, **Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484,** is the only one that answers to the week-day mentioned in the record. And a reference to Appendix II. Table VI. will shew that it so answers, not only by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, but also by the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, and by all the other leading authorities. It answers, as is required, to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year; though it does not, in itself, prove conclusively either the exact epoch of the era, or the scheme of the year; for the reason that, being a date in a bright fortnight, this Âshâḍha śukla 12 was the same *tithi*, and fell on the same solar day, represented by the 21st June, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, and in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 541 current, as well as in northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 542 current. It gives Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current (A.D. 484-85), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year. And finally, as it is obtained by applying the resulting year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406, as an expired year, so that the given *tithi* really belongs to Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, it shews that, in following Albêrûnî's statement and adding two hundred and forty-one, what is really accomplished is the conversion of a given current Gupta-Valabhî year into an expired Saka year, by which we obtain precisely the basis that is wanted for working out results by Hindu Tables, *viz.* **the last Śaka year expired before the commencement of the current Śaka year corresponding to a given current Gupta-Valabhî year;** and that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years, is two hundred and forty-two.[1]

The Verâwal Inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945.

In this connection, I will notice next the **Verâwal inscription of the Chaulukya king Arjunadêva,** on a stone at the temple of Harsaṭadêvî at Verâwal, the modern representative of the ancient Sômnâthpâṭan, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. This date furnishes a specially crucial test; partly because it is a date in a dark fortnight; and partly because, coming from Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and belonging to a comparatively late period, and being mentioned in the same record with a Vikrama year, there was a special chance of finding that its details had been confused with, or rather had been subordinated to, the reckoning of the southern Vikrama era, which was, and is, the original national era in Kâṭhiâwâḍ and the neighbouring country of Gujarât. It will be seen, however, that this has not happened.

The details of this date (from Dr. Hultzsch's published text; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 242, line 2 ff.) are — śrî-Viśvanâtha-pratibaddha-naujanânâṁ bôdhaka-rasûla-Mahaṁmada-saṁvat 662 tathâ śrî-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṁvat 1320 tathâ śrîmad-Valabhî-saṁ 945 tathâ śrî-Siṁha-saṁ 151 varshê Ashâḍha va di 13 Ravâv=ady=êha .... iha śrî-Sômanâthadêva-pattanê,—"the year 662 of the prophet Mahammada, who is the teacher of the sailors connected with (*the temple of*) the holy (god) Viśvanâtha; so also the year 1320 of the glorious king Vikrama; so also the year 945 of the famous (city of) Valabhî; so also the year 151 of the glorious Siṁha; in (*this*) year; the month Âshâḍha; the dark fortnight;[1] the (solar) day 13; on Sunday; to-day (*and*) here; .... here, in the city of the holy god Sômanâtha."

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[1] Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar arrived at the conclusion (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 99) that the addition of 241 would turn a past Gupta year into a past Śaka year; and the addition of 242, a past Gupta year into a current Śaka year. This result is due to the general mistake as regards the epoch of the Śaka era (see page 64 above, note 2).—For an instance of the actual use by Hindus of the additive quantity 242, see page 26 above, note 2.

This gives us, for calculation, Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, current; the month Âshâḍha (June-July); the dark fortnight; the thirteenth solar day of the fortnight, with whatever *tithi*, presumably the thirteenth, fell on it; and Ravivâra, or **Sunday**. And,—as the mention of the year 1320 of the Vikrama era, and of the year 662 of the prophet Muḥammad, which is the year 662 of the well-known Hijra era, and commenced[2] on Sunday, the 4th November, A.D. 1263, and ended on Saturday, the 23rd October, A.D. 1264, shews that the Valabhî era quoted in this record must have had its starting-point in or about A.D. 319, and must of necessity be the Valabhî era that is mentioned by Albêrûnî,—in accordance with the results obtained for the date in the Êraṇ inscription, the given *tithi* should belong to Valabhî-Saṁvat 945 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 current (A.D. 1264-65); and, in using Hindu Tables, the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired.

Before proceeding to the results, however, there are some preliminary points to be noted. The first is, that, as the inscription is specifically connected with a locality in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, the presumption is that the Vikrama year quoted in it, is a southern Vikrama year, commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month

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[1] The syllable *va*, in the original, either is an abbreviation of *vadya*, whether alone or in composition with *paksha* or *pakshê*, or stands for *ba*, the abbreviation of *bahula*, similarly either alone or in composition with *paksha* or *pakshê*.—As regards the point that *ba di*, or *va di*, and *śu di*, are separate technical abbreviations, not words in themselves, see page 92 (Text and Translations), note 1.—Just as *di* is sometimes used with *ba* or *va* and *śu*, and sometimes is omitted, so in the Nêpâl inscriptions (see Appendix IV. below) the indeclinable *divâ*, 'by day,' is sometimes used, and sometimes not, in connection with the number of the *tithi*. So also sometimes *di*, or one of its full forms, *dina*, *dinê*, *divasa*, or *divasê*, is used without any specification of the fortnight. The exact meaning of the differences of practice in this respect, is not quite certain; and could only be settled by a large number of calculations. But it seems evident that, when *di* is used, or any of its full forms, the reference is to the solar day, in conformity with what would naturally be the most ancient reckoning; not to the lunar *tithi*. If, at a subsequent period, the solar days became subject to expunction and repetition, with the lunar *tithis*, then the running number in the fortnight will always be the same for both the lunar *tithi* and the solar day. If not, then the thirteenth *tithi*, for instance, might fall at any time on the twelfth or the fourteenth solar day, as counted without repetition or expunction from the commencement of the fortnight. And, in the differences of expression, there may perhaps be a reference to some such difference in the notation

[2] See *Indian Eras*, p. 126.

Kârttika (October-November). This, however, apart from the natural presumption, is rendered absolutely certain by the concomitant mention of the Hijra year; from which, since the month Âshâḍha answers ordinarily to June-July, it is plain,—as was pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch in editing the inscription,[1] and by General Cunningham in commenting on the date,[2]—that the English date which we have to look for lies in or about June or July, A.D. 1264. This at once removes the possibility of any reference to the northern Vikrama year; since the month Âshâḍha of the northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321 current,[3] is represented by June-July of the preceding English year, A.D. 1263. Also, since the period June-July, A.D. 1264, fell in Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 current, it removes any real necessity of making calculations for Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 current and 1188 current; the results, however, for these two years will be given, in order to help in setting the general question entirely at rest.

So much, as regards the English equivalent of the given date lying in A.D. 1264, had been clearly pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch and General Cunningham. But nothing further, that I can find, was said about the details of the English equivalent, until just before the time when I first had occasion to consider this date;[4] when, in a letter dated the 3rd December, 1885, General Cunningham announced to me that the equivalent English date is Sunday, the 25th May,[5] A.D. 1264.

This result, **Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264,** is, as will be seen below, the correct one. But, in order to explain its full bearing, more is requisite, than simply to state it; especially because it is necessary to shew clearly, in the face of what has elsewhere been written about this date, that this result is not obtained from the mention of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320, though it does answer the requirements of that mention; *i.e.* that it is not the result for a year commencing on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika which fell in A.D. 1263; and, consequently, that, even apart from what I have already established, this record proves that Valabhî-Saṁvat 945 commenced at any rate not with that day.[6] And here I would remark incidentally, that no argument, of identity between the two years, can be based on the mere fact that the record mentions both a Valabhî year and a southern Vikrama year. It might just as well be asserted that the mention also of the Hijra year 662, shews that the scheme of the years of that era, too, is identical with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year; whereas,—even apart from the fact that the Hijra year 662 commenced, as stated above, on Sunday, the 4th November, A.D. 1263, while the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320, as an expired year, *i.e.*, more properly, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321 current, commenced on Friday, the 5th October of that same year,[1]— everyone knows that these two eras have absolutely nothing in common at all; the Hijra era being a purely Musalmân era. The Verâwal record is simply analogous exactly to scores of documents that are still being turned out in India, in which the date is expressed according to the English and also one or other of the Indian systems; and in which the principal record depends entirely upon the person by whom, and the circumstances under which, it is drawn up. Sometimes it will be the English date; sometimes the Indian. We shall see immediately that, in this Verâwal inscription, the principal record is the Valabhî date; and that the Vikrama date accidentally, as well as the Hijra date naturally, was entirely subordinated to it. Possibly, we may hereafter obtain instances, in which the reverse of this will be found to have been the case. But they will not avail to disprove any of the pointed and unavoidable conclusions, regarding the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhî era and the scheme of its years, which are absolutely forced on us by the circumstances of the present Verâwal date.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 241.

[2] *Indian Eras*, pp. 50, 53, 63.

[3] According to the present Tables, the given Vikrama year 1320 must be interpreted as an expired year; and the indicated current year is, therefore, 1321. This, however, does not make the given Valabhî year an expired year; just as it does not, and can not, convert the given Hijra year into an expired year.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 147 ff.

[5] The ordinary equivalent of Âshâḍha is June-July. But the dark fortnight of the northern Âshâḍha corresponds to the dark fortnight of the southern Jyêshṭha, which month is ordinarily May-June. And this, with the fact that Śaka-Saṁvat 1187, current, commenced rather early, on Saturday, the 1st March, or Friday, the 29th February, A.D. 1264, is the reason why this dark fortnight of Âshâḍha fell entirely in May.

[6] As opposed to these results Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, p. 53) has quoted this record as proving absolutely that Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 = A.D. 319 (-20); which could only be by taking the epoch as

The second point to be noted is, that the month Âshâḍha which fell in A.D. 1264,—*i.e.* both the Âshâḍha of northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1322, and the slightly different Âshâḍha of southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321,—was an intercalary month.[2] The effect of the intercalation was as follows:—The initial day of Śaka-Saṁvat 1187, both northern and southern, and of the

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A.D. 318-19, and by treating the years as commencing, from the beginning, on Kârttika śukla 1.—Also (*id.* pp. 50, 63) he treats Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320 as the leading record of the date; and very clearly implies throughout, though he does not actually state, the identity of the scheme of the Valabhî and southern Vikrama years.

[1] Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology*, p. 150.

[2] See *Indian Eras*, p. 179.—The fact is also proved by K. L. Chhatre's Tables. In C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 150, the intercalation is entered opposite Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 (expired) and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321 (expired). This is in accordance with a mistake that runs all through his Table I. pp. 94 to 183. The intercalations are placed by him correctly for the Śaka years. But he has omitted to point out that, in applying them to the Vikrama years, which, throughout his Table, are the southern Vikrama years, they must, in consequence of the way in which the years of the two eras overlap, be read off as far as the months Chaitra to Âśvina, both inclusive, are concerned, for the Vikrama year preceding that opposite to which they are entered; at least, I can find no note in his book to that effect.—A reference toTable III. at page 71 above, will shew at once that an intercalation of any month from Chaitra to Âśvina inclusive, for Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired, northern or southern, did occur for northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321 expired, but southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320 expired.

northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1322, was Saturday, the 1st March, A.D. 1264, according to General Cunningham,[1] and Friday, the 29th February (the English year being a Leap-year), according to Mr. C. Patell.[2] With General Cunningham's own initial day, and by his own theory and process,—*viz.* that Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 13 fell on the 87th solar day of the year, from and inclusive of the initial day,—the resulting English date would be Monday, the 26th May, A.D. 1264. Therefore, in arriving at Sunday, the 25th May, he has adopted Mr. C. Patell's initial day, in preference to his own. And I will follow the same course, for the rough purposes for which the initial day may here be utilised. The double Âshâḍha included four lunar fortnights. In northern Saka-Saṁvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1322, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 75th and 133rd solar days of the year;[3] *i.e.* on respectively the 13th May and the 10th July. And, according to the regular northern system, of the four fortnights, the first (dark) belonged to the natural month; the second (bright), and the third (dark), to the intercalated month; and the fourth (bright), to the natural month. But, in southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 90th and 148th solar days of the Śaka year;[4] *i.e.* on respectively the 28th May and the 25th July. And, of the four fortnights, if we adopt the present regular southern system, the first (bright), and the second (dark), belonged to the intercalated month; and the third (bright), and the fourth (dark), to the natural month.[5] It is evident, therefore, that, if we treat the Âshâḍha of this record as the natural month, the English equivalent, for the given date as referred to the northern year, will be about a month earlier than the English equivalent for the given date as referred to the southern year; and that an English equivalent, answering to the given date as referred indifferently to either the northern or the southern year, can be obtained only by treating the Âshâḍha of the record as the intercalated month. That we have, however, to look on the given date as belonging to the dark fortnight of the natural Âshâḍha, is at least to be assumed *primâ facie*; partly because the record contains no qualificatory term, indicative of the intercalated month; and partly because of the prohibition of official, ceremonial, and religious acts in an intercalated month.[1]

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[1] *Indian Eras*, p. 179.

[2] *Chronology*, p. 150.

[3] See *Indian Eras*, p. 109, and *Chronology*, p. 71.

[4] *Chronology*, p. 71.

[5] A verse that is given by Bapu Deva Shastri, in his edition of the *Siddhânta-Śirômaṇi* of Bhâskarâchârya, p. 49, note, as belonging to the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, indicates a more ancient custom, according to which the first (bright) and the second (dark) fortnights would belong to the natural month; and the third (bright) and the fourth (dark), to the intercalated month. The verse runs—*Mêsh-âdi-sthê savitari yô yô mâsaḥ pṛapûryatê chândraḥ Chaitr-âdyaḥ sa jñêyaḥ pûrti-dvitvê=dhimâsô=ntyaḥ*,—"whatever lunar month is completed when the sun is standing in Aries and the following (signs), that month is to be known as Chaitra, &c.; when there are two completions, (there is) an intercalated month, (and it is) the latter (of the two)."—Now, intercalated months are held to be inauspicious, and the performance of ceremonies in them is prohibited. Only if, in one and the same year, there are two intercalary months (which are always accompanied by the expunction of a month, which may be one of the two, or a third month), then the first intercalated month is *praśasta*, or 'stamped as excellent or approved of;' the second being, as usual, *nindya*, or 'to be looked on as under prohibition.' And the rule attributed to the *Brahma-Siddhânta* would make the intercalated fortnights different, in different parts of India, according to the northern or southern scheme of the year. It must, obviously, have been highly inconvenient, especially on the border-land of the dividing-line between Northern and Southern India, that the prohibition should not be applicable to exactly the same lunar periods. And a change, in accordance with the necessities of the case, was eventually made,—and must have been made long before the period of the present inscription; though, apparently, after the time of the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV., of Gupta-Saṁvat 330, the "second Mârgaśira" of which is undoubtedly the intercalated month,—by which the intercalated fortnights of

The results, worked out by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, for the natural Âshâḍha, are — with northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired, **Sunday,**[2] **the 25th May, A.D. 1264,** for both the thirteenth *tithi* and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired, Tuesday, the 22nd July, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Wednesday, the 23rd July, for the thirteenth solar day;[3] and the result for the intercalated Âshâḍha is Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Tuesday, the 24th June, for the thirteenth solar day, by both the northern and the southern reckoning, according to the present custom in both parts of the country. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has also given me full results, according to both the *Pûrṇimânta* northern system, and the *Amânta* southern system, with Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 and 1187 expired; in order to present at once all the possible surroundings of the date. These results are—with northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 expired, Tuesday, the 5th June, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Wednesday, the 6th June, for the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 expired, either[4] Wed-

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the southern month, *viz.* the first and the second of the four, were made to correspond exactly with the intercalated fortnights of the northern month, *viz.* the second and the third of the four.—I have mentioned this earlier custom here, because it is one of the general surroundings of the date. But the question is of no vital importance in this case, because the date is a northern, not a southern one.

[1] See the preceding note. [2] The *tithi* ended 13 *ghaṭîs*, 30 *palas*, after mean sunrise at Bombay.

[3] *i.e.* the thirteenth solar day counted from the commencement of the fortnight, without omitting a solar day with the lunar *tithi* that was expunged (see page 85 above, note 1.)

[4] The doubt here is because of the interesting discovery that the dark fortnight of the southern Âshâḍha, and northern Śrâvaṇa, of Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 current, was a fortnight which, "except, perhaps in some parts far off in the east of India," contained only thirteen solar days; see my general note on this subject, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 81 ff. The full-moon *tithi* of Âshâḍha, northern and southern, was on Saturday, the 23rd June; and the following new-moon *tithi* of the southern Âshâḍha, and the northern Śrâvaṇa, was on Friday, the 6th July; which gives thirteen solar days for this dark fortnight. There was an expunction of two *tithis*, and no repetition of a *tithi* to make up for the loss. The authorities differ as to which were the two expunged *tithis*. One of them was early in the fortnight; and Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has not worked this out, because it does not directly bear upon the date under discussion. The other was either the twelfth, or the thirteenth, or the fourteenth *tithi*; and upon this will depend the question whether the thirteenth *tithi*, if not itself expunged, was Wednesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July. Under any circumstances, the thirteenth and last solar day of this dark fortnight, was Friday, the 6th July.

nesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but, in either case, Friday, the 6th July, for the thirteenth solar day; with northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 expired, Saturday, the 13th June, A.D. 1265, for both the thirteenth *tithi* and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 expired, Sunday, the 12th July, A.D. 1265, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Monday, the 13th July, for the thirteenth solar day. The last is the only other case in which the result includes a Sunday at all. But it is of no practical value; because it is obtained by the treatment of the Śaka year as a southern year, whereas I have already shewn that this is not the treatment which is to be applied; and, still more conclusively, because it would have to be allotted to the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321 expired, whereas the record specifically refers to the preceding year, 1320 (expired).

The true English equivalent of the given date, therefore, really is **Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264.** This result, and this alone, answers all the requirements of the record. It is the equivalent of a date which falls, as recorded, within the limits of southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320 (expired); though it is not the equivalent of any day in the month Âshâḍha as referred to that year; for, if it is treated as the equivalent of a date referred to that year (and to southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired), then, of course, it represents the thirteenth *tithi* and solar day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha, preceding Âshâḍha. It answers to the specified day of the natural, not the intercalated, month; as is expressly required, partly by the absence, in the record, of any specification of the intercalated month, and partly by the general prohibition regarding intercalated months. Also, as is seen from the particulars given above, it is obtainable only by treating the expired Śaka year, which is the basis of the calculation, as a northern year. Accordingly, it not only bears out in all respects the results obtained from the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, but also goes beyond them. It definitely proves the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years. It also proves that the true original scheme of the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era,—*viz.* the regular *Pûrṇimânta* northern scheme, as established at page 76 f. above,—was preserved, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, up to at any rate A.D. 1264. It gives Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 current (A.D. 1264-65), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta-Valabhî year. And it definitely proves that the exact epoch of the era was Śaka-Saṁvat 241 expired, or 242 current, corresponding to A.D. 319-20.

This result, therefore, will now be taken, in the place of the result obtained from the date of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta-Saṁvat 165, as furnishing the definite standard, on the analogy of which we must calculate all the remaining dates in the Gupta-Valabhî era that supply details for computation.

The Verâwal Inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 927.

The third and last date, with the mention of a week-day, that I have to comment on, is contained in an inscription which has not as yet been published, but has been placed at my disposal, for present purposes, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, the discoverer of it. The inscription is on the pedestal of an old image, which is now built into the wall of the modern temple of the goddess Harsaṭadêvî at **Verâwal.** The date, with some important words in the context, (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's cloth-rubbing) runs — (l. 1) śrîmad-Valabhî-sa[ṁ*]vat 927 varshê Phâlguna śu di 2 Saumê II Ady=êha śrî-Dêvapattanê .... (l. 4) śri-Gôvarddhana-mûrtti[ḥ*] .... (l. 5) kârâpitâ;—in which, unfortunately, there is some doubt as to the proper rendering of the first syllable of the word that gives the name of the week-day. The vowel *au* was undoubtedly formed; though, in the rubbing, the top-stroke is partially filled up, in consequence either of want of depth in the engraving, or of want of care in making the rubbing. And, the consonant presenting the appearance in the rubbing of being *bh*, the natural inclination is to read *Bhaumê*, "on Tuesday." Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, tells me that, in the original, the consonant is certainly *s*; and the appearance of *bh*, therefore, is due to an imperfection in the rubbing. The reading of the original, accordingly, is to be taken as *Saumê*. But this is not a real word; and it requires to be corrected into either *Sômê*, "on Monday;" *Bhaumê*, "on Tuesday;" or *Saumyê*, "on Wednesday." It is unfortunate that we should have to make any correction at all, in a point of such importance; especially when so very free a choice is open. But it has to be done. And the calculated results favour the supposition that the reading intended was *Sômê*, "on Monday." Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was of opinion that the intended reading was *Bhaumê*, "on Tuesday;" which, of course, might be supported by assuming carelessness on the part of the engraver, in letting his tool slip in such a way as to give the *bh* a more or less complete appearance of *s*. But, from the appearance of the rubbing, the reading *Sômê* is equally justifiable, on the assumption that the partial appearance of *bh* in the rubbing, instead of *s*, is due only to a fault in the rubbing, and that the mistake in forming *au* instead of *ô* was discovered before the stroke which turns *ô* into *au* was completed; this would account for this stroke being so shallow as to cause the blur which almost entirely conceals it in the rubbing. Adopting the reading or correction of *Sômê*, the translation will be —"the year 927 of the famous (city of) Valabhî; in (*this*) year; (the month) Phâlguna; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 2; on Monday; to-day; here in the famous (city of) Dêvapattana .... (*this*) image of the holy Gôvardhana .... has been caused to be made."

This gives us, for calculation, Valabhî-Saṁvat 927, current; the month Phâlguna (February-March); the bright fortnight; the second solar day of the fortnight, and presumably the second *tithi*; and Sômavâra, or **Monday.** And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, the given *tithi* should belong to Valabhi-Saṁvat 927 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 1169 current (A.D. 1246-47); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 1168 expired.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, however, made, as before, for a year before and a year after the resulting year, as well as for that year itself, give the following results, in each case for both the second solar day and the second *tithi*, both by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables and by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; *viz.* with Śaka-Saṁvat 1167 expired, **Monday,**[1] **the 19th February, A D. 1246**; with Śaka-Saṁvat 1168 expired, Saturday,[2] the 9th February, A.D. 1247; and with Śaka-Saṁvat 1169 expired, Wednesday,[3] the 29th January, A.D. 1248.

The result for Śaka-Saṁvat 1169, which is the year in which the week-day should presumably prove correct, does not answer at all. If we could understand that the reading intended was *Saumyê*, "on Wednesday," then the result for Śaka-Saṁvat 1170 might be accepted; subject only to the considerations that *Saumyavâra*, though perfectly allowable, is not often used as a synonym for *Budhavâra*, 'Wednesday;' and that the result is later by a year than what it ought to be, and can be arrived at only through accepting an alteration in the reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhî era, precisely the opposite of the alteration which, as shewn at page 72 f. above, was certainly made, in Gujarât, before the date of the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 330. If, on the other hand, we take *Sômê*, "on Monday," as the intended reading, then the result for Śaka-Saṁvat 1168 may be accepted, subject only to the consideration that it is earlier by a year than what it ought to be. This result would be quite intelligible, if we could refer the given date to a year commencing with Mârgaśîrsha; for then, belonging to Valabhî Saṁvat 927, it would belong quite regularly to Śaka-Saṁvat 1168, and its English equivalent would fall quite regularly in A.D. 1246. This, however, as I have stated at page 78 above, is distinctly prevented by a perfectly conclusive obstacle. The only resource that remains, is to hold that, for some reason or other, the date given in this record, like the date in the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 330, was taken from a Gujarât almanac, and belongs to a year the initial day of which was the Kârttika śukla 1 preceding the true commencement of Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 927. This, again, would be perfectly intelligible, if we could only assume that the image, which is probably portable enough, was fashioned, together with the engraving of the inscription, at some place in Gujarât; and was then transported by a pilgrim to Verâwal. But the objection to this is, that the inscription seems to record distinctly that the image was made at Dêvapattana; and Dêvapattana is well known as another name of Sômnâthpâṭan, *i.e.* the modern Verâwal itself; and it is difficult to understand how the corrupt Gujarât reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhî era can have been introduced at Verâwal in A.D. 1246, when, as we have already seen from the other Verâwal inscription, of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, the true original reckoning was used there up to at least eighteen years later. The explanation, however, is perhaps to be found in the supposition that the inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from Gujarât, who had brought a Gujarât almanac with him.

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[1] The *tithi* ended, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, 29 *ghaṭîs*, 59 *palas*, and by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, 30 *ghaṭîs*, 2 *palas*, after mean sunrise at Bombay.

[2] Here the times are respectively 8 *ghaṭîs*, 33 *palas*, and 9 *ghaṭîs*, 25 *palas*.

[3] Here the times are respectively 31 *ghaṭîs*, 57 *palas*, and 34 *ghaṭîs*, 43 *palas*.

On the whole, be the explanation what it may, there seems no doubt that the proper result is **Monday, the 19th February, A.D. 1246.** This, however, does not support the running difference of exactly two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years; nor, as the given date belongs to a bright fortnight, does it prove anything as to the northern or southern nature of the Gupta-Valabhî year. If it is taken as the result for a date belonging to a year the scheme of which was identical with the scheme of the Śaka year, northern or southern,—*i.e.* as the result for a date in a year which commenced with the Chaitra śukla 1 belonging to Śaka-Saṁvat 1168 current,—it requires a running difference of two hundred and forty-one years only. While, if it is taken as the result for a date belonging to a year the scheme of which was identical with the scheme of the southern Vikrama years,—*i.e.* as the result, obtained through Śaka-Saṁvat 1167 expired, for a date in a year which, with the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1303 current, commenced with the following Kârttika śukla 1, still belonging to Śaka-Saṁvat 1168 current, and falling five months before the true commencement of Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 927,—then it requires a running difference lying between two hundred and forty-one and two hundred and forty-two. As in the case of the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 330, which has been referred to at page 72 above and is now to be explained in detail, the latter is the way in which I apply the result. And it gives, therefore, the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1303 current (A.D. 1245-46), as the nominal equivalent of the given current Valabhî year. But I have to point out distinctly that the date is not a satisfactory one, since an important correction of some kind or another has to be made, in order to interpret it intelligibly at all; and that in no way does it give a conclusive result, like that of the other Verâwal inscription, of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945.

The Kaira Grant of the year 330.

The preceding is the last instance, as yet obtained, of the mention of a week-day in a record dated in the Gupta-Valabhî era. There are, however, three inscriptions, containing other interesting details for computation, which will now be noticed, before dealing with the question of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter.

The first of them is a **Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of Valabhî**; in which the date (from Dr. Bühler's published text; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 339, line 57) runs — saṁ 300 30 dvi-Mârggaśira śu 2,— "the year 300 (*and*) 30; the second (month) Mârgaśira; the bright fortnight; (the lunar day) 2.

This gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṁvat 330, current; **an intercalation of the month Mârgaśira or Mârgaśîrsha** (November-December), as shewn by the reference in the text to two months of that name; the bright fortnight of the second Mârgaśîrsha; and the second *tithi* or lunar day. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, the given intercalated month should belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 330 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 572 current (A.D. 649-50); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 571 expired.

General Cunningham, however,[1] shews no intercalation in that year; but, in the preceding year, Śaka-Saṁvat 571, an intercalation of the month Kârttika, which would fall in A.D. 648; and this appears to be quite correct, in accordance with the regulation of intercalations by the actual place of the sun. Looking further into the matter, Dr. Schram, as reported by Dr. Bühler,[2] found that in A.D. 648 there certainly was an intercalated month, which, according to the present method would be Kârttika, but according to the rule for mean intercalations, would be Mârgaśîrsha. So, also, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, by actual calculation from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, that, by mean intercalation, **in A.D. 648 there was an intercalated month** between the natural Mârgaśîrsha and the natural Pausha, **which would be named Mârgaśîrsha** according to the verse *Mêsh-âdi-sthê savitari &c.*, that is quoted as belonging to the *Brahma-Siddhânta*;[3] though it would be named Pausha according to the present practice. In either case, the two intercalated fortnights are, of course, the same lunar period; the only difference is in respect of the name by which that period should be called. And, in finding that period coupled with the name of Mârgaśîrsha, there is the fact, which must be admitted, that, in contravention of the usual rule, the grant recorded in this inscription was made in the intercalated month; a deviation for which I cannot find any reason in the record itself. Having regard to this and other points, I asked Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit to also make the necessary calculations on the possibility of the abbreviation *dvi* for *dvitîya*, 'the second,' qualifying, not only the word *Mârgaśira*, but the whole expression *Mârgaśira śu 2*; *i.e.* on the possibility of the intercalation or repetition referring to the *tithi* or lunar day, not to the month; in which case the date might have been referred, quite regularly, to Śaka-Saṁvat 572. He finds, however, that the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mârgaśîrsha of Śaka-Saṁvat 572, falling in A.D. 649, was not a repeated *tithi*, either by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Table, or by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; and that, on the contrary, by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, there is the possibility of this *tithi* having been expunged, in the far eastern parts of India. It is certain, therefore, that the intercalation refers to the month; not to the *tithi*. And it is equally certain that in Śaka-Saṁvat 571 there was an intercalated month, falling in A.D. 648, which might be named Mârgaśira or Mârgaśîrsha, and which evidently was actually so named in the almanac that was consulted by the drafter of this record. This being the case, there cannot have been an intercalation of the same month, or in fact of any month at all, in the following year, Śaka-Saṁvat 572. Therefore, the Mârgaśîrsha of this record undoubtedly fell, not in A.D. 649, as should be the case according to the true Gupta Valabhî reckoning, but in A.D. 648; and belonged, for astronomical purposes, to Śaka-Saṁvat 571, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarât, to the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 706. And, since the localities mentioned in the charter connect it absolutely with a province of Gujarât,[1] the year 330 of this record must have commenced, like the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 706, with the month Kârttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṁvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 572, according to the original scheme of the years of the era.

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[1] *Indian Eras*, p. 158.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 338.

[3] See page 88 above, note 5.

The result, therefore, gives the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 706 current (A.D. 648-49), as the nominal equivalent of the given current Gupta year. And this date, with that of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 927, must be allotted to a class of cases, in which the running difference of exactly two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years was not maintained, in consequence of a local adaptation of the Gupta-Valabhî year to the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, made in such a way that, as pointed out at page 73 above, each subsequent Gupta-Valabhî year, where this adaptation was applied, commenced five lunations before the true commencement of the year according to the original scheme. The anomaly, however, is natural enough in the present instance, because of the locality to which the record refers itself.

The Nêpâl Inscription of the year 386.

The next inscription that I have to notice, is the **Nêpâl inscription of Mânadêva,** of the Sûryavaṁśî or Lichchhavi family of Mânagṛiha, on the lower part of a broken pillar placed to the left of the door of the temple of the god Chângu-Nârâyaṇa, about five miles to the north-east of Khâṭmâṇḍu; in which the date (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's published text and lithograph; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163, line 1 f.) runs — saṁvat 300 80 6 Jyêshṭha-m[â]sa-śukla-pakshê pratipadi 1 [Rô]hiṇî-nakshattra-yukt[ê*] chandramasi m[u]hûrttê praśastê=Bhijiti,—" the year 300 (*and*) 80 (*and*) 6; in the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha, on the first *tithi* or lunar day, (*or in figures*) 1; the moon being in conjunction with the Rôhiṇî *nakshatra*; in the excellent *muhûrta* (*named*) Abhijit."

The Nêpâl inscriptions were first brought to notice by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.; and his view of the historical results of them was given in the same Journal, Vol. XIII. p. 411 ff. My own view, originally published in the same Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 342 ff., will be found explained in detail in Appendix IV. below. And all that it is necessary to state here, is, that the earliest inscriptions disclose the use of two eras; *viz.* the so-called Gupta era, and the Harsha era. At the time, however, when Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji wrote, the fact that the Gupta era was used in some of these records, was not apparent. And it only became clear on Mr. Bendall's discovery of the Gôlmâḍhiṭôl inscription of the *Mahârâja* Śivadêva I. of Mânagṛiha, which he published originally in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and has given again, with a slight correction in the reading of the date, in his *Journey in Nêpâl and Northern India*, p. 72, and Plate viii. This inscription is dated in the year 316, without any specification of the era. But the clue to the interpretation of the date is given by its mention of the *Mahâsâmanta* Aṁśuvarman, as the contemporary[1] of Śivadêva I. Aṁśuvarman's approximate date, *viz.* about A.D. 637, was very well known from Hiuen Tsiang's mention of him.[2] And, as the Nêpâl series included three inscriptions of Aṁśuvarman himself, dated in the years 34, 39, and 44 or 45 of an unspecified era, and another, of Jishṇugupta, dated in the year 48, and mentioning Aṁśuvarman, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji very properly referred these dates to the era running from the accession of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and commencing[3] in A.D. 606. This much being quite certain, it follows that the date [illegible] the year 316 for Śivadêva I., the contemporary of Aṁśuvarman, must of necessity be referred to a starting-point just about three hundred years before the Harsha era. And the era which exactly meets the requirements of the case is the Gupta era; for, 316 + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 635-36; which is in due accordance with the recorded dates that we have for Aṁśuvarman in the Harsha era, representing from A.D. 639 to 649 or 650.

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[1] The charter was issued from the victorious camp at Bharukachchha, *i.e.* the modern Broach (Bharuch); and it records the grant of some lands in the Khêṭaka *âhâra*, or the territorial division of which the chief town was Khêṭaka, *i.e.* the modern Kaira (Khêḍâ).

As regards the present inscription of Mânadêva, its palæography, as well as a general consideration of the historical results, shews that the year 386, quoted in it, belongs to the same series with the year 316 that is quoted in the Gôlmâḍhiṭôl inscription of Śivadêva I. And, accordingly, this record gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṁvat 386, current; the month Jyêshṭha (May-June); the bright fortnight; the first *tithi* or lunar day; the **Rôhiṇî nakshatra** or lunar mansion; and the **Abhijit muhûrta** or thirtieth part of the day and night. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, the given *tithi* should belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 386 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 628 current (A.D. 705-706); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 627 expired.

Making the calculations by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and applying the results to the longitude of Khâṭmâṇḍu, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 627 expired, the given *tithi*, belonging to Śaka-Saṁvat 628 current, ended on Tuesday, the 28th April,[1] A.D. 705, at 57 *ghaṭîs*, 12 *palas*, after sunrise; that there was the Kṛittikâ *nakshatra* up to 11 *ghaṭîs*, 3 *palas*, after sunrise, and then the **Rôhiṇî nakshatra,** which continued up to 11 *ghaṭîs*, 18 *palas*, after sunrise on the next day, Wednesday; and that, consequently, the **Abhijit muhûrta,** being the eighth in order among the *muhûrtas*, and beginning after the expiration of fourteen *ghaṭîs* after sunrise, occurred, as required by the record, while the Rôhiṇî *nakshatra* was current. He also finds that the same conditions of the *nakshatra* and the *muhûrta* did not occur, if the given *tithi* is treated as belonging to Śaka-Saṁvat 627 or 629 current.

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[1] This is also recorded in the other inscription of Śivadêva I., No. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nêpâl series, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168 ff. But, unfortunately for the general chronological results arrived at by him from those inscriptions,—which involved the application of the Vikrama era for the interpretation of such of the Nêpâl dates as belong really to the Gupta era,—the date of Śivadêva I. is there broken away and lost.

[2] See Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 81; also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 422, and Vol. XIV. p. 345.

[3] On this point see a note in Appendix IV. below.

The result, therefore, answers, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years; and to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year. And it gives Śaka-Samvat 628 current (A.D. 705-706), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year. But, like the result for the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, it does not, in itself, prove conclusively either the exact epoch of the era, or the scheme of the year; for the reason that, being a date in a bright fortnight, this Jyêshṭha śukla 1 was the same *tithi*, and ended on the same solar day, represented by the 28th April, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Saṁvat 628, and in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 762, as well as in northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 763.

The Môrbî Grant of the year 586.

The last date that I have to notice from the present point of view, is contained in the **Môrbî grant of Jâiṅka,** from Kâṭhiâwâḍ, published by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 257 f. The record includes two dates. In line 16 f., in connection with the making of the grant, we have (from the published lithograph)—paṁch-âśîtyâ yutê=tîtê samânâṁ śata-paṁchakê I Gôptê dadâv=adô nṛipaḥ s-ôparâgê=rkka-maṁḍalê II,—"five centuries of years, together with eighty-five (*years*), having passed by, the king gave this (*charter*) at (*the village of*) Gôpta, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed;" in which the year is expressly coupled with a word meaning "expired." And in line 19 f., in connection with the writing of the charter, we have—saṁvat 585 Phâlguna su(śu) di 5,—"the year 585; the month Phâlguna; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 5;" without any indication whether the year is an expired one, or current. The eclipse is also mentioned in line 3, in the words — mârttaṇḍa-maṇḍal-âśrayiṇi Svavbhânô(*read* Svarbbhânau),—"while Svarbhânu (*i.e.* Râhu, the personified ascending node) is resting on the disc of the sun."

There is some difficulty in disposing finally of the whole bearing of this record; owing to the fact that the first plate was lost sight of, without being procured for examination at all; and now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid and is not forthcoming. And I have to point out that, in the second part of the verse, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar read *Gauptê*, instead of *Gôptê*; and translated "five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed." The lithograph, however, shews distinctly that the original has *Gôptê*; and it is only by the correction of *ô* into *au* that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into the passage.[1] But, even then, the adjective *Gauptê* occupies an irregularly detached place, which any skilful composer would have avoided, from the noun, *śata-pañchakê*, which it qualifies. While, on the other hand, I have shewn, in my remarks on the nomenclature of the era, at page 19 ff. above, that we have no reason at all to look for the use of such an adjective as *Gaupta*, 'belonging to the Guptas;' and, if we maintain the original reading of *Gôptê*, we have a locative case, which we have every reason to expect in immediate connection with the verb *dadau*, "he gave," and which will then give us the name of the village at which the grant was made. And, until the original first plate of the grant is produced, to prove that Gôpta was not the name of the village,[2] or otherwise to explain the passage, this is the reading and interpretation that I adopt.

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[1] Śaka-Saṁvat 628 current commenced rather early, on, approximately, Sunday, the 1st March, A.D. 705. And hence the reason why the month Jyêshṭha, which ordinarily answers to May-June, commenced on the 28th April, and of course ended before the end of May.

In accordance, however, with the palæography of the grant, I see no reason for referring the date to any except the Gupta-Valabhî era; irrespective of the question whether the era is mentioned by name, or not. This record, therefore, gives us, for calculation, an **eclipse of the sun,** which took place on some unspecified date in Gupta-Saṁvat 586 current, as the original text specifies that the year 585 had expired. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, the eclipse should be found in Gupta-Saṁvat 586 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 828 current, somewhere between[3] the 10th March, A.D. 905, and the 27th February, A.D. 906. Also, it should, presumably, be visible at the place at which the grant was made on the occasion of it. And, though there is nothing, in the existing remnant of the record, to indicate with certainty the exact locality to which it belongs, still there is nothing against the supposition that it really belongs to Môrbî itself, or to that neighbourhood. We have, therefore, to look for a solar eclipse, occurring in Śaka-Saṁvat 828 current, and visible at Môrbî, or near that town, in the north of Kâṭhiâwâḍ.

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[1] The mistake of *ô* for *au* does occur in the word *svavbhânô*, for *svarbbhânau*, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word *paurvva*, the *au* is formed quite correctly and completely.

[2] We might easily find its present representative in the modern name of Gôp, which occurs in the case of a village, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, about seventy-five miles south-west of Môrbî; twenty-five miles south of Nawânagar or Jâmnagar; and fifty miles east of Dhiniki, where there was found the copper-plate grant of Jâikadêva, which purports to be dated in Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 (see page 62 above, note 1.)

[3] Of course, as it could only take place at a new-moon conjunction, it did not occur on the given solar day for the writing of the charter.—The limits within which we must look for it, are the first and the last days of Śaka-Saṁvat 828 current, as given in *Indian Eras*, p. 167.

General Cunningham's Table[1] mentions no solar eclipse, as having occurred during the period defined above. But, by calculations from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds[2] that there was an **eclipse of the sun, on Tuesday, the 7th May, A.D. 905,** corresponding to the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pûrṇimânta* northern Jyêshṭha of Śaka-Saṁvat 828 current, which fully answers the required conditions.[3] It was visible at Môrbî; over almost the whole of Southern India; and in Ceylon. The magnitude, at Môrbî, was one ninth of the sun's disc; and, in the southern parts of India, greater than this. And the middle of the eclipse, at Môrbî, was at 12.9 midday of the Môrbî mean civil time. This eclipse, accordingly, was very distinctly visible at Môrbî; even if it was not known beforehand, from calculations.

This result, therefore, fully answers to the conditions of the record. It does not, in itself, furnish conclusive proof, either as to the exact epoch of the era, or as to the scheme of the year; for the reason that, if treated as a southern date, the day of the eclipse, represented in that case by the new-moon *tithi* of the *Amânta* southern Vaiśâkha, belonged to the southern Śaka-Saṁvat 828, and to the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 962, as well as to the northern Śaka-Saṁvat 828 and Vikrama-Saṁvat 963. But it answers, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years; and to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year. And it gives Śaka-Samvat 828 current (A.D. 905-906), as the equivalent of the indicated current Gupta year.

In respect of the given solar day for the writing of the charter, *viz.* the fifth solar day in the bright fortnight of the month Phâlguna (February-March), as the name of the week-day is not given, the only test that we can apply is the presumption[4] that the running number of the lunar *tithi* is the same as that of the solar day; *i.e.* that the fifth lunar *tithi* ended on the fifth solar day of the fortnight. If the year 586, connected with this solar day, is to be taken as expired, as in connection with the eclipse, this should be the case in Śaka-Saṁvat 828. And, by calculations for that year from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon *tithi*, which was that of the *Pûrṇimânta* northern Phâlguna, or the *Amânta* southern Mâgha, ended on Monday, the 27th January, A.D. 906; and that the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phâlguna ended on Saturday, the 1st February, which was the fifth successive solar day. If this date is accepted, then the charter was written nine months after the making of the grant.[1] On the other hand, if the year 585 is here to be taken as current, there should be the same agreement of the lunar *tithi* and the solar day in Śaka-Saṁvat 827. And, for this year, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon *tithi* ended on Thursday, the 7th February, A.D. 925; and that the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phâlguna ended on Tuesday, the 12th February, which was again the fifth successive solar day. If this date is accepted, then the charter was prepared two months before the actual making of the grant.

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[1] See *Indian Eras,* p. 213.

[2] For his calculations, which are based on the apparent longitudes of the sun and the moon, he has taken the latitude and longitude of Môrbî, which I was not then able to supply to him, as 22° 45′ N. and 70° 51′ E. I now find that, in Thornton's Gazetteer of India, the figures are 22° 49′ N. and 70° 53′ E. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit states, however, that the difference will not palpably affect his results.

[3] So also Prof. K. L. Chhatre himself obtained the same eclipse; see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan,* p. 99, where, with a slight difference of phraseology, the eclipse is given as occurring "on the 30th of Vaiśâkha, Śaka 827;" the reference being to the *Amânta* southern month and the expired Śaka year.

[4] See page 85 above, note 1.

It may perhaps be argued, hereafter, in opposition to my results for the exact epoch of the era, that all the Gupta-Valabhî dates are recorded in expired years, whether the fact is distinctly stated or not; and, consequently, that it is as an expired year, not current, that the year 165 of the Êraṇ pillar inscription is equivalent to A.D. 484-85 current, and that the year 585 expired, of the present record, is equivalent to A.D. 904-905 current. In that case, the solar eclipse would have to be found in Gupta-Saṁvat 585+242= Śaka-Saṁvat 827 current, somewhere between [2] the 21st March, A.D. 904, and the 9th March, A.D. 905. During this period, there were two eclipses of the sun;[3] on Saturday, the 16th June, A.D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pûrṇimânta* northern Âshâḍha of Śaka-Saṁvat 827 current; and on Saturday, the 10th November, A.D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pûrṇimânta* northern Mârgaśîrsha of the same Śaka year. In respect of the first of them, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that it was not visible anywhere in India; but only in the more northern parts of the earth. This, therefore, cannot be the eclipse intended. In respect of the second of them, he finds that it was visible at Môrbî; over more than half the northern part of Kâṭhiâwâḍ; and, to the south, along the coast, as far as Surat, one hundred and seventy miles south-east of Môrbî, and in the interior, a little further still. And, at Môrbî, the middle of the eclipse was at 11.54 A.M. of the Môrbî mean civil time. At Ahmadâbâd, one hundred and twenty miles east by north from Môrbî, one twelfth of the sun's disc was eclipsed; and, in the more northern parts of India, a considerably greater surface. But, at Môrbî itself, the magnitude of the eclipse was very small; extending there to only one twenty-fifth part of the disc.[1] This eclipse, therefore, setting aside all other considerations, is not in any way as satisfactory as that of the 7th May, A.D. 905.

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[1] There is nothing in the record itself, to indicate whether the writing of the charter preceded, or followed, the making of the grant. The Râjim grant of Tîvaradêva, No. 81, page 291, furnishes another similar instance. In that instance, the grant was made on the eleventh *tithi* of Jyêshṭha (May-June); while the charter was written, or assigned, on the eighth solar day of Kârttika (October-November); and there is nothing to shew specifically whether it was the following, or the preceding, Kârttika. That charter may have been written, or assigned, either five months after, or seven months before, the making of the grant recorded in it.

[2] See *Indian Eras*, p. 167.

[3] See *Indian Eras* p. 213.

The use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in Records of the Early Gupta period.

I now come to a still more interesting and important part of my inquiry; *viz.* to the **use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter** in the dates of some of the records of the Early Gupta period.

These dates are found in the inscriptions of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Saṁkshôbha, No. 21, page 93, to No. 25, page 112. And the extreme value of the records, from the present point of view, is due to the fact that in each instance, except in No. 24, page 110,[2] the date is directly connected with an expression which shews explicitly that, at the time mentioned, the Gupta sovereignty was still enduring; and consequently,—since the figures of the years are naturally referable to the same uniform series with the years quoted in the records of the Early Guptas themselves; and since the palæography of the inscriptions is entirely in favour of such a reference,—which shews also that the dates are recorded in the identical era that was used by the Early Gupta kings.

The evidence derivable from these records has hitherto been completely misapplied; in consequence of the adoption of the view, that the duration of any *saṁvatsara* or year of this cycle, is the same with that of the years of the Śaka era, from Chaitra śukla 1 to Chaitra kṛishṇa 15; and that the means of exactly determining the *saṁvatsaras* of this cycle, are provided by the last remainder obtained from certain rules given by Varâhamihira and others, which in reality only shews what *saṁvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle of the same planet according to the Northern System, and of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the mean-sign system, is current at the commencement of any given Śaka or Kaliyuga year, and which does not provide for the determination of the *saṁvatsaras* on any other given date in the year.[3]

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[1] Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has not made actual calculations for the village of Gôp (see page 98 above, note 2); but is able to state that both the eclipses, of the 7th May, A.D. 905, and of the 10th November, A.D. 904, were visible there; the circumstances of the former eclipse, in respect of visibility, being more favourable, and those of the latter being less so, at Gôp than at Môrbî.

[2] For the possible explanation of the omission in this instance, see page 8 above.

[3] See, for instance, *Indian Eras*, p. 26 ff.—This interpretation of the rules in question leaves unutilized, and unexplained, the first remainder, obtained from the division by 3750 according to Varâhamihira's rule, and by 1875 according to the rule of the *Jyôtishṭava*. In connection with the *Jyôtishṭava* rule, however, Warren has shewn (*Kala-Sankalita*, p. 202) how this remainder gives the means of determining the actual commencement of each *saṁvatsara*.—From the use of some Tables drawn up by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, for determining the actual commencement of each *saṁvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and of each *saṁvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle

The correct theory of the cycle, according to the requirements of the system actually applied in the records now under consideration, with the proper method of determining each of the *saṁvatsaras*, has now been demonstrated by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, in his paper which is published as Appendix III. below. And, by calculations based on the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, he has worked out all the results required for a full treatment of the dates in question; giving the full English and Hindu dates throughout, in order that both European and Hindu astronomers may be in a position to easily check his results. In publishing his results, I am confident that no essential errors can be established in them; even though it should be shewn, by more exhaustive calculations, that his longitudes for the heliacal risings of Jupiter are capable of slight corrections.[1] And, as will be seen, his results corroborate, in the most emphatic manner, all that has been established in the preceding pages; first, approximately, from the statements of Albêrûnî, the Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 529 expired, and the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta-Saṁvat 165; and then, exactly, by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhì-Saṁvat 945.

It is not essential, for the most part, to enquire whether any of the dates, which give correct results with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, also give, by coincidence, correct results with any of the suggested earlier epochs. And, indeed, to make any such inquiry systematic and thorough, it would be obligatory to make the calculations, throughout, for at least a dozen years or so before and after the proposed epochs. Such inquiries are certainly unnecessary in respect of any epoch as early as that proposed by Mr. Thomas. It seemed worth while, however, to calculate the dates now under consideration, and to give the results, for the epochs proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley; both of whom have dealt with the whole subject on the clear understanding that these dates are recorded in the era that was actually used by the Early Guptas themselves. And it will be seen

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according to the mean-sign system, I find that, for the purposes of such rules as that given by Varâhamihira in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, viii. 20, 21, the Śaka years must be treated as commencing with the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* or entrance of the Sun into Aries, and not with Chaitra śukla 1; though the latter is the initial day that is required for the notation of *tithis*. For instance, by Varâhamihira's rule, the Viśvâvasu *saṁvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle was current at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 748 current (A.D. 825-26); and, by Gen. Cunningham's extension of the rule (*Indian Eras*, p. 27), the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle was current on the same date. In Śaka-Saṁvat 748, the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* occurred on the 21st March, A.D. 825; and Chaitra śukla 1 ended on the 22nd February. The Viśvâvasu *saṁvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and, with it, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, actually commenced on the 15th March; and thus they were current at the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, but not on Chaitra śukla 1. And the same will often happen when the *saṁvatsaras* are commencing shortly before the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*. This application of such rules as that given by Varâhamihira, is, in fact, the natural one; though it may not be apparent at first sight. For, the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* is a very definite point in the year; whereas, Chaitra śukla 1 is always shifting backwards and forwards by about eleven and nineteen days at a time, and its circumstances could not be met by any such hard-and-fast rules.

[1] See, *e.g.*, page 110 below, note 1.

that, with the same heliacal-rising system that is applied to prove the epoch of A.D. 319-20, the results, as a whole, emphatically fail. In calculating the details with these two epochs, as with the epoch that I am proving, the Gupta year has been treated as a Śaka year, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, and with the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights. In some of the cases in which, by this treatment, and with these two epochs, the results fail, more favourable results might be obtained by adopting a year commencing with, either the preceding, or the following, Kârttika śukla 1; and by slightly varying the proposed epochs accordingly. But a full consideration of the details will shew that, with neither of these two epochs, as they stand, and probably with no epochs in any way approximating to them, is there any method of bringing out perfectly uniform results throughout.

It might, however, be claimed that General Cunningham's epoch, or Sir E. Clive Bayley's, or even both of them, could be proved, for the present records, by the other system of the Twelve-Year Cycle; according to which the *saṁvatsaras* are determined by the passage of Jupiter among the signs of the zodiac; and which is, in fact, the system that they have sought to apply in support of their theories. The results, therefore, according to this system also, will be given. It will be seen that it is not the system which applies to the epoch that I am proving; inasmuch as it gives correct results in only two cases out of the four by which any absolute proof can be established;[1] *viz.* in the case of the grant B. dated in Gupta-Saṁvat 163, and in the case of the grant C. dated in Gupta-Saṁvat 191. As regards General Cunningham's and Sir E. Clive Bayley's epochs, it has always been recognised that this system fails in the case of the grant B. dated in Gupta-Saṁvat 163, unless the given year is deliberately altered from 163 to 173. As there is really no justification for this alteration of the original text,[2] the failure of the system even in this instance alone, is enough to shew that the proposed epochs are not sustainable by means of it. But further, though the fact has not hitherto been recognised, the system fails also in respect of another of the records. Thus, in the case of the grant C. dated in Gupta-Saṁvat 191, the given *saṁvatsara* really was current at the commencement of the given year, in accordance with the rules applied by General Cunningham, and accepted by Sir E. Clive Bayley, from which, however, it was not properly to be inferred that it was current through the whole of the same year; but it came to an end, and was followed by the next *saṁvatsara*, with General Cunningham's epoch, nearly three and a half months, and with Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch, nearly seven months, before the subsequent given date in that year. In fact, out of the four leading dates on which any arguments can be based, with these two epochs this system gives correct results only in respect of the grant A. dated in Gupta-Saṁvat 156, and the grant D. dated in Gupta-Saṁvat 209. And, as with the heliacal-rising system, so with this system also, a full consideration of the details will shew that, even by adopting a scheme for the Gupta year other than the scheme of the northern Śaka year, with neither of these two epochs is there any method of bringing out uniform results throughout.

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[1] The date in the Bhumarâ pillar inscription, E. below, furnishes no definite proof in itself; because the current Gupta year is not mentioned in it; and consequently the given *saṁvatsara* could be proved equally well for epochs differing by a year or more, on either side, from the exact epochs that are being considered. We can only test it, in so far as to see whether, under any particular circumstances, the system fails through an omission of the given *saṁvatsara*.

[2] See Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1.

A.—The Khôh Grant of the year 156.

The first inscription is **one of the Khôh grants of the Mahârâja Hastin,** No. 21, page 93; in which the date (line 1 ff.) is — shaṭpañchâś-ôttarê=bda-śatê Gupta-nṛipa-râjya-bhuktau Mahâ-Vaiśâkha-saṁvatsarê Kârttika-mâsa-śukla-paksha-tṛitîyâyâm, — "in a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (*year*); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika."

This gives us, for calculation, the **Mahâ-Vaiśâkha saṁvatsara,** as current on the third *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November) in Gupta-Saṁvat 156 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṁvat 156 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 398 current;[1] in which year the given *tithi* corresponds to Sunday, the 19th October, A.D. 475.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 below, Col. A.) that Jupiter's rising,[2] next before the given date, took place on Kârttika śukla 1 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 398 current, corresponding to Friday, the 17th October, A.D. 475; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 18th October.[3] His longitude then was

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[1] Here, and throughout, the year is treated as a northern year. But the details of these dates do not furnish any actual proof as to the *Pûrṇimânta* or *Amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

[2] *i.e.*, throughout, his heliacal rising. But the actual calculation is for his first daily rising after his becoming capable of rising heliacally.

[3] Jupiter's daily rising, next after his becoming capable of rising heliacally, takes place about forty-four minutes before sunrise, and therefore in the period during which the Hindu and the English week-days are not identical (see a note in Appendix II. below). In the present case, it took place at the time in question before sunrise on the English Saturday, the 18th October. Kârttika śukla 2 did not end till after sunrise on that day. Consequently, as current *tithis* are not quoted, unless under certain very exceptional conditions not applicable to such occurrences as this, the *tithi* on which he rose was Kârttika śukla 1. And this *tithi*, ending after sunrise on the Friday (and before sunrise on the Saturday), has to be coupled with Friday, the 17th October, as its week-day. Hence the apparent, but not actual, difference of a day, according as we take the Hindu or the English calendar. And a similar difference runs through all the dates of the heliacal risings given below.

TABLE IV.

The Saṁvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

	A	B	C	D	E 1	E 2
Gupta year, current	156	163	191	209	189	201
Add the difference of	242	242	242	242	242	242
Śaka year, current	398	405	433	451	431	443
The given saṁvatsara	Mahâ-Vaiśâkha	Mahâ-Âśvayuja	Mahâ-Chaitra	Mahâ-Âśvayuja	Mahâ-Mâgha	Mahâ-Mâgha
The given date	Kârttika śukla 3	Chaitra śukla 2	Mâgha kṛishṇa 3	Chaitra śukla 13	Kârttika, 19th day	Kârttika, 19th day
Corresponding to	19th October, A.D. 475	7th March, A.D. 482	3rd January, A.D. 511	19th March, A.D. 528	13th October, A.D. 508	2nd October, A.D. 520
Jupiter's preceding rising was on	Kârttika śukla 1 of Śaka 398	Vaiśâkha kṛishṇa 6 of Śaka 404	Âśvina śukla 11 of Śaka 433	Chaitra śukla 12 of Śaka 451.	Śrâvaṇa śukla 15 of Saka 431	Bhâdrapada śukla 3 of Śaka 443
corresponding to	17th October, A.D. 475	5th April, A.D. 481	29th September, A.D. 510	18th March, A.D. 528	28th July, A.D. 508	2nd August, A.D. 520
English date ...	18th October	6th April	30th September	19th March	29th July	3rd August
„ longitude then was	195° 24′	4° 21′	177° 47′	347° 45′	117° 4′	121° 30′
„ position was in ..	Viśâkhâ	Aśvinî	Chitrâ	Rêvatî	Maghâ	Maghâ
And the saṁvatsara, which then began, was ...	Mahâ-Vaiśâkha	Mahâ-Âśvayuja	Mahâ-Chaitra	Mahâ-Âśvayuja	Mahâ-Mâgha	Mahâ-Mâgha
Jupiter's following rising was on	Mârgaśîrsha śukla 13 of Śaka 399	Jyêshṭha śukla 8 of Śaka 405	Mârgaśîrsha kṛishṇa 7 of Śaka 434	Jyêshṭha śukla 3 of Śaka 452	Âśvina kṛishṇa 13 of Śaka 432	Âśvina kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka 444
corresponding to	15th November, A.D. 476	12th May, A.D. 482	29th October, A.D. 511	26th April, A.D. 529	29th August, A.D. 509	3rd September, A.D. 521
English date ...	16th November	13th May	30th October	27th April	30th August	4th September
„ longitude then was	225° 35′	40° 34′	207° 41′	24° 36′	147° 49′	152° 17′
„ position was in ...	Jyêshṭhâ	Rôhiṇî	Viśâkhâ	Kṛittikâ	Uttarâ-Phalgunî	Uttarâ-Phalgunî
And the saṁvatsara, which then began, was ...	Mahâ-Jyêshṭha	Mahâ-Kârttika	Mahâ-Vaiśâkha	Mahâ-Kârttika	Mahâ-Phâlguna	Mahâ-Phâlguna

195° 24′. By both the systems of unequal spaces for the longitudes of the ending-points of the *nakshatras* (see Appendix III. Table IX.), he was then in Viśâkhâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began (see Appendix III. Table VIII.), must have been named **Mahâ-Vaiśâkha.**[1] Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mârgaśîrsha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 399, corresponding to Monday, the 15th November, A.D. 476; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 16th November. His longitude then was 225° 35′. By the Brahma-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyêshṭhâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Jyêshṭha. While, by the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Anurâdhâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have again been named Mahâ-Vaiśâkha; which shews that, by this system, there was at this period a repetition of a *saṁvatsara.* This difference as to the following *saṁvatsara*, however, does not affect the given date. By both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** And the result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 398 current (A.D. 475-76), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In connection with the results for this record, the following points have to be noted. In the first place, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has described three systems of fixing the ending-points of the *nakshatras*; one of equal spaces; and two of unequal spaces. An examination of Jupiter's longitudes, as given in Table IV., page 105 above, for each rising next before the given dates, will shew that, in all the remaining instances, the current *saṁvatsara* is proved by all three systems; the only variation is that, in the case of E1, Jupiter's position, at his rising next before the given date, was, by the system of equal spaces, in Âślêshâ; but, even then, the current *saṁvatsara* would be named Mahâ-Mâgha, as also by the two systems of unequal spaces. So, also, it may be seen that, by all three systems, we have almost the same results in respect of the following *saṁvatsaras*; the only variation is that, in the case of D., Jupiter's position, at his rising next after the given date, was, by the system of equal spaces, in Bharaṇî, and, accordingly, the *saṁvatsara* which then began, would again be named Mahâ-Âśvayuja; which shews that, by this system, there was a repetition of a *saṁvatsara* at this period; but this does not affect the *saṁvatsara* current on the given date. So far, therefore, as those dates are concerned, the correctness of the records might be proved by any of the three systems. The same, however, is not the case in respect of the present record. By the system of equal spaces, Jupiter's position, at his rising next before the given date, was in Svâti; the *saṁvatsara* which then began, would be named Mahâ-Chaitra; and the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara* would not begin till Jupiter's rising next after the given date, when, by the same system, his position was in Anurâdhâ. Accordingly, the system of equal spaces could be applied to the present record, only with a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years; which would be in contradiction with the fact that, to prove the *saṁvatsaras* of all the remaining records, it must be applied with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. It is evident, therefore, that, in dealing with these records, the system of equal spaces is not the correct one; and that **we have to apply one or other of the systems of unequal spaces.** This, however, is only natural; for they are both more ancient than the system of equal spaces; and, the older the system, the greater the certainty that it is the one in use in the Early Gupta period. Also, the Dêôgaḍh inscription of king Bhôjadêva of Kanauj, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 784, indicates very plainly that one or other of the systems of unequal spaces, if not both of them, continued in use, in what had formed a part of the Early Gupta territory, down to at least the last half of the ninth century A.D.[1] Of the two systems of unequal spaces, whether we are to apply the Brahma-Siddhânta system, or the still more ancient Garga system, cannot at present be decided;

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[1] I have not been able to obtain the original authority for the use of the prefix *mahâ* (*mahat*), 'great.' And it does not occur in connection with the two *saṁvatsaras* mentioned in the Halsî grants of the Kâdamba chieftain Mṛigêśavarman: *viz.* the Pausha *saṁvatsara*, in line 8 of the grant dated in his third year (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35), and the Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara*, in line 10 of the grant dated in his eighth year (*id.* Vol. VI. p. 24). I use the prefix, however, throughout, in accordance with the custom of the original records now under examination.

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[1] In this inscription, which was brought to notice by Gen. Cunningham in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 101, and Plate xxxiii. No. 2, and is on a pillar in a detached portico in front of the hall of a temple at Dêôgaḍh, about sixty miles to the south-west of 'Jhansi' in Scindia's Dominions in Central India, the date (from an ink-impression; lines 6 ff., 10) runs — *saṁvat 919 Asva(śva)yuja-śukla-paksha-chaturddaśyâṁ Vṛihaspati-dinêna Uttar[â*]-Bhâdrapad[â*]-nakshattrê idaṁ stambhaṁ samâptam=iti . . . . Śakakâl-âbda-sapta-śatâni chatur-aśîty-adhikâni 784,* — "the year 919; on the fourteenth *tithi* or lunar day in the bright fortnight of Aśvayuja; on the day of Vṛihaspati; under the Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ *nakshatra*, this pillar was finished; . . . . seven centuries of years, increased by eighty-four, of the Śaka era; (*or in figures*) 784." This gives us, for calculation, Vikrama-Saṁvat 919 and Śaka-Saṁvat 784; the month Âśvayuja (September-October); the day of Vṛihaspati or Jupiter, *i.e.* Thursday; and the Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ *nakshatra*. The date, of course, is a northern date; but, as the given *tithi* is in a bright fortnight, this point is immaterial.—Taking the Śaka year in question as an expired year, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has obtained as the English equivalent, by both Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables and the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, Thursday, the 10th September, A.D. 862. The *tithi* ended at 56 *ghaṭis*, 34 *palas*, or 22 hrs. 37 min. 36 sec., after sunrise on that day. By the equal-space system of the *nakshatras*, the moon was in the Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ *nakshatra* up to 53 *ghaṭîs*, 31 *palas*, or 21 hrs. 24 min. 24 sec., after sunrise on the Thursday; and she then entered the Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ *nakshatra*; *i.e.* assuming sunrise at 6 A.M., only 2 hrs. 35 min. 36 sec. before sunrise on the Friday (the time, all through, is for Ujjain, as I have not the exact longitude of Dêôgaḍh; taking it, approximately, as 78° 15′ E., the time in each case, will be a little less than ten minutes later). This, however, is a highly improbable hour for the completion, as stated in the record, of the pillar on which the inscription is engraved. But, by the unequal-space systems of the *nakshatras*, the Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ *nakshatra* ended at about 23 *ghaṭîs*, 40 *palas*, or 9 hrs. 28 min., after sunrise on the Thursday; and the moon then entered the Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ *nakshatra*; *i.e.*, roughly, about half past three in the afternoon, leaving ample time, in ordinary working hours, for the completion of the pillar before sunset.—It is evident, therefore, that for the determination of the *nakshatra* in this record, we have to apply one or other of the systems of unequal spaces.

since, the only variation between them is in respect of the *saṁvatsara* following the *saṁvatsara* which was current on the given date of the present record.

Another point is, that, as the following *saṁvatsara* did not commence till Mârgaśîrsha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 399, the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara* was still current on the given date, Kârttika śukla 3, in Śaka-Saṁvat 399, as well as in 398, which is the real equivalent for the Gupta year. So, also, it will be seen that, in the case of D., the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* was still current on the given date, Chaitra śukla 13, in Śaka-Saṁvat 452, as well as in 451, which is the true equivalent for the Gupta year of that record. Consequently, these two dates, A. and D., might be used to support a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, as well as the true running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. But, apart from the fact that we have not obtained anything else to support such a result, there is no such alternative in respect of B. and C.; the *saṁvatsaras* of those records are proved only with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. All the four cases together, therefore, not only answer to, but also **prove the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.**

A final point is, that, on the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV., of the year 330, and with a year beginning with the month Kârttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Kârttika śukla 3, in Gupta-Saṁvat 156, would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 397 current. But it would then fall a year, all but two days, anterior to the commencement of the recorded *saṁvatsara* on Kârttika śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 398. This record, therefore, also **disproves the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year,** beginning with the month Kârttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

On the analogy of the same grant, and with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mârgaśîrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year,[1] the given date would still belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 398. The possibility, however, of our being concerned with such a year as this, is disproved by the results for the date of C. below, in Gupta-Saṁvat 191.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara* did not commence till Vaiśâkha śukla 5 of Śaka-Saṁvat 399 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 14th April, A.D. 476; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *saṁvatsara* then current was Mahâ-Chaitra, which commenced on Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 398, corresponding to Saturday, the 19th April, A.D. 475.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 245 current; and its English equivalent would be Sunday, the 30th September, A.D. 322. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Kârttika śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 244, corresponding to Friday, the 20th October, A.D. 321; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 21st October. His longitude then was 200° 54′. By all three systems, he was then in Viśâkhâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Vaiśâkha.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausha kṛishṇa 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 245, corresponding to Tuesday, the 20th November, A.D. 322; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 21st November. His longitude then was 231° 33′. By the system of equal spaces, and the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyêshṭhâ; and, by the Brahma-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces, in Mûla; and, by all three systems, the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Jyêshṭha. Accordingly, with this epoch, **the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** This, however, is a mere coincidence. There is the same coincidence in respect of the date of D.; but not in respect of B. and C.

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[1] See page 78 above.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Phâlguna kṛishṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 244 current, corresponding to Friday, the 2nd February, A.D. 322; and it was followed by Mahâ-Jyêshṭha on Phâlguna śukla 6 of Śaka-Saṁvat 245, corresponding to Tuesday, the 29th January, A.D. 323. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, **the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha saṁvatsara was current on the given date.**

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 269 current; and its English equivalent would be Saturday, the 4th October, A.D. 346. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Mârgaśîrsha kṛishṇa 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 268, corresponding to Tuesday, the 29th October, A.D. 345; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 30th October. His longitude then was 209° 22′. By all three systems, he was then in Viśâkhâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Vaiśâkha.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausha kṛishṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 269, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th November, A.D. 346; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th November. His longitude then was 240° 17′. By all three systems, he was then in Mûla; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Jyêshṭha. Accordingly, with this epoch also, **the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** This again, however, is a mere coincidence. And again, though there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of D., it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Kârttika śukla 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 268 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 23rd October, A.D. 345; and it was followed by Mahâ-Jyêshṭha on Mârgaśîrsha kṛishṇa 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 269, corresponding to Sunday, the 19th October, A.D. 346. Accordingly, with this epoch again, and by this system also, **the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha saṁvatsara was current on the given date.**

B.—The Khôh Grant of the year 163.

The next inscription is **the other Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Hastin,** No. 22, page 100, in which the date (line 1 f.) is — tri-shashṭy-uttarê-bda-śatê Gupta-nṛipa-râjya-bhuktau Mah-Âśvayuja-saṁvatsarê Chaitra-mâsa-śukla-paksha-dvitîyâyâm,—"in a century of years, increased by sixty-three; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara*; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra."

This gives us, for calculation, the **Mahâ-Aśvayuja saṁvatsara,** as current on the second *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Saṁvat 163 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṁvat 163 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 405 current; in which year the given *tithi* corresponds to Sunday, the 7th March, A.D. 482.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. B.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place[1] on Vaiśâkha kṛishṇa 6 of the preceding year, Śaka-Saṁvat 404 current, corresponding to Sunday, the 5th April, A.D. 481; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 6th April. His longitude then was 4° 21′. By both the systems of unequal spaces,[2] he was then in Aśvinî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Âśvayuja.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêshṭha śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 405, corresponding to Wednesday, the 12th May, A.D. 482; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 13th May. His longitude then was 40° 34′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rôhiṇî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** And the result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 405 current (A.D. 482-83), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In this instance, the given *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date in either the preceding year, Saka-Saṁvat 404, or the following year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406. The result, therefore, not only answers to, but also **proves, the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.**

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[1] These calculations are not absolutely accurate; but the margin is so wide, that there is no necessity for exact precision in this case. If there should be any difference at all between Jupiter's longitudes as found by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, and as capable of being determined with exact precision, it will amount only to a few minutes of arc; and the actual risings of Jupiter could differ from what he gives, only by one or two days; with the result that Jupiter may have risen, in this instance, on Vaiśâkha kṛishṇa 5 or 7.

[2] Also by the system of equal spaces; but see page 107 above. This point need not be noted in the following instances.

On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 330, and with a year beginning either with the month Kârttika, or with the month Mârgaśîrsha, next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Chaitra śukla 2, in Gupta-Saṁvat 163, would still belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 405. But, as noted at page 108 above, the results for the date of A. disprove the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kârttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year. And, as will be shewn at page 115 below, the results for the date of C., in Gupta-Saṁvat 191, disprove the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mârgaśîrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* commenced on Chaitra śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 404 current, corresponding to Tuesday, the 24th March, A.D. 481; and it was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika on Chaitra śukla 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 405, corresponding to Saturday, the 20th March, A.D. 482. Accordingly, by this system also, **the Mahâ-Aśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.**

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, and **with the original reading** of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 252 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 17th February, A.D: 329. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 6 of Śaka-Saṁvat 251, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th May, A.D. 328; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 17th May. His longitude then was 47° 25′. By all three systems, he was then in Rôhiṇî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Âshâḍha śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 252, corresponding to Sunday, the 22nd June, A.D. 329; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 23rd June. His longitude then was 82°12′. By all three systems, he was then in Punarvasu; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha; the intervening *saṁvatsara*, Mahâ-Mârgaśîrsha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahâ-Âsvayuja *saṁvatsara*, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Vaiśâkha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 250, corresponding to Tuesday, the 11th April, A.D. 327, or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 12th April; when his longitude was 11° 21′, and, by all three systems, he was in Aśvinî. And thus the given *saṁvatsara* was current on the same date in the preceding year.—With the same epoch, and **with the proposed corrected reading** (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1) of Gupta-Saṁvat 173, the given date would belong to Saka-Saṁvat 262 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 27th February, A.D. 339. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 261, corresponding to Friday, the 10th March, A.D. 338; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 11th March. His longitude then was 339° 54′. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Bhâdrapada. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 262, corresponding to Tuesday, the 17th April, A.D. 339; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 18th April. His longitude then was 16° 34′. By all three systems, he was then in Bharaṇî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Âśvayuja. Accordingly, with this epoch, even with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date; but only on the same date in the following year.

By the mean-sign system, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* commenced on Mâgha śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 249 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th January, A.D. 327; and was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika on Mâgha śukla 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 250, corresponding to Monday, the 8th January, A.D. 328; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *saṁvatsara* then current was Mahâ-Mârgaśîrsha, which commenced on Phâlguna kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 251 current, corresponding to Friday, the 3rd January, A.D. 329.—**With the proposed corrected reading** of Gupta-Saṁvat 173, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* commenced on Pausha kṛishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 261 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 22nd November, A.D. 338; and it was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika on Mârgaśîrsha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 262, corresponding to Sunday, the 18th November, A.D. 339. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system, **with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** The proposed alteration of the original text, however, cannot be justified.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, and **with the original reading** of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 276 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 22nd February, A.D. 353. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 275, corresponding to Wednesday, the 27th May, A.D. 352; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 28th May. His longitude then was 57° 12′. By all three systems, he was then in Mṛiga; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Mârgaśîrsha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Âshâḍha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 276, corresponding to Thursday, the 1st July, A.D. 353; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 2nd July. His longitude then was 91° 19′. By all three systems, he was then in Punarvasu; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date. As a matter of fact, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* of this cycle may have been omitted. Thus, in Śaka-Saṁvat 273 current, Jupiter's rising took place on Vaiśâkha kṛishṇa 6, corresponding to Friday, the 16th Mareh, A.D. 350; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 17th March. His longitude then was 345° 10′. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Bhâdrapada. His next rising took place on Vaiśâkha śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 274, corresponding to Monday, the 22nd April, A.D. 351; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 23rd April. His longitude then was 21° 35′. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bharaṇî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, would be named Mahâ-Âśvayuja; and there would be an omission of the following *saṁvatsara*, Mahâ-Kârttika. But, by the two systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛittikâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, would be named Mahâ-Kârttika; with an omission of the intervening *saṁvatsara*, Mahâ-Âśvayuja. — With the same epoch, and **with the proposed corrected reading** of Gupta-Saṁvat 173 (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1), the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 286 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 4th March, A.D. 363. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 285, corresponding to Thursday, the 21st March, A.D. 362; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 22nd March. His longitude then was 350° 11′. By all three systems, he was then in Rêvatî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Âśvayuja.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 286, corresponding to Sunday, the 27th April, A.D. 363; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 28th April. His longitude then was 26° 35′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛittikâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bharaṇî; and, by this system, the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have again been named Mahâ-Âśvayuja; which shews that, by this system, there was at this period a repetition of a *saṁvatsara*. Accordingly, with this epoch, and **with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** This, however, is a mere coincidence. And the proposed correction of the original reading cannot be justified.

By the mean-sign system, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* commenced on Kârttika kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 273 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd October, A.D. 350; and it was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika on Kârttika kṛishṇa 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 274, corresponding to Sunday, the 29th September, A.D. 351; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *saṁvatsara* then current was Mahâ-Mârgaśîrsha, which commenced on Kârttika kṛishṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 275 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 24th September, A.D. 352.—**With the proposed corrected reading** of Gupta-Saṁvat 173, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* commenced on Bhâdrapada śukla 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 285 current, corresponding to Tuesday, the 13th August, A.D. 362; and it was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika on Bhâdrapada śukla 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 286, corresponding to Saturday, the 9th August, A.D. 363. Accordingly, with this epoch again, and by this system also, **with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** But the proposed alteration of the original text cannot be justified.

C.—The Majhgawâṁ Grant of the year 191.

The next inscription is the **Majhgawâṁ grant of the Mahârâja Hastin,** No. 23, page 106, in which the date (line 1 f.) is — êka-navaty-uttarê=bda-śatê Gupta-nṛipa-râjya-bhuktau śrîmati pravardhamâna-Mahâ-Chaitra-saṁvatsarê Mâgha-mâsa-bahula-paksha-tṛitîyâyâm,—"in a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the prosperous augmenting Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha." And at the end, in line 21, the date is repeated as—Mâgha di 3, — "(the month) Mâgha; the (solar) day 3."

This gives us, for calculation, the **Mahâ-Chaitra saṁvatsara,** as current on the third *tithi* or lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha (January-February) in Gupta-Saṁvat 191 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṁvat 191 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 433 current; in which year the given date corresponds to Monday, the 3rd January, A.D. 511.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. C.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Âśvina śukla 11 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 433, corresponding to Wednesday, the 29th September, A.D. 510; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 30th September. His longitude then was 177° 47′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Chitrâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Chaitra.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mârgaśîrsha kṛishṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 434, corresponding to Saturday,t he 29th October, A.D. 511; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th October. His longitude then was 207° 41′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Viśâkhâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Vaiśâkha. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahâ-Chaitra saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** And the result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 433 current (A.D. 510-11), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In this instance, again, as in B. above, the given *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date in either the preceding year, Śaka-Saṁvat 432, or the following year, Śaka-Saṁvat 434. Here again, therefore, the result not only answers to, but also **proves, the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.**

On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV., of the year 330, and with a year beginning with the month Kârttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Mâgha kṛishṇa 3, in Gupta-Saṁvat 191, would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 432. It would then fall about eight months and a half before the commencement of the recorded *saṁvatsara* on Âśvina śukla 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 433. This record, therefore, like A. above, **disproves the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year,** beginning with the month Kârttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

Again, on the analogy of the same grant, and with a year beginning with the month Mârgaśîrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date would similarly belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 432; and would similarly fall about eight months and a half before the commencement of the recorded *saṁvatsara*. This record, therefore, also **disproves the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mârgaśîrsha** next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* commenced on Mârgaśîrsha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 433 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 18th November, A.D. 510; and it was followed by Mahâ-Vaiśâkha on Margaśîrsha śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 434, corresponding to Monday, the 14th November, A.D. 511. Accordingly, by this system also **the Mahâ-Chaitra saṁvatsara was current on the given date.**

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 280 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 16th December, A.D. 357. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Mârgaśîrsha śukla 4 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 280, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd November A.D. 357; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 3rd November. His longitude then was 213° 31′. By all three systems, he was then in Anurâdhâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Vaiśâkha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausha kṛishṇa 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 281, corresponding to Friday, the 4th December, A.D. 358; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 5th December. His longitude then was 244° 49. By the system of equal spaces, and by the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Mûla; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must, according to these two systems, have been named Mahâ-Jyêshṭha. By the Brahma-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Pûrvâ-Ashâḍhâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must, according to this system, have been named Mahâ-Âshâḍha; the intervening *saṁvatsara*, Mahâ-Jyêshṭha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara*, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Kârttika kṛishṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 279, corresponding to

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Thursday, the 3rd October, A.D. 356, or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 4th October; when his longitude was 183° 33′, and, by all three systems, he was in Chitrâ. And thus the given *saṁvatsara* was current on the same date in the preceding year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* commenced on Âśvina kṛishṇa 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 279 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 7th September, A.D. 356; and it was followed by Mahâ-Vaiśâkha on Âśvina śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 280, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd September, A.D. 357; and this again was followed by Mahâ-Jyêshṭha on the intercalated Âśvina śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 281, corresponding to Sunday, the 30th August, A.D. 358. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date; and the *saṁvatsara* that was current, was Mahâ-Vaiśâkha.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 304 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 20th December, A.D. 381. Here Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Mârgaśirsha śukla 8 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 304, corresponding to Thursday, the 11th November, A.D. 381; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 12th November. His longitude then was 222° 8′. By all three systems, he was then in Anurâdhâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Vaiśâkha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mâgha kṛishṇa 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 305, corresponding to Wednesday, the 14th December, A.D. 382; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 15th December. His longitude then was 254° 1′. By all three systems, he was then in Pûrvâ-Ashâḍhâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Âshâḍha; the intervening *saṁvatsara*, Mahâ-Jyêshṭha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch also, the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara*, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Kârttika kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 303, corresponding to Sunday, the 11th October, A.D. 380; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 12th October; when his longitude was 191° 2′, and, by all three systems, he was in Svâti. And thus the given *saṁvatsara* was current on the same date in the preceding year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* commenced on the intercalated Âshâḍha śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 303 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 28th May, A.D. 380; and it was followed by Mahâ-Vaiśâkha on Jyêshṭha śukla 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 304, corresponding to Monday, the 24th May, A D. 381; and this again was followed by Mahâ-Jyêshṭha on Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 6 of Śaka-Saṁvat 305, corresponding to Friday, the 20th May, A.D. 382. Accordingly, with this epoch also, and by this system again, the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date; and the *saṁvatsara* that was current, was Mahâ-Vaiśâkha.

D.—The Khôh Grant of the year 209.

The next inscription is the **Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Saṁkshôbha**, No. 25, page 112, in which the date (line 1 ff.) is — navô-ttarê=bda-śata-dvayê Gupta-nṛipa-râjya-bhuktau śrîmati pravardhamâna-vijaya-râjyê Mah-Âśvayuja-saṁvatsarê Chaitra-mâsa-śukla-paksha-trayôdaśyâm,—"in two centuries of years increased by nine; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the glorious augmenting and victorious reign; in the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara*; on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra." And at the end, in line 24, the date is repeated as — Chaitra di 20 7,—" (the month) Chaitra, the (solar) day 20 (*and*) 7."

This gives us, for calculation, the **Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara,** as current on the thirteenth *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Saṁvat 209 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṁvat 209 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 451 current; in which year the given *tithi* corresponds to Sunday, the 19th March, A.D. 528.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. D.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 12 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 451, corresponding to Saturday, the 18th March, A.D. 528; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 19th March; *i.e.* at the dawn immediately before the making of the grant.[1] His longitude then was 347° 45′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rêvatî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Âśvayuja.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêshṭha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 452, corresponding to Thursday, the 26th April, A.D. 529; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 27th April. His longitude then was 24° 36′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛittikâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** And the result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 451 current (A.D. 528-29), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

As a matter of fact, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* was still current on the given date, Chaitra śukla 13, in the following year, Śaka-Saṁvat 452; as well as in Śaka-Saṁvat 451, which is the real equivalent for the given Gupta year. Consequently, this record might be used to support a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years; as well as the true running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. But this possibility has been disposed of, in my remarks on the date of A., in Gupta-Saṁvat 156, at page 108 above.

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[1] For this same reason, probably, the given date was specially selected for making the grant; since, the commencement of a *saṁvatsara* is regarded by Hindus as a very auspicious occasion.

On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 330, and with a year beginning either with the month Kârttika, or with the month Mârgaśîrsha, next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Chaitra śukla 13, in Gupta-Saṁvat 209, would still belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 451. But the results for the dates of both A. and C. above, at pages 108 and 115, disprove the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kârttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year. And the result for the date of C. also disproves the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mârgaśîrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* did not commence till Âśvina śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 451 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 2nd September, A.D. 528; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *saṁvatsara* then current was Mahâ-Bhâdrapada, which commenced on Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 450, corresponding to Tuesday, the 7th September, A.D. 527.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 298 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 2nd March, A.D. 375. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Vaiśâkha kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 297, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th March, A.D. 374; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 27th March. His longitude then was 355° 11′. By all three systems, he was then in Rêvatî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Âśvayuja.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Samvat 298, corresponding to Sunday, the 3rd May, A.D. 375; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 4th May. His longitude then was 31° 49′. By all three systems, he was then in Kṛittikâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. Accordingly, with this epoch, **the Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** This, however, is a mere coincidence. As we have seen at page 109 above, there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of A.; but it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* commenced on Srâvaṇa kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 297 current, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 374; and it was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika on Âshâḍha śukla 4 of Śaka-Saṁvat 298, corresponding to Friday, the 19th June, A.D. 375. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, **the Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.**

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 322 current; and its English equivalent would be Sunday, the 6th March, A.D. 399. Here Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Vaiśâkha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 321, corresponding to Tuesday, the 6th April, A.D. 398; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 7th April. His longitude then was 5° 28′. By all three systems, he was then in Aśvinî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Âśvayuja.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Âshâḍha krishṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 322, corresponding to Friday, the 13th May, A.D. 399; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 14th May. His longitude then was 41° 42′. By all three systems, he was then in Rôhiṇî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. Accordingly, with this epoch also, **the Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** This again, however, is a mere coincidence. And again, though there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of A., it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* commenced on Chaitra śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 321 current, corresponding to Sunday, the 14th March, A.D. 398; and it was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika on Vaiśâkha krishṇa 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 322, corresponding to Thursday, the 10th March, A.D. 399. Accordingly, with this epoch again, and by this system also, **the Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.**

E.—The Bhumarâ Pillar Inscription.

The last inscription of this series is the **Bhumarâ pillar inscription of the Mahârâjas Hastin and Śarvanâtha,** No. 24, page 110; in which the date (line 7 ff.) is — Mahâ-Mâghê saṁvatsarê Kârttika-mâsa divasa 10 9,—"in the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara*; the month Kârttika; the (solar) day 10 (*and*) 9."

This gives us, for calculation, the **Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara,** as current on the nineteenth solar day of the month Kârttika (October-November); but the current year of the Gupta era is not given. The only guide, therefore, in determining the approximate Gupta year, for which the calculations should be made, is the fact that this inscription shows that the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâja* Hastin was, at the time of this record, contemporaneous with the *Mahârâja* Śarvanâtha of Uchchakalpa. For the *Mahârâja* Hastin, we have the extreme recorded dates of Gupta-Saṁvat 156 and 191; while, for the *Mahârâja* Śarvanâtha, we have similarly the dates of the years 193 and 214; and for his father, Jayanâtha, the latest date of the year 177, all of which may have to be referred to the Gupta era. If so, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* in question,—on the assumption that what should be its regular place in the series was not affected by any omissions and repetitions, subsequent to the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara* which was current on Kârttika śukla 3 in Gupta-Saṁvat 156,—must be found in or about Gupta-Saṁvat 189 or 201; with a preference in favour of the year 189, because of the early date of the year 156 for the *Mahârâja* Hastin.

For Gupta-Saṁvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 431 current, the given date, *viz.* the nineteenth day of the month Kârttika, corresponds to Monday, the 13th October, A.D. 508. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. E1) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrâvaṇa śukla 15 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 431, corresponding to Monday, the 28th July, A.D. 508; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 29th July. His longitude then was 117° 4′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Mâgha.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Âśvina kṛishṇa 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 432, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th August, A.D. 509; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th August. His longitude then was 147° 49′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Uttarâ-Phalgunî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṁvat 189, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** And this result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 431 current (A.D. 508-509), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

Again, for Gupta-Saṁvat 201 + 242 = Saka-Saṁvat 443 current, the given date, *viz.* the nineteenth day of the month Kârttika, corresponds to Friday, the 2nd October, A.D. 520. Here, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. E2) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhâdrapada śukla 3 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 443, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd August, A.D. 520; or by the English calendar, on Monday, the 3rd August. His longitude then was 121° 30′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Mâgha.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Âśvina kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 444, corresponding to Friday, the 3rd September, A.D. 521; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 4th September. His longitude then was 152° 17′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Uttarâ-Phalgunî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṁvat 201 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** And this result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 443 current (A.D. 520-21), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

The results for these two years, Gupta-Saṁvat 189 and 201, answer, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years. But they do not, in themselves, prove it; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record. The important point is, that in neither of these two cycles was the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* omitted.

If the dates in the grants of the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa are to be referred to the Kalachuri era,[1] then the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* of this record will be earlier by either one or two cycles than the first of the two years given above. Here, again, in respect of the actual epoch no absolute proof can be derived from this record; and the only important point is, to ascertain that the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* was not omitted in either of the two cycles in question. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, in Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, Jupiter's rising took place on Śrâvaṇa śukla 10, corresponding to Thursday, the 19th July, A.D. 484; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 20th July. His longitude then was 108° 19′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Âślêshâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kârttika in the same year, must have been named **Mahâ-Mâgha.** Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 419 current, Jupiter's rising took place on Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 13, corresponding to Wednesday, the 24th July, A.D. 496; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 25th July. His longitude then was 112° 48′. By the Brahma-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghâ, and by the Garga system, in Âślêshâ; and, by both systems, the *saṁvatsara* which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kârttika in the same year, must have been named **Mahâ-Mâgha.** Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṁvat 165 and 177 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date**, and was not omitted. And these results give either Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current (A.D. 484-85) or 419 current (A.D. 496-97), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṁvat 166 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 408 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Chaitra śukla 5, corresponding to Thursday, the 7th March, A.D. 485; and it was current through the whole month of Kârttika in the same year; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Chaitra śukla 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 409, corresponding to Monday, the 3rd March, A.D. 486. Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 419 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Phâlguna kṛishṇa 12, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th January, A.D. 497; and it was current through the whole month of Kârttika in Gupta-Saṁvat 178; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Mâgha śukla 4 of Śaka-Saṁvat 420, corresponding to Monday, the 12th January, A.D. 498. Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 431 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Pausha kṛishṇa 3, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th November, A.D. 508; and it was current through the whole month of Kârttika in Gupta-Saṁvat 190; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Pausha kṛishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 432, corresponding to Sunday, the 22nd November,

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[1] See page 8 above.

A.D. 509. And thus, by this system also, in Gupta-Saṁvat 166, 178, and 190, **the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** But this was not the case in the next cycle. In Gupta-Saṁvat 201 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 443 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Kârttika śukla 9, corresponding to Tuesday, the 6th October, A.D. 520, and falling four, five, or six days after the nineteenth day of the month; and it was followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Kârttika kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 444, corresponding to Saturday, the 2nd October, A.D. 521, and falling seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen days before the nineteenth day of the month. And thus, though the given *saṁvatsara* was not omitted, the given day did not fall within the limits of its duration.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, for Gupta-Saṁvat 188 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 354-55 = Śaka-Saṁvat 277 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Saturday, 8th October, A.D. 354, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 12 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 277, corresponding to Tuesday, the 2nd August, A.D. 354; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 3rd August. His longitude then was 122° 59. By all three systems, he was then in Maghâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Mâgha.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Âśvina śukla 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 278, corresponding to Sunday, the 3rd September. A.D. 355; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 4th September. His longitude then was 153° 34′. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarâ-Phalgunî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with Gupta-Saṁvat 188 as the intended current year, **the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date.** This result, however, does not help to prove the epoch, because the record does not specify the current Gupta year; and, by taking a different Gupta year, the same result can be obtained for a different epoch

Again, for Gupta-Saṁvat 199 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 365-66 = Śaka-Saṁvat 288 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Wednesday, the 5th October, A.D. 365, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrâvaṇa śukla 1 of the same year, Saka-Saṁvat 288, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th July, A.D. 365; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 7th July. His longitude then was 95° 56′. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Bhâdrapada śukla 15 of Saka-Saṁvat 289, corresponding to Monday, the 7th August, A.D. 366; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 8th August. His longitude then was 127° 24′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pûrvâ-Phalgunî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; the intervening Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was then in Maghâ; and **the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṁvat 200.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Âśvina kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 290, corresponding to Friday, the 7th September, A.D. 367; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 8th September. His longitude then was 157° 42′. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarâ-Phalgunî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; and it was a repeated *saṁvatsara* by the two systems of unequal spaces, but an ordinary *saṁvatsara* by the system of equal spaces.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṁvat 188 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 354-55 = Śaka-Saṁvat 277 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Âśvina śukla 13, corresponding to Friday, the 16th September, A.D. 354; and it was current through the whole month of Kârttika in the same year; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Kârttika kṛishṇa 4 of Saka-Saṁvat 278, corresponding to Tuesday, the 12th September, A.D. 355. And again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 200 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 366-67 = Śaka-Saṁvat 289 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Bhâdrapada śukla 3, corresponding to Thursday, the 27th July, A.D. 366; and it was current through the whole month of Kârttika in the same year; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Śrâvaṇa śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 290, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd July, A.D. 367. And thus, with this epoch, and by this system, **the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara was current on the given date** in Gupta-Saṁvat 188 and 200. The results, however, do not in themselves prove anything definite as to the proposed epoch; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record: and by taking different Gupta years, the same results would be obtained with a different epoch.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, for Gupta-Saṁvat 187 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 377-78 = Śaka-Saṁvat 300 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Sunday, the 22nd October, A.D. 377, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 4, of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 300, corresponding to Tuesday, the 11th July, A.D. 377; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 12th July. His longitude then was 100° 32′. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Bhâdrapada śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 301, corresponding to Sunday, the 12th August, A.D. 378; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 13th August. His longitude then was 131° 50′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pûrvâ-Phalgunî; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; the intervening Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was then in Maghâ; and **the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṁvat 188.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Âśvina śukla 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 302, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th September

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A.D. 379; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 13th September. His longitude then was 162° 0′. By all three systems, he was then in Hasta; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; and it was a repeated *saṁvatsara* by the two systems of unequal spaces, but an ordinary *saṁvatsara* by the system of equal spaces.

Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 199 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 389-90 = Śaka-Saṁvat 312 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Wednesday, the 10th October, A.D. 389, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrâvaṇa śukla 6 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 312, corresponding to Sunday, the 15th July, A.D. 389; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 16th July. His longitude then was 104° 51′. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Âśvina kṛishṇa 4 of Śaka-Saṁvat 313, corresponding to Friday, the 16th August, A.D. 390; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 17th August. His longitude then was 135° 57′. By all three systems, hê was then in Pûrvâ-Phalgunî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; the intervening Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* being omitted.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṁvat 188 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 378-79 = Śaka-Saṁvat 301 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 10, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th June, A.D. 378; and it was current through the whole month of Kârttika in the same year; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Âshâḍha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 302, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd June, A.D. 379. Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 200 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 390-91 = Śaka-Saṁvat 313 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 2, corresponding to Wednesday, the 17tb April, A.D. 390; and it was current through the whole month of Kârttika in the same year; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 314, corresponding to Sunday, the 13th April, A.D. 391. And thus, with this epoch also, and by this system, **the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date** in Gupta-Saṁvat 188 and 200. But here, again, the results do not in themselves prove anything definite as to the proposed epoch; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record; and, by taking different Gupta years, the same results would be obtained with a different epoch.

Summary of Results.

I have now examined all the dates, at present known, referable to the Gupta-Valabhî era, that furnish details for computation. And it only remains to sum up the results established by the preceding inquiries.

Albêrûnî tells us that there was an era, known both as the Gupta era and the Valabhî era, the years of which were to be converted into years of the Śaka era by adding, according to his most explicit statement, two hundred and forty-one years to the Gupta-Valabhî dates. This fixes the starting-point of the era, approximately, as having occurred when Śaka-Saṁvat 241 had expired, and, by the epoch of the well-known Śaka era, when A.D. 319-20 was current; leaving only the determination of the exact epoch by the calculation of recorded dates. And, as regards a special point in his statements, of extreme importance, with the help of Prof. Wright, we have now obtained a translation which,—if it does not actually mean only that the Early Gupta kings had exercised so powerful a sway that, even when their dynasty came to an end, the era that had been used by them still continued in use,—is yet fully capable of that interpretation. At any rate, this translation frees us from the obligation under which we lay, by reason of M. Reinaud's rendering of the same passage, of connecting the establishment of an era with the extermination of the dynasty, and of placing the period of the Early Gupta supremacy anterior to A.D. 319, and the termination of it in that year. And the most that can be said against it, is, that it is the literal rendering of an ambiguous original, the real meaning of which must be determined by extraneous considerations.

The Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 529 expired shews that we must look to somewhere about A.D. 319 for the starting-point of the era in which are recorded the dynastic dates of Kumâragupta and the other kings of the Early Gupta dynasty, and any others that are to be referred to the same uniform series with them.

The dates in the records of the Early Guptas themselves, as far as the time of Skandagupta, do not afford details for computation. But, clearly belonging to the same uniform series of years, is the date contained in **the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta.** And converting this date into a Śaka date, in the manner indicated by Albêrûnî, we have found that, the resulting Śaka year being taken as an expired year, the details work out quite correctly.

Such dates, also, are those contained in **the records of the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas**; which, moreover, include a specific declaration that the Gupta sovereignty was then still continuing. And, calculating them in precisely the manner that is indicated by the results for the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription, we have obtained equally correct and uniform results. Also, the latest of these records, the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha, No. 25, page 112, shews that the Gupta sovereignty continued for at least two hundred and nine years. And this fact is amply sufficient to explain why,—whatever may have been its historical origin,—the era used in all these records should eventually come to be popularly known as the Gupta era.

Such dates, again, are those contained in **the inscriptions of Śivadêva I. and Mânadêva of Nêpâl.** And, that the first of them is recorded in the era in question, is shewn by the dates, in the Harsha era, for Aṁśuvarman, the contemporary of Śivadêva I.; while, with the same treatment, the details of the second of them work out quite correctly.

Such another date is that contained in **the Môrbî grant of Jâiṅka.** And the details of this, again, work out correctly with the same treatment.

Such a series of dates, too, is that contained in **the records of the Valabhî family.** And, with a slight modification, due to a change in the scheme of the year, easily explainable, the same treatment gives correct results for the date in the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of this family, of the year 330; the only one, at present, that affords exact details for calculation. Also, these records give us a succession of twelve generations, commencing with the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka, and ending with king Śîlâditya VII., with dates ranging from the year 207 to the year 447. For the first six or seven generations, the members of this family were only feudatory *Sênâpatis* and *Mahârâjas*, without the authority to establish an era of their own. And, as a matter of fact, the date of the year 207 for the *Mahârâja* Dhruvasêna I., in the second generation, proves that the era did not run from the rise to power of his father Bhaṭârka, the founder of the family, but must have been adopted from some outside source. While, on the other hand, the long duration of this family, coupled with the fact that several of their charters were issued from the city of Valabhî itself,[1] and all of them belong either to that vicinity or to the neighbouring parts of Gujarât, is amply sufficient to explain why the era used by them should eventually come to be popularly known, in those parts, as the Valabhî era.

And, finally, undeniable instances of the actual use of an era known as the Valabhî era, as late as the thirteenth century A.D., are furnished by **the Verâwal inscriptions** dated in Valabhî-Saṁvat 927 and 945. For the details of the earlier of these two dates, correct results can be obtained by applying the same slightly anomalous treatment that applies to the date in the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 330. The latter of them, however, goes far beyond this. Not only does it fix the epoch of the era approximately, and in accordance with Albêrûnî's statement, through the concomitant mention of the equivalent Vikrama and Hijra years; but also the details of it are such as to prove that the epoch of the era was exactly when Śaka-Saṁvat 241 had expired, and A.D. 319-20 was current. And it has furnished, in fact, the exact analogy, in accordance with which all dates in the Gupta-Valabhî era, that follow the true and original northern scheme of its years, have to be tested.

All this uniform agreement of results cannot be attributed to mere coincidence. But we must take it now, as a settled matter, that all the dates in question belong to one and the same era, running from the epoch of A.D. 319-20. And, irrespective of the question whether the era was actually established by the Early Guptas themselves, **we must refer the rise of the Early Gupta power to somewhere about A.D. 319, instead of placing the period of their supremacy anterior to that year, and their downfall in it.**

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[1] *e.g.* the grants of Dhruvasêna I., of the year 207 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 204); of Guhasêna, of the year 248 (*id.* Vol. V. p. 206, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 93); of Dharasêna II., of the year 252 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 68: Vol. VIII. p. 301; Vol. XV. p. 187; and No. 38 below. p. 164); of Śîlâditya I., of the year 286 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 359, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 327), and of the year 290 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 237); of Dhruvasêna II., of the year 310 (*id.* Vol. VI. p. 12); and of Dharasêna IV., of the year 326 (*id.* Vol. I. p. 14, and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 66).

A few concluding words, however, seem necessary as to the exact years of the Christian era, which represent respectively the epoch or year 0, and the commencement or first current year, of the Gupta-Valabhî era.

Taking the years quoted in the records without qualification, as current years, we have obtained the following results,[1]—by the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, Gupta-Saṁvat 165 current = A.D. 484-85 current;[2] by the Parivrâjaka grants, 156 current = A.D. 475-76 current.[3] 163 current = A.D. 482-83 current,[4] 191 current = A.D. 510-11 current,[5] and 209 current = A.D. 528-29 current;[6] by the Nêpâl inscription of Mânadêva, 386 current = A.D. 705-706 current;[7] and by the Verâwal inscription of Arjunadêva, 945 current = A.D. 1264-65 current.[8] And all these equations give the uniform result of **Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 319-20 current,** or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period[9] from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320; and **Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 current = A.D. 320-21 current,** or more precisely, by the Saka year, the period from the 26th February, A.D. 320, to the 15th March, A.D. 321.

The results obtained from the Kaira grant of the year 330 and the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 927, differ slightly from the above, and are—Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 330 current = A.D. 648-49 current,[10] and Valabhî-Saṁvat 927 current = A.D. 1245-46 current.[11] In these two instances the difference is due to a local alteration of the true and original scheme of the Gupta year; made in such a way that each subsequent year commenced with the Kârttika śukla 1 immediately preceding the true commencement of the year with Chaitra śukla 1. And for these two dates, and any that may be found hereafter to belong to the same class, we have to apply the equations of Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 318-319 current, or more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, the period[1] from the 12th October, A.D. 318, to the 30th September, A.D. 319; and Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 current = A.D. 319-20 current, or more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, the period from the 1st October, A.D. 319, to the 18th October, A.D. 320.

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[1] I exclude the Bhumarâ pillar inscription, as proving nothing definite, because the Gupta year is not given in it.

[2] Or, more precisely, by the Śaka year, as commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, the period (see *Indian Eras*, p. 153) from the 14th March, A.D. 484, to the 2nd March, A.D. 485.—The dates given in these notes are quoted as approximately correct; they may, or may not, be the exact dates.

[3] Or, in the same way, the period from the 21st February, A.D. 475, to the 11th March, A.D. 476.

[4] Or, in the same way, the period from the 6th March, A.D. 482, to the 22nd February, A.D. 483.

[5] Or, in the same way, the period from the 25th February, A.D. 510, to the 15th March, A.D. 511

[6] Or, in the same way, the period from the 8th March, A.D. 528, to the 24th February, A.D. 529.

[7] Or, in the same way, the period from the 1st March, A.D. 705, to the 20th March, A.D. 706.

[8] Or, in the same way, the period from the 1st March, A.D. 1264, to the 19th March, A.D. 1265.

[9] Here I owe the initial and ending dates, which it was desirable to have exactly, to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

[10] Or, more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, as commencing with Kârttika śukla 1, the period (see C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 122) from the 24th September, A.D. 648, to the 12th October, A.D 649.

[11] Or, in the same way, the period from the 23rd October, A.D. 1245, to the 12th October, A.D. 1246.

These two instances, however, are purely exceptional ones. And, in the case of all dates in the era referable to the true and original scheme of its years, we have to apply the epoch of A.D. 319-20; and to treat the years of the era as northern years, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1.

The equation between the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhî era and the Christian era, is not intrinsically dependent on any reference to the Śaka era; and it could be established directly by European Tables. In this inquiry, however, it has been established through results that have been worked out from Hindu Tables which are arranged for the Śaka era according to expired years; and, in order to use those Tables, the given Gupta-Valabhî years had to be converted into expired Śaka years. The process, however, has not converted the given Gupta-Valabhî years themselves into expired years But what has been done has simply been, first, by the addition of a uniform running difference, to obtain the current Śaka year corresponding to each given current Gupta-Valabhî year; and then, in the usual way, to take the immediately preceding Śaka year as the expired year that is required as the basis of the calculation. Thus, the details of the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, which really belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, have been calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired; and the details of the other dates in the same way.

Now, in the case of an era used specially by astronomers for their technical processes, as the Śaka era was, since we have to work with expired years, it is natural enough that the Tables should be arranged accordingly. And possibly, after a certain period, and in certain parts of India, we may have to interpret any given year of such an era as an expired year, whether it is expressly denoted as such or not.[2] But the same rule does not hold good in the case of eras that are not actually used for astronomical processes, though they are quoted in connection with details fixed by such processes.

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[1] Here, again, I owe the exact dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

[2] A clear instance of this is furnished by the date in the Dêôgaḍh inscription of Bhôjadêva (see page 107 above, note 1). By the literal rules of translation, the given Śaka year, 784, has to be interpreted as a current year; but, for the calculation, it has to be applied as an expired year.

Such an era is the Vikrama era.[1] And,—though the expired years of this era might be quoted, as is shewn, for instance, by lines 19 and 21 of the Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 529 expired, No. 18, page 79, and by line 21 of the Kaḍî grant of Jayantasiṁha of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1280 expired,[2]—yet, that, occasionally at least, the current years were used, is proved by the Gwâlior Sâsbahû temple inscription of Mahîpâla,[3] in which we have first in words, the number of years expired, 1149, and then, partially in words and fully in figures, the number of the current year, 1150. Such an era, again, is the Gupta-Valabhî era; or, at least, we have not as yet obtained the slightest indication of its ever having been used by astronomers as the basis of calculations. And, in the absence of the use of any word meaning "expired" in connection with the year in a Gupta-Valabhî date, it is only reasonable that we should follow the ordinary rules of interpretation, and render the original passage as denoting a current year.

In one instance only, among the Gupta-Valabhî dates at present known, is a word meaning "expired" used in connection with the year. This exceptional instance is the Môrbî grant of Jâiṅka, in which an eclipse of the sun is recorded as having occurred when the year 585 had passed by. Unfortunately, the month and *tithi*, in and on which the eclipse occurred, are not specified; nor even the week-day. And, as we have seen at page 100 above, it might be possible to identify the solar eclipse of this record with that of the 10th November, A.D. 904. In that case, the given year 585 expired, and the indicated year 586 current, would be equivalent to A.D. 904-905 current. It would then be as an expired year, not a current one, that the year 165 of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta is equivalent to A.D. 484-85 current; and so on with all the other dates. And we should have to apply, in the case of all dates in the era referable to the true and original scheme of its years, the epoch of A.D. 318-19 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period[4] from the 18th February, A.D. 318, to the 8th March, A.D. 319; and, in the case of dates belonging to the same class with those of the Kaira grant of the year 330 and the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 927, the epoch of A.D. 317-18 current, or more precisely, by the Vikrama year, the period from the 23rd September, A.D. 317, to the 11th October, A.D. 318. But we have also seen that the solar eclipse in question can be far more satisfactorily identified with that which occurred on the 7th May, A.D. 905; to do which, we have to take the given year 585 expired, and the indicated year 586 current, as equivalent to A.D. 905-906 current. And this record, therefore, furnishes strong and instructive corroboration of my view that, in the absence of any distinct specification to the contrary, **we must interpret the years in Gupta-Valabhî dates as current years.**

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[1] The present Tables of this era, however, seem to be arranged, like those of the Śaka era, according to expired years. And some of the almanacs quoted in Appendix I. below, give them in the same way.

[2] *Ind. Ant* Vol. VI. p. 197.

[3] For the full reading and translation of the date see Texts and Translations, page 22, note 5.

[4] Here, again, I owe the exact initial and ending dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

The Origin of the Era.

I have shewn, at page 33 ff. above, that the so-called Gupta era is not one which, due originally to some event occurring only in approximation to A.D. 318, 319, or 320, had its exact epoch determined, for convenience of comparison with the Śaka era, by adopting the expiration of an even number of cycles of the planet Jupiter, either of the Twelve-Year or of the Sixty-Year System. And no other chronological or astronomical considerations suggest themselves, for the selection of the exact epoch that has been proved. **Its origin, therefore, must be found in some historical event, which occurred actually in A.D. 320,** or so closely to that time that, when the scheme of the northern Śaka year was applied, the reckoning of the era was not affected to any appreciable extent. And here, though the point is not conclusive either way, we must bear in mind that, as has been shewn at page 19 ff. above, in the epigraphical references to the era there is nothing at all, at any early period, to connect the name of the Early Guptas with it, especially as the founders of it; and nothing to conneet the name of Valabhî with it, until at least nine centuries after its establishment.

We must also bear in mind that it is certain that **the era cannot have been established by any member of the Valabhî family;** the reasons for this being —(1) that, for the first six or seven generations, the members of this family were mere feudatory *Sênâpatis* and *Mahârâjas*, without the authority to establish an era of their own; —and (2) that the date of the year 207 for the *Mahârâja* Dhruvasêna I., in the second generation, proves that the reckoning runs from long before the first rise to power of his father, the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka, by whom the family was founded.

In the same way, the first two members of the Early Gupta family, Gupta and Ghaṭôtkacha, held only the feudatory rank of *Mahârâja*, and had not the authority to establish an era. The first paramount sovereign in the family was Ghaṭôtkacha's son, Chandragupta I. And, if a Gupta era, truly and properly so called, was devised in his time, then as its starting-point there would have been selected the commencement of his reign, not the date of the rise to power of his first recorded ancestor, the *Mahârâja* Gupta; as was done in the case of the Harsha era, which disregards, not only two generations of *Mahârâjas* at the commencement of the genealogy, but even the reigns of two kings, Prabhâkaravardhana and Râjyavardhana II., and runs from the commencement of the reign of the third paramount sovereign, Harshavardhana himself. So, also, when the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. established a new era under the name of the Châlukya-Vikrama-Kâla,[1] he disregarded the reigns of all his ancestors, and made the era date from his own accession to the throne. The dates in the Early Gupta records shew clearly that the Gupta era, cannot, under any circumstances, run from the accession of any member of the dynasty later than Chandragupta I. And there are essential difficulties, under any normal conditions, in the way of making the era date from the commencement of his reign; *i.e.* of taking A.D. 320-21 as his first current year. For his great-grandson, Kumâragupta, we have dates in the era, ranging from the year 96 to the year 130 odd;[1] of which we may take, as the latest certain one,[2] that of the year 129, recorded in the Mankuwâr inscription, No. 11, page 45. And, as we ought to assume that Chandragupta I. was at least twenty years old when his reign commenced, this gives us a period of a hundred and forty-nine years, which, spread over four generations, gives to each a duration of thirty-seven years and a quarter, or nearly half as much again as the usually accepted average maximum rate of twenty-five years for a Hindu generation. This, too. is only dealing with the question of generations. If we take the period of a hundred and twenty-nine years only, from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I. to nearly the end of that of Kumâragupta,—which gives an average of thirty-two years and a quarter for each of the four reigns,—then, as compared with the average duration, twenty years at the outside, of a Hindu reign, the excess is still more remarkable. And almost exactly the same results are obtained, if, instead of considering four generations and reigns, down to the end of the time of Kumâragupta, we take the latest certain date[3] of Chandragupta II., *viz.* the year 93 given in the Sâñchi inscription, No. 5, page 29, and spread the period of ninety-three years over three reigns, or, on the same assumption as regards the age of Chandragupta I., the period of a hundred and thirteen years over three generations. On the question of generations, I will not base any particularly special objection. An analogy for an abnormal average rate might be deduced from the Western Châlukya genealogy,[4] in which we have Śaka-Saṁvat[5] 930 for the commencement of the reign of Vikramâditya V., and Śaka-Saṁvat 1060 for the end of the reign, and it may safely be assumed the death, of Sômêśvara III. in the third generation after him. If we take it that Vikramâditya V. was twenty years old in Śaka-Saṁvat 930, we have one hundred and fifty years for the four generations; or an average of thirty-seven years and a half for each. But, from Śaka-Saṁvat 930 to 1060, there were six reigns; with an average of twenty-five years, or seven less than we should have to allot to each of the four Early Gupta kings in question. And even this result is due chiefly to the extraordinarily long reign of Vikramâditya VI., for fifty-two years, from Śaka-Saṁvat 997 to 1048. If we take the whole period of the Western Châlukya dynasty, covering one hundred and ninety years, from Śaka-Saṁvat 895, the first year of Taila II., down to Śaka-Saṁvat 1084, as the end of the reign and the death of Taila III.,[1] we have ten reigns, with an average duration of just nineteen years each. An average of thirty-two years for four successive reigns of Hindu fathers and sons, seems, from every point of view, an impossibility. And this prevents our making the Gupta era run from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I. We must, therefore, accept it as certain that **the Early Guptas only adopted the era of some other dynasty.** And we must look for its origin to some extraneous source.

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 187 ff.

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[1] See page 67 above.

[2] And it must be very nearly his latest date; for, he had then been reigning for at least thirty-three full years, and we have the date of the year 136 for his son and successor, Skandagupta.—The selection of any later date would, of course, only intensify the force of the argument.

[3] The silver coins (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 65 f.) seem to give the year 94 or 95; but the latest absolutely certain date is the one that I quote. Here again, the adoption of a later date would only strengthen the argument.

[4] See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 18, Table.

[5] The exact year was doubtful when I wrote the book referred to in the preceding note; but it has now been established by the Kauthêṁ grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 15 ff.)

Now, it is evident that **the Early Guptas rose to power first as feudatory Mahârâjas,** the third of whom, Chandragupta I., while holding that same rank, established his independence; so that, his successors maintaining the same position, the paramount titles, and not his original feudatory title, are always coupled with his name in the genealogical passages in their records. And, from the *Mahârâja* Gupta down to Kumâragupta, we have two feudatory governments and four reigns; which, at the average rate of twenty years, almost fill up the period indicated by the latest certain date for Kumâragupta, and, by a coincidence, place the commencement of the government of the *Mahârâja* Gupta very near to A.D. 320. If, then, we could determine the paramount sovereign of whom the *Mahârâja* Gupta was a feudatory, we should have in him the founder of the era; provided we could only shew that his successors also dated their records in it. And the only difficulty then remaining, would be,—When Chandragupta I. and his descendants had asserted themselves as independent sovereigns, by rebellion against their masters, why should they continue to use a purely dynastic era, which had only been running for a short time and had certainly not become an astronomical era, and which would always remind them of the originally subordinate status of their ancestors; instead of establishing a new era of their own, or instead of adopting some well-known era, of general use, which could evoke no reminiscence of a humiliating kind?[2] The Early Gupta records, however, throw no light on this point; nor can we expect any, unless we obtain inscriptions of the time of the *Mahârâjas* Gupta and Ghaṭôtkacha, or of the early years of Chandragupta I. And at present, in connection with India itself, we know of no king the commencement of whose reign can with any certainty be referred to A.D. 320; and of no historical event to which we can safely allot that date. Nor, while the Early Gupta sovereignty continued, is there any indication of the Gupta era having been used, in India, by any other independent dynasty. The nearest approximation to the year in question that we have, is in the case of the Kalachuri dynasty of Central India; in respect of which certain points in the records of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas* and the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa do tend to support the actual existence, in the Early Gupta period, of a Kalachuri era, and, consequently, of Kalachuri kings under some earlier name.[1] The Kalachuri dates, however, certainly cannot be referred to the Gupta epoch. And circumstances indicate that the dominion of the Kalachuri kings, at that time, was confined entirely to the more eastern parts of Central India; so that they were only contemporaries of the northern dynasty of which the Early Guptas were at first the servants. Mr. Fergusson's opinion,[2] again, was in the direction of the era being established, with the foundation of Valabhî as a new capital of Western India, by the Andhra king Gôtamiputra, whom he placed[3] between A.D. 312 and 333; the *Mahârâja* Gupta being a feudatory of him or of one of his immediate successors. But the chronology of the Andhras,—who, at the best, seem to have been too essentially a western and southern dynasty to be concerned in any leading way with the history of Northern India,—still remains to be finally determined. And Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who has given more consideration to the subject than any one else as yet, places Gôtamiputra about two centuries earlier,[4] in the period A.D. 133 to 154; and, according to his view of the early chronology, we should have to refer the establishment of the Gupta era to some event connected with either the downfal of the Kshatrapas of Saurâshṭra or the history of the Râshṭrakûṭas of the Dekkan. The Kshatrapas, however, certainly did not use the Gupta era. And there is not the slightest particle of evidence that the Râshṭrakûṭas ever had an era of their own. There can be but little doubt that the real paramount lords of the *Mahârâjas* Gupta and Ghaṭôtkacha, and at first of Chandraguptâ I. himself, were some of the later Indo-Scythian kings of Northern India, whose duration is certain at any rate up to the time of Samudragupta. These Indo-Scythian kings must have used the Śaka era. But this era, again, had not then become an astronomical era;[5] and there was, therefore, no special inducement for the Early Guptas to adopt it; but, on the contrary, there was an objection of the kind already indicated. Further, the Vikrama era was not an astronomical era; and the use of it, in those days, under the name of the Mâlava era, was probably confined to the different sections of the Mâlava tribe, and to territories of which no part was brought under the Early Gupta sway until the time of Samudragupta. And, finally, the Kaliyuga era in all probability was used only by the astronomers of Ujjain, for purely technical purposes; and was not known at all in the territories in which the Early Guptas first rose to power. In fact, **in India itself there was no already existing era which would recommend itself to the Early Guptas.** And we have next to inquire whether there may have been any such era, beyond the limits of India proper.

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[1] I exclude the short reign of Sômêśvara IV., from Śaka-Saṁvat 1104 to about 1111, because there had been meanwhile an interruption of the Western Châlukya power by the Kalachuris of the Dekkan.

[2] An objection of this sort does not apply to the use of the Gupta era by the Valabhî family. The *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka drove out the invaders who had overthrown the Gupta sovereignty in Western India; and may possibly have been himself the feudatory of some descendant of the original Gupta stock. And when Dharasêna IV. became a paramount sovereign, it was on the disruption of the Kanauj kingdom. At neither point was there any reason for the members of this family to feel any aversion to the Gupta era.

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[1] See page 8 ff. above.

[2] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. IV. p. 128 f.

[3] *id.* p. 122.

[4] *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 27.

[5] See Appendix I. below

By a comparison of the dates of Sivadêva I. and Aṁśuvarman, at page 95 f. above, I have already shewn, in a general way, that **the Gupta era was in use beyond the north-eastern frontier of India, in Nêpâl;** a fact which is duly corroborated by the results for the date in the inscription of Mânadêva, of the year 386. We must, therefore, now see what more particular information can be gathered from the epigraphical records of that country.[1]

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[1] And here we may note that the Kings of Valabhî can have had nothing to do either with the introduction of an era into Nêpâl, or with the borrowing of an era from that country. As I have already had occasion to remark, the members of the Valabhî family, for the first six or seven generations inclusive of Bhaṭârka, were mere feudatory *Sênâpatis* and *Mahârâjas*; and these members of the family, at any rate, cannot possibly have conquered Nêpâl, or even have extended their territory up to the confines of that country. The first of the family who claimed to be a paramount sovereign is Dharasêna IV.. with the dates of 326 and 330; and with the titles of *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, in common with all his successors, and also with that of *Chakravartin*, which, not being assumed by any of his successors, may perhaps indicate that his power was more extensive than theirs ever was. Now, in passing, if we refer his first date of 326 to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, the result, A.D. 645-46, brings us to a very suitable period indeed for him to assume the position and titles of a paramount sovereign; *viz.* to the commencement of the anarchy which, as Ma-twan-lin tells us (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 20) attended the death of Harshavardhana, "the warlike lord of all the region of the north." It ended in the complete disruption, for the time, of the kingdom of Kanauj. Aṁśuvarman became paramount in Nêpâl, and Âdityasêna in Magadha; and the opportunity was of course taken advantage of by Dharasêna IV., to assert his independence in the west of India. But, to say nothing of the improbability of the thing on other grounds, the fact that Aṁsuvarman became king of Nêpâl, is in itself enough to prevent our admitting the possibility of a conquest of that country by Dharasêna IV. Referring the same date of 326 to the three earlier proposed epochs, we have respectively A.D. 403, 492, and 516. For these periods there is, perhaps, no particular objection to our assuming, for the sake of argument, that Dharasêna IV. may have extended his power over a considerable portion of Northern India, in the parts nearer to Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Gujarât. But the Valabhî charters, in which a conquest so extensive as that of the whole of Northern India up to Nêpâl, or inclusive of that country, would most certainly have been recorded, give not the slightest hint of any such event at any time in the history of the family. In fact, with the exception of the allusion to the overthrow of the Maitrakas by Bhaṭârka, they give absolutely no detailed information at all in connection with any of the successes claimed by the members of this family; which tends to shew very plainly that, from beginning to end, the Valabhî power was purely local. And, in connection with the earlier proposed epochs, even if Dharasêna IV. did conquer Nêpâl, or Northern India up to the frontier of Nêpâl, and did introduce there the era of A.D. 319-20, the question still remains, and cannot be answered,—Why should he act with such extreme inconsistency as to introduce there this era, which, according to those who have sought to establish those epochs, was not brought into actual use in his own territory; instead of the Gupta era which he himself, and his successors, continued to employ for all the official purposes of their own kingdom?

In Appendix IV. below, I give an account of such of the **inscriptions from Nêpâl** as have any bearing on the question now under consideration. The actual dates of them range from A.D. 635 to 854; and give a fairly clear idea of the history of the reigning families of the country during that period. They shew two separate houses, ruling contemporaneously, and mostly on equal terms; and each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own. One of them was a family, the name of which is not mentioned in the inscriptions, but which in the *Vaṁśâvali* is called the Ṭhâkurî family, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Kailâsakûṭabhavana, and uniformly using the Harsha era. The other was **the Lichchhavi family,** distinctly so named in the inscriptions, and in the *Vaṁśâvali* allotted to the Sûryavaṁśa or solar lineage, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Mânagṛiha, and **uniformly using an era with the Gupta epoch.**

That **the Lichchhavi clan or tribe was one of great antiquity and power,** in the direction of Nêpâl, is shewn by the writings of Fa-Hian and Hiuen-Tsiang.[1] which connect them with events that preceded the *nirvâṇa* of Buddha. No exception, therefore, need be taken to the general outlines of the long account in one of the inscriptions, which, so far as the Nêpâl branch of the tribe is concerned, gives us the first really historical member of it in the person of Jayadêva I., who, by the ordinary allowance of time for each Hindu generation, must be referred to the period A.D. 330 to 355.

Proof of **friendly relations between the Early Guptas and the Lichchhavis,** at an early time, is given by the marriage of Chandragupta I. with Kumâradêvî, the daughter of Lichchhavi or of a Lichchhavi king. And, that the Lichchhavis were then at least of equal rank and power with the Early Guptas, is shewn by the pride in this alliance manifested by the latter; exhibited in the careful record of the names of Kumâradêvî, and of her father or her family, on some of the gold coins of Chandragupta I., and by the uniform application of the epithet, "daughter's son of Lichchhavi or of a Lichchhavi," to Samudragupta in the genealogical inscriptions. Again, the Allahâbâd pillar inscription shews that, even if Samudragupta did not make Nêpâl a tributary province, his kingdom extended up to the confines of that country.

There can be no doubt that **the Early G kings must have known the nature and origin of whatever era was being used by their Lichchhavi connections in Nêpâl.** And the period established for Jayadêva I. approximates so closely to A.D. 320-21, that it needs but little adjustment to place the commencement of his reign actually in that year. This arrangement would give a perfectly intelligible reason for the origin of the era, which was clung to so persistently by his descendants that they continued the use of it for at least two centuries after the introduction of the Harsha era into

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[1] See Legge's *Travels of Fâ-Hien*, pp. 71, 76; Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. pp. xiii. lii. lv. and Vol. II. pp. 67 note, 70, 73, 77 note, 81.

Nêpâl, and its acceptance by their immediate neighbours, the Ṭhâkurî family of Kailâsakûṭabhavana. And no objection could be taken by the Early Gupta kings to the adoption of the era of a royal house, in their connection with which they took special pride. I think, therefore, that **in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Lichchhavi era,** dating either from a time when the republican or tribal constitution of the Lichchhavis was abolished in favour of a monarchy; or from the commencement of the reign of Jayadêva I., as the founder of a royal house in a branch of the tribe that had settled in Nêpâl. But the question of the origin of the era is one, of course, on which further discoveries, especially if any can be made in Nêpâl, may be expected to throw more light.

J. F. FLEET.

4th November 1887.

APPENDIX I.

A Note on the Epoch and Reckoning of the Śaka Era.

Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's Tables,[1] **and Ganpat Krishnaji's and Kero Lakshman Chhatre's almanacs,** shew the period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1808. So, also, **the Sâyana-Pañchâṅg** shews the same period, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1808, as the ordinary *nirayaṇa* luni-solar year; the period covered by Śaka-Saṁvat 1808, as a *sâyana* year, being from the 6th March, A.D. 1886, to the 22nd February, A.D. 1887. For all purposes of calculation, however, this Śaka year has to be taken as "the year 1808, expired;" even if[2] we were working out the very first day of it, Chaitra śukla 1. The Tables are intended for this application of the number; and there are, in fact, no grounds for doubting that the above period really is equivalent to Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 expired, and 1809 current. But it is quoted, for all ordinary purposes, simply as Śaka-Saṁvat 1808. And, if a Hindu were converting "Saturday, the 1st January, A.D. 1887," into its corresponding Hindu date, he would write down, as the result, "Śakê 1808 Pausha śukla saptamî Śanivâra;" in which, not only does he abstain from including any word meaning "expired," but he actually uses, instead even of the crude form *Śaka*, the Sanskṛit locative *Śakê*, which literally means "in Śaka (1808)," *i.e.* "while Śaka 1808 is current;" and this is the meaning which the mention of the year presents to any Hindu who is not an astronomer, and who is not acquainted with the technical application of the number of the year. So, also, the same expression is used in the almanacs themselves; thus, in the first two almanacs mentioned above, "Śakê 1808 Vyaya-nâma-saṁvatsarê," on the title-page; and "Śakê 1808 Chaitra-śukla-pakshaḥ," on the top of the page which exhibits the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra; and, in the *Sâyana-Pañchâṅg*, "Śâlivâhana-Śakê 1808 Vyaya-nâma-saṁvatsaraḥ," on the title-page, and elsewhere "amântaḥ Chaitra-śukla-pakshaḥ Śâlivâhana-Śakê 1808 Vyaya-nâma-saṁvatsaraḥ." In the same way, I find, for the same period, "Śakê 1808 Vyaya-nâma-saṁvatsarê" on the title-page of **an almanac published at Pandit Umacharan Muhatmim's Press at Gwâlior**; and, for the period from the 17th March, A.D. 1885, to the 4th April, A.D. 1886, "Śâlibâhana-Śâkê 1807," on the title-page of **the Jôdhpur Chaṇḍû-Pañchâṅg** for that year, and "Śrî-Saṁvat 1942 Śakê 1807 Chaitra-śukla-pakshaḥ," in **Bapu Deva Shastri's almanac,** prepared at Benares and published at Lakhnau.

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[1] The proper method of applying his Tables may perhaps be inferred from his remarks (e.g. *Indian Eras*, pp. 5, 48, 52) that the numbers of the years in Hindu dates refer to years actually elapsed; and that the Hindus count only by completed years. But I am speaking of the meaning which the Tables present to a general reader, at first sight. Thus, anyone turning to his Table XVII. p. 199, —to which there is not attached a note that the Hindu years given therein are expired years,—in order to ascertain the Śaka equivalent of A.D 1886-87, finds Śaka-Saṁvat 1808; and naturally takes it as a current year. So, also, with any similar Tables; *e.g.* those in Mr. C. Patell's *Chronology*. Such Tables would be much more useful for general purposes, if they shewed the current Hindu years opposite the current Christian years, as is done in the case of the *saṁvatsaras* of the two cycles of Jupiter; leaving it to anyone who has to make a particular calculation, to take the preceding year as the basis of his work. And, in ordinary writing, the current Hindu years should certainly be quoted with the current Christian years.

[2] Unless with Tables based on the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti,* or entrance of the sun into Aries, as Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables are; in which the Śaka year is practically treated as commencing with the day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*. With such Tables, for any *tithi* connected with Śaka-Saṁvat (1809 current and) 1808 expired, up to the *tithi* that coincided with the solar day on which the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* occurred, we must work with the basis of even one year still earlier, *viz.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1807 expired.

Again, in the preliminary passages that introduce the *saṁvatsara-phala* or '(*astrological*) results for the year,' and other similar matter, **Ganpat Krishnaji's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs,** contain the passage — atha gata-Kaliḥ 4987, śêsha-Kaliḥ 427013; Svasti; śrîman-nṛipa-Vikramârka-samay-âtîta-saṁvat[1] 1942, Hêmalamba-nâma-saṁvatsarê; tathâ śrîman-nṛipa-Śâlivâhana-Śakê 1808, Vyaya-nâma-saṁvatsarê; asmin varshê râjâ chandraḥ,—"now the expired (*portion of the*) Kali (*age*) (*is*) 4987 (*years*); (*and*) the remainder of the Kali (*age*) (*is*) 427013 (*years*). Hail! In the year 1942 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramârka,[2] (*and*) in the Hêmalamba *saṁvatsara*; so also in the Śaka (*year*) 1808 of the glorious king Śâlivâhana, (*and*) in the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*; in this year, the king (*is*) the Moon." And, for the *nirayaṇa* year, **the Sâyana-Pañchâṅg** for Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 has — Kaliyugasya gata-varshâṇi 4987; śrîman-nṛipa-Vikramârka-saṁvat[3] 1943 Vilambi-saṁvatsaraḥ; śrîman-nṛipa-Śâlivâhana-Śak-âbdaḥ 1808 Vyaya-nâma-saṁvatsaraḥ; ath=âsmin varshê râjâ chandraḥ,—"the expired years of the Kaliyuga (*are*) 4987; in the year 1943 of the glorious king Vikramârka, (*there is*) the *saṁvatsara* named Vilambin; (*and there is*) the year 1808 of the Śaka of the glorious king Śâlivâhana, (*and*) the *saṁvatsara* named Vyaya; now, in this year, the king (*is*) the Moon." In these passages, these three almanacs again treat the Śaka year, apparently, as a current year. **The Gwâlior almanac**, however, which I have quoted above, has — gata-Kaliḥ 4987, śêsha-Kaliḥ 427013 ....; tan-madhyê gata-Śakaḥ 1808, śêsha-Śakaḥ 16192 .... Svasti; śrî-Vikramârka-râjya-samayâd atît saṁvat[1] 1943, Śaka-gata-varshêshu 1808, chândra-mânêna Vyaya-nâma-saṁvatsarê; Bârhaspatya-mânêna, Śakê 1807 Âśvina-kṛishṇa-7 Śukrê sûry-ôdayâd gata-ghaṭîshu 47 palêshu 24 tad-avadhi, Śakê 1808 Âśvina-kṛishṇa-14 Bhaumê ghaṭî[shu*] 46 palê[shu*] 3 tâvat-paryantaṁ, Vilambi-saṁvatsar-ôllêkhaḥ vidhêyaḥ, tad-agrê Vikâri-saṁvatsar-ôllêkhaḥ kâryaḥ; Chaitr-âdau râjâ chandraḥ,— "the expired (*portion of the*) Kali (*age*) (*is*) 4987 (*years*), (*and*) the remainder of the Kali (*age*) is 427013 (*years*) ....; in it, the expired (*portion of the*) Śaka (*era*) (*is*) 1808 (*years*); and the remainder of the Śaka (*era*) (*is*) 16192 (*years*) .... Hail! In the year 1943 expired from the time of the reign of the glorious Vikramârka, (*and*) in the expired Śaka year 1808, (*and*), by the lunar reckoning, in the (*current*) *saṁvatsara* named Vyaya,[2] —by the reckoning of Jupiter, the Vilambin *saṁvatsara* is to be used in writings from the expiration of 47 *ghaṭîs*, 24 *palas*, from sunrise on Friday, the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of Âśvina, in Śaka 1807, up to (*the expiration of*) 46 *ghaṭîs*, 3 *palas*, (*from sunrise*) on Tuesday, the fourteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of Âśvina, in Śaka 1808; after that, the Vikârin *saṁvatsara* is to be used in writings,—at the beginning of Chaitra, the king (*is*) the Moon." Passages of a similar kind with those quoted above, occur at the end of each almanac, in connection with the *Saṁkrântis*.

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[1] i.e. *saṁvatsarê*, or *saṁvatsarêshu*.

[2] It is curious that here the Vikrama year should be distinctly specified as expired, while the Śaka year is not qualified in the same manner; as if a distinction were being made in the methods of reckoning the two eras.

[3] i.e. *saṁvatsarê*, or *saṁvatsarêshu*.—The figures here, and in the Gwâlior almanac, 1943, differ from those in Ganpat Krishnaji's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs, 1942, because the latter quote the southern reckoning, by which each Vikrama year commences with the month Kârttika, seven lunations later than the same year in the northern reckoning; consequently, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 (expired), on the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, Vikrama-Saṁvat 1492 was still running, by the southern reckoning.

In the same passages for the *sâyana* year, Śaka-Saṁvat 1808, **the Sâyana-Pañchâṅg** does not confine itself to any indefinite expression, but explicitly quotes the Śaka year as a current year; thus — Kaliyugasya saṁdhyâyâ âditaḥ, Śâlivâhana-Śak-ârambhakâla-paryantaṁ, Nand-âdr-îndu-guṇa-(3179)-mitâni saura-varshâṇy=atîtâni; pravartamâna-Śâlivâhana-Śak-âbdaḥ ashṭ-ôttar-âshṭâdaśa-(1808)-mitaḥ; amuṁ saṁvatsaraṁ Narmadâyâ dakshiṇa-bhâgê Vyaya-nâmnâ vyavaharanti, uttara-bhâgê cha Vilambi-nâmnâ; ath=âsmin varshê râjâ Śaniḥ,—"from the commencement of the *saṁdhyâ*[3] of the Kaliyuga, up to the time of the commencement of the Śâlivâhana-Śaka, there expired solar years which are measured by the (nine) Nandas, the (seven) mountains, the (one) moon, and the (three) qualities, (3179); (*and*) the current year of the Śâlivâhana-Śaka is measured by eighteen hundred, increased by eight, (1808); on the south side of the

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[1] i.e. *atîtê saṁvatsarê*, or *atîtêshu saṁvatsarêshu.*

[2] The context is "at the beginning of Chaitra, the king (is) the moon," a little further on. The intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis.

[3] *saṁdhyâ*, which is usually translatable by 'morning or evening twilight,' means, as applied to any of the four ages, a long period that runs at the commencement of each, before the full development of the age itself. The *saṁdhyâ* of the Kali age is one hundred divine years, equivalent to 36,000 years of men; so that we are still only in this period. The age itself will run for 360,000 years of men. And it will end with a *saṁdhyâṁśa* of 36,000 years of men. These figures make up the total of 432,000 years in the age.

Narmadâ, they distinguish this *saṁvatsara* by the name of Vyaya; and, on the north side, by the name of Vilambin; now, in this year, the king (*is*) Saturn." But, in the corresponding passage in the same almanac for the preceding year, Śaka-Saṁvat 1807, after giving in the same words the number of the solar years that had expired from the commencement of the *saṁdhyâ* of the Kaliyuga up to the commencement of the Śaka era, the text runs — tatô vartamâna-vatsar-ârambhakâla-paryantaṁ sapt-ôttar-âshṭâdaśa-śata-(1807)-mitâni varshâṇi gatâni; amuṁ vartamâna-saṁvatsaraṁ Narmadâyâ dakshiṇê bhâgê Pârthiva-nâmnâ vyavaharanti, uttarê bhâgê cha Hêmalamba-nâmnâ; ath=âsmin varshê râjâ Bhaumaḥ,—"from then, up to the commencement of the current year, there have expired years which are measured by eighteen hundred, increased by seven, (1807); on the south side of the Narmadâ, they distinguish this current *saṁvatsara* by the name of Pârthiva; and, on the north side, by the name of Hêmalamba; now, in this year, the king (*is*) Mars."[1] In passing, therefore, from Śaka-Saṁvat 1807 to 1808, a verbal distinction, at least, was made between expired and current years; and the phraseology adopted in the almanac for Śaka-Saṁvat 1808, has been repeated in the almanac for the next year, 1809. In one instance, A.D. 85-86, the Pârthiva or Hêmalamba *saṁvatsara*, each current, was treated as equivalent to Śaka-Saṁvat 1807 expired; while, in the other, A.D. 1886-87, the Vyaya or Vilambin *saṁvatsara*, each current, and each the next in the cycle after respectively Pârthiva and Hêmalamba, is treated as equivalent to Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 current. What were the reasons for this change, I do not know; and I will leave it to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, one of the editors of the almanac, to explain them elsewhere. But, by the literal interpretation of the phraseology for A.D. 1885-86, and in accordance with the principles of the Tables, that period was equivalent to Śaka-Saṁvat 1807 expired, (and 1808 current); and A.D. 1886-87 should have been described as being represented by Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 expired, (and 1809 current).

I have now to quote the fact that, **in Madras,** the same English period, A.D. 1886-87, is actually called Śaka-Saṁvat 1809, with the same *saṁvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, Vyaya, attached to it. There are, it is true, two somewhat varying practices to be found in Southern India. Thus, **the Telugu Siddhânta-Pañchâṅgam,** published, I think, in the Arcot District, gives the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as being the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 expired; and at the commencement, it quotes the expired years throughout; thus — "Kaliyuga-gat-âbdâḥ 4987; Śâlivâhana-Śaka-gat-âbdâḥ 1808; Vikramârka-Śaka-gat-âbdâḥ 1943." But, on the other hand, **the Telugu Calendar,** published at Madras, gives the same luni-solar period, from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as being the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat

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[1] Except for reading *amuṁ vartamâna-vatsaraṁ*, and omitting *atha* before *asmin varshê*, the text is exactly the same in Bapu Deva Shastri's almanac for Śaka-Saṁvat 1807. I have not been able to obtain a copy of his almanac for the next year.

1809, Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4988, and Vikrama-Saṁvat 1944, which are not specified as either current or expired, but can only be intended as current. And, in the same way, **the Tamil Sirîya-Pañchâṅgaṁ,** for the following year, published at Madras, gives the solar period from the 12th April, A.D. 1887, to the 11th April, A.D. 1888, as being the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1810, Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4989, and Vikrama-Saṁvat[1] 1935, which, similarly, are not specified as either current or expired, but can only be intended as current.[2] And, from other indications, there seems to be no doubt that, of these two practices of Southern India, thus illustrated, the popular and generally current one is the latter one, by which the period A.D. 1886-87 is quoted as Śaka-Saṁvat 1809; the reckoning, in this and the other eras, being thus, at first sight, one year in advance of the customary reckoning of Northern and Western India.

The difference, however, is only an apparent one; and is due to the evident fact that **the Madras reckoning has preserved the system of current years, while the other is regulated by expired years.** But it is almost always the reckoning of Northern and Western India that is now quoted. And the years of it, though really expired years, are not distinctly and habitually quoted as such. And hence there is a general understanding that, as between the Śaka and the Christian eras, the additive quantity, to be applied to the former, is 78-79;[3] and that the epoch or year 0 of the Śaka era, is the period from the 3rd March, A.D. 78, to the 20th February, A.D. 79, both included; and its commencement, or first current year, the period from the 21st February, A.D. 79, to the 10th March, A.D. 80, both included.[4] This, however, really gives current Christian years, equivalent to expired Śaka years. It is evident from the details given above regarding Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 and 1809, that, according to the reckoning of the era as fixed by the early astronomers, and as preserved to the present day, **the true epoch is A.D. 77-78,** and the period from the 3rd March, A.D. 78, to the 20th February, A.D. 79, is in reality the commencement, or first current year; and that, **to obtain current Christian years, equivalent to current Śaka years, the true additive quantity is 77-78.** But, of course, there is always the possibility that, if ever we obtain a date, with full details for calculation, in a very early Śaka year, or in one of the very earliest of the regnal or dynastic years which afterwards developed into the Śaka era, this exact equation may not hold good; in consequence of the date belonging to a period anterior to the adoption of the era by the astronomers.

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[1] Here the 3 in the tens place must be a mistake for 4.

[2] It would appear that the Tamil *Vâkya-Pañchâṅgaṁ*, published at Madras, gives the solar period from the 12th April A.D. 1887, to the 10th April, A.D. 1888, as being the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1809, Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4988, and Vikrama-Saṁvat 1945; all of which are distinctly specified as current. But this cannot possibly be correct, in respect of the Śaka and Kaliyuga years.

[3] Thus, even Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, — through whose "Note on the Śaka Dates and the Years of the Bârhaspatya Cycle, occurring in the Inscriptions" (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 105 ff.) my attention was first drawn to the desirability of examining the details of the almanacs, — has written (*id.* p. 99; the italics are his) "191 Gupta *past* + 242 = 433 Śaka *current* + 78 = 511 A.D. *current*............209 Gupta *past* + 242 = 451 Śaka *current* + 78 = 529 A.D. *current*." I myself had the same view, till not very long ago. Other writers could easily be shewn to have lain under the same misconception. And Dr. Burnell even went so far as to say (*South-Indian Palæography*, p. 72, note) "the rough equation for converting this era into the Christian date, is + 78¼. The beginning of the year being at the March equinox; if the Śaka *atîta*" (*i.e.* expired) "year be mentioned, the equation is + 79¼."

[4] I owe these four dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit. Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, p. 139) gives from the 14th March, A.D. 78, to the 17th February, A.D. 79; and from the 18th February, A.D. 79, to the 8th March, A.D. 80. But a comparison of his initial days for the epoch and the first year, shews at once that there is some mistake. The 18th February is twenty-four days earlier than the 14th March; whereas the difference should be only eleven days. Mr. C. Patell (*Chronology*, p. 96) does not give the initial day of the epoch; but gives, in the same way, the period from the 18th February, A.D. 79, to the 8th March, A.D. 80, for the first year.

The Śaka era is emphatically one of the eras that originated in an extension of regnal or dynastic years. The chief Hindu tradition about it, is, that it was founded in celebration of a defeat of the Śaka king by the king Vikrama or Vikramâditya who is also the supposed founder of the Vikrama era, commencing a hundred and thirty-five years earlier.[1] This tradition is mentioned by Albêrûnî;[2] but he saw through it so far as to remark "since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramâditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that that Vikramâditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his." And the tradition has now been quite exploded by the Bâdâmi cave inscription of the Chalukya king Maṅgalîśa,[3] which is specifically dated "when there have expired five centuries of the years of the installation of the Śaka king (or kings) in the sovereignty." It is certain, from this record, that the real historical starting-point of the era, is the commencement of the reign of some particular king, or kings, of the Śaka tribe; and, therefore, that the years were originally regnal or dynastic years. Now, such years must run on for a considerable time, before they can develop into a recognised era; and this is undoubtedly the reason why we find the earlier years of every such Hindu era quoted simply by the term *varsha* or *saṁvatsara*, 'a year,' without any dynastic appellation. Again, such regnal or dynastic years can only come to be quoted as expired years, when they have actually developed into an era which has become recognised, or is sought to be applied, by astronomers for astronomical processes; up to that point, the years, being wanted only for quasi-private dynastic purposes, would certainly be quoted as current years. It is impossible to believe that the first Śaka king decreed, immediately after his coronation, that a new era had been established from that event; that it was to come at once into general use; and that, for the convenience of astronomers, the first year, then running, was to be quoted as an expired year, which, in fact, it would be rather difficult to do. If it were sought to fix the exact chronological position of any public act performed in that first year, it might be referred to the expired years of an earlier era; *e.g.* of that of the Kaliyuga. But, for any reference to the regnal year alone, that act would be recorded as being performed "in the year one," "in the first year," or "while the first year of the reign is current;" as, for instance, "in the first year; while the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious Tôramâṇa, is governing the earth," in line 1 f. of the Êraṇ inscription, No. 36, page 158. This custom would continue as long as the years were simply dynastic years; and perhaps, during the whole of that period, the years might remain purely dynastic years, each of them having for its initial day the anniversary of the original coronation from which they started, irrespective of the initial day of the years of the astronomical era still continuing in use. When, however, astronomers came to adopt them as an astronomical era, they would establish an exact epoch by reckoning back from the dynastic year then current to the last year of the Kaliyuga that had expired when the first current dynastic year commenced; in the course of which, they would simplify matters by allotting to the dynastic years the same scheme, as regards the starting-point of each year, and the arrangement of the fortnights of the months, which belonged to the Kaliyuga in their part of the country. Thus they would fix all the data necessary to enable them to use the new era for astronomical purposes. All that would remain, would be to use its expired years, in accordance with the custom and necessities of their science. The substitution of the Śaka era for the Kaliyuga, for astronomical purposes, seems to have taken place after the time of Âryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476),[1] who used the Kaliyuga, and in or just before the time of Varâhamihira (died A.D. 587),[2] who used the Śaka era; and probably the apparent difference of one year in the reckonings of the Śaka era will be found to have originated not far from Śaka-Saṁvat 500. Let us assume that this adoption of the Śaka era was made in Śaka-Saṁvat 500, equivalent to A.D. 577-78. The astronomers would take it, at starting, as "Śaka-

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[1] Another tradition (e.g. *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 154) is that the era dates from the birth of Śâlivâhana, king of Pratishṭhâna, who opposed Vikramâditya, king of Ujjayinî. But the introduction of the name of Śâlivâhana in connection with the era, is of comparatively modern date, the earliest instance that I have succeeded in obtaining, being one of the thirteenth century A.D.; and the epigraphical instances speak of the year as having been 'established, settled, or decided' (*nirṇîta*) by Śâlivâhana, but not as running from his birth (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 214 f.).—A passage to the latter effect has been quoted by Prof. Max Müller (*India; What can it teach us?* p. 300 f.) from the *Muhûrtabhuvanônmârtaṇḍa* of Nârâyaṇa, which means "in the year measured by three, the (nine) numerals, and the (fourteen) Indras, from the birth of Śâlivâhana (*i.e.* in Śaka-Saṁvat 1493), in (the month) Tapas (Mâgha), this *Mârtaṇḍa* was composed."—As Prof. Max Müller has pointed out, in his comments on this passage, it is not exactly wrong to speak of the era as the Śâlivâhana-Śaka or Śâlivâhana era; for there are ample instances in which the Hindus give it that name, in epigraphical records of authority and of some antiquity. At the same time, those instances shew that it was only in comparatively modern times that the name of Śâlivâhana came to be connected with the era. And, in all discussions respecting early dates, it is an anachronism and a mistake, to call the era by his name.

[2] Sachau's *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 6.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 363 f., and Vol. X. p. 57 ff.

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[1] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. I. p. 405. [2] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. I. p. 407.

Saṁvat 499, expired;" and, in quoting it and several subsequent years, would probably be careful to connect with each year a word distinctly meaning "expired." In course of time, however, such precision of expression would come to seem superfluous to them; and, in issuing their almanacs, they would drop the word "expired," and would write, for instance, simply "Śakê 510 Chaitra-mâsa-śukla-pakshaḥ." It would cause no difference or inconvenience to them; because any initiate would know that this really designated the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of Śaka-Saṁvat 511 current, after Śaka-Saṁvat 510 had expired. The people at large, however, including persons who would use the almanacs for practical purposes without being properly initiated into the application of them, would be thrown back in their reckoning by a year; and doubtless at first a good deal of inconvenience and confusion might result. But this would soon be forgotten; or might, for the sake of convenience, be intentionally put aside. And thus they would very quickly arrive at the understanding, by which, in Northern and Western India, Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 answers, popularly, as a current year, not as an expired year, to the period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887.

Postscript.

In connection with my remarks, on page 140 above, regarding the *Sâyana-Pañchâṅg* for Śaka-Saṁvat 1807 and 1808, I would add that I had drawn Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's attention to the circumstances of the case; and I now find that, in their almanac for Śaka-Saṁvat 1810 (expired) (A.D. 1888-89), the editors have reverted to the phraseology used in their almanac for Śaka-Saṁvat 1807 (expired.)

APPENDIX II.

A Method of Calculating the Week-Days of Hindu Tithis and the corresponding English Dates.

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In this paper I purpose to exhibit, **according to the system laid down by the late Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre** in his book entitled *Graha-sâdhanâchîṁ Kôshṭakêṁ*, or "Tables for Calculating the Places of the Planets," the correct method by which we may determine, for any given Hindu *tithi* or lunar day, the corresponding *vâra* or week-day, and the equivalent English date according to either the Julian or the Gregorian Calendar.

Before detailing, however, the steps of the process, I will explain the principal technical terms which will be used, and which, for the sake of brevity and conciseness, will be retained in their original Sanskṛit forms.[1]

Explanation of Technical Terms.

The **abdapa**, *lit.* 'lord of a year,' of any particular year, is the conventional term,—in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, and others; but not universally,—for the time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, or 'entrance of the Sun into Aries,' in that year. The *abdapa* adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is the time of the *spashṭa* or 'apparent,'—*lit.* 'clearly perceived, distinctly visible,'[2]—*Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, as ascertained by the method given in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*;[3] whereas, in other Hindu works of the same kind, the term *abdapa* is used as meaning the time of the Sun's entrance into Aries with reference to his *madhyama* or 'mean' longitude. So, also, the length of the solar year adopted by him is that of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, which is accepted, in the present day, in most parts of India. It should, however, be borne in mind that the Tables of the sun and the moon, and those of the planets, given by him, are based on European Tables; and that the places of the sun and other heavenly bodies, obtained from his book, are reckoned from the equinoctial point. The starting-point adopted by Hindu astronomers, for reckoning the places of heavenly bodies, coincided, in their opinion, with the equinoctial point about Śaka-Saṁvat 444 expired (A.D. 522-23). The interval in time between two successive returns of the sun to the vernal equinox,—called "the tropical year,"—amounts at present to 365 *days*, 14 *ghaṭîs*, and 31·972 *palas*; while the length of the year, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, is 365 *days*, 15 *ghaṭîs*, and 31·523 *palas*. During this time, the sun's motion amounts to one complete revolution from equinox to equinox, plus about 58·6881 seconds of arc. The starting-point, therefore, of the Hindu astronomers is at present a little more than twenty-two degrees to the east of the vernal equinox. This difference is called *ayanâṁśas*, *lit.* 'degrees of precession;' and the *ayanâṁśas* for the present year, Śaka-Saṁvat 1809 expired (A.D. 1887-88), are 22 degrees, 45 minutes, according to the *Graha-Lâghava* of Gaṇêśa Daivajña.[1] As the longitudes of heavenly bodies, reckoned from the equinox, include these *ayanâṁśas*, they are called *sâyana*, *lit.* 'possessed of *ayana* or precession.' And the places of heavenly bodies obtained by the method given in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and other Hindu works, are called, for the sake of distinction, *nirayaṇa*, *lit.* 'destitute of precession.' The places obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables are *sâyana*. The *tithi*, however, obtained by either process, is the same; but this is not the case with the *nakshatra* or 'lunar mansion,' and the *yôga* or 'addition of the longitudes of the sun and the moon.'[2]

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[1] Most of these explanations are my own. Either to reduce the bulk of his book, or for some other reason, Prof. K. L. Chhatre has used the technical terms without explanation, except in the case of a few of the simpler ones; nor does he explain how he obtained certain figures for certain years or the variation for a year.

[2] English astronomers use the word 'apparent' in all cases in which we use *spashṭa*. 'Apparent,' therefore, is the proper translation of *spashṭa*.

[3] There are three schools of astronomers in India. One follows the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and is called Saurapaksha; another follows the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, and is named Brahmapaksha; while the third follows the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, and is called Âryapaksha. The main point on which they differ is the length of the year; but with differences, between each other, of only a few *vipalas* (a *vipala* is the sixtieth part of a *pala*). Another point of difference is, that the number of revolutions of the moon, planets, &c., in a certain period,—for instance in a Mahâyuga,—is generally different in each of them. Prof. K. L. Chhatre has adopted, from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, only the length of the year, and its starting-point, that is the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*; in almost every other respect he follows none of these three authorities, but has based his Tables on European Tables of planets. As to his Tables relative to *tithis*, however, in the part of his work called *Kala-sâdhana*, see page 149 below, note 11, and the text above note 1 on page 155.

The **figures for the abdapa** are given in Table I. on pp. 10, 11, of Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, and are expressed in *vâras*, *ghaṭîs*, and *palas*. Of these, the **vâra**, or week-day, sometimes also called **dina** or **divasa**, or 'solar day (and night),' is counted in regular order from Sunday, as 1, up to Saturday, as 7 or 0; and it is always reckoned by the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise. The *vâra* of the *abdapa* shews the week-day on which the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of the year fell. A **ghaṭî**, also **ghaṭi** and **ghaṭikâ**, is the sixtieth division of a mean solar day and night; and it is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English minutes. As a matter of convenience, the word *ghaṭî* is also used for the sixtieth part of a *tithi*; but in that application it is not identical with the sixtieth division of a solar day and night. A **pala** is the sixtieth division of a *ghaṭî*; and is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English seconds. And the *ghaṭîs* and *palas* of the *abdapa* give the time after sunrise, on the particular *vâra*, at which the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* took place. Thus, the *abdapa* of Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, is given (opposite the entry *Mêsha-Saṁkrântichî vêḷ* or 'time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*,' p. 10) as 1 *dina*, 10 *ghaṭîs*, 10 *palas*; which indicates that the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* then took place on Sunday, and 10 *ghaṭîs* and 10 *palas*, or four hours and four minutes, after sunrise. The solar year adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is equal to 365 *days*, 15 *ghaṭîs*, 31·52 *palas*. Dividing 365 by 7 (the number of days in a week), the remainder is 1. And so, if in one year the Sun enters Aries at the time of sunrise on a Sunday, then, in the following year, he will come to Aries on Monday, and 15 *ghaṭîs*, 31·5 *palas*, after sunrise. Therefore, the **variation in the abdapa in one year** is given (p. 10, col. 3, under *vâra*) as 1 *day*, 15 *ghaṭîs*, 31·5 *palas*; the decimals being supplied from column 2, in which is given the number of days, corresponding to the number of years in column 1.

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[1] The date of this work is Śaka-Saṁvat 1442 expired (A.D. 1520-21). At present, all the *Pañchâṅgs* (Hindu calendars) in the Dekkan, and in some other parts of India, are prepared from this authority, and from another small work, by the same author, entitled *Tithi-Chintâmaṇi*, containing the necessary Tables.

[2] To calculate *tithis*, only the difference between the longitudes of the moon and of the sun is to be taken. Therefore it matters not whether these longitudes are *sâyana* or *nirayaṇa*. To find a *nakshatra*, the *ayanâṁśas* must be applied to the moon's longitude obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables. The *Sâyana-Pañchâṅg*, annually published, from Śaka 1806, under the patronage of His Highness the Mahârâja Hôḷkar, by Mr. Visaji Raghunath Lele of Gwâlior, with the aid of Mr. Janardan B. Modak, B.A. of the Bombay University, of myself, and of Mr. Krishnarao Raghunath Bhide of Indôr, is based on the *sâyana* system.

The word **tithi** denotes the thirtieth part of a lunation or lunar month; that is, as applied to the ecliptic circle, it denotes exactly the one-thirtieth part of that circle, *viz.* twelve degrees; but, taken as an apparent *tithi*, and applied to the period of a lunation, it may be the exact thirtieth part of that period, or it may vary from fifty to sixty-six *ghaṭîs* as subdivisions of a solar day. If the word *tithi* requires to be rendered into English, it is best represented by 'lunar day.' Of the thirty *tithis* of each month, fifteen belong to the bright fortnight, or period of the waxing moon, and fifteen to the dark fortnight, or period of the waning moon. The fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight is called *pûrṇimâ*, *pûrṇamâsî*, or *paurṇamâsî*, *lit.* 'that which has the full-moon, or that on which the month is completed;' and the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight is called *amâvâsyâ*, *lit.* 'that on which there is the dwelling-together (of the sun and moon).' At the end of the *amâvâsyâ*, the sun and the moon are together; that is, they have the same longitude. When the moon, moving towards the east, leaves the sun behind by twelve degrees of longitude, then ends the first *tithi*, which is technically called *pratipad* or *pratipadâ*. So, a *tithi* is the time which the moon takes to out-go the sun by twelve degrees. With the exception of the *pratipadâ*, the *tithis* are denoted by the regular ordinal numerals, *dvitîyâ*, *tṛitîya*, &c., up to *chaturdaśî*, 'the fourteenth.' The *pûrṇimâ* and *amâvâsyâ* are called sometimes by their own special names, and sometimes *pañchadaśî*, 'the fifteenth;' but the *amâvâsyâ* is generally entered in *Pañchâṅgs* as the thirtieth *tithi*, even in Northern India, where the dark fortnight of the month precedes the bright.[1] In *Pañchângs*, the *ghaṭîs* and *palas* of *tithis* are given; and, by them, it is to be understood that the *tithis* end so many *ghaṭîs* and *palas* after sun-rise. In general, the expression *tithi* means the end of a *tithi*; not its beginning, or its duration.

The term **tithi-śuddhi,** *lit.* 'the subtraction of *tithis*,' denotes the number of *tithis* that elapse from the beginning of the month Chaitra (March-April) up to the time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*. In Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, this term is used to shew the number of *tithis*, calculated from the difference between the moon's mean longitude and the sun's apparent longitude, that elapse from the beginning of Chaitra to the time of the sun's *spashṭa* or 'apparent' *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*.[2] Thus, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, at the time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* the sun's mean longitude was 11 signs, 20 degrees, 46·1 minutes (p. 46); and the apparent longitude obtained from it, according to the method given by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, is 11 signs, 22 degrees, 38·9 minutes. The moon's mean longitude at that time was 4 signs, 25 degrees, 42·4 minutes (p. 87). The difference between the longitudes of the sun and the moon,—the sun's longitude being subtracted from that of the moon,—is, therefore, 5 signs, 3 degrees (= 153 degrees), 3·5 minutes. Then $153^\circ\ 3'{\cdot}5 \div 12 = 12 + (9^\circ\ 3'{\cdot}5 \div 12)$ *tithis*; that is, 12 *tithis*, and about 45 *ghaṭîs* and 14 *palas*, had elapsed. This, therefore, is given as the *tithi-śuddhi* for Saka-Saṁvat 0 expired. In one solar year, the mean *tithis* are 371, and 3 *ghaṭîs*, 53·4 *palas*. Dividing 371 by 360, the remainder, 11 *tithis*, 3 *ghaṭis*, 53·4 *palas*, is given as the **variation in the tithi-śuddhi in one year** (p. 10, col. 4).

The *tithis* obtained from the mean places and mean motions of both the sun and the moon, are *madhyama* or 'mean' *tithis*. So, also, those calculated from the apparent place and motion of the sun and the mean place and motion of the moon,—as in the case of the *tithi-śuddhi* and the mean solar equivalents of *tithis* given in Table III. pp. 13-19, col. 2, — may be called mean *tithis* and not apparent. But the *tithis*, &c., given in our *Pañchângs* are always *spashṭa* or 'apparent;'[3] that is, they are calculated from the apparent places and motions of the sun and the moon. The *spashṭa-tithi* differs from the *madhyama-tithi* sometimes by nearly twenty-five *ghaṭîs*; and this is chiefly owing to the fact that the moon's apparent longitude differs from her mean longitude sometimes by about five degrees.[4] Many corrections have to be applied to the mean place of the moon in order to find her apparent place; but only one of these, called *phala-saṁskâra*, which is 'the equation of the centre.' is taken into account by Hindu astronomers:[1] and this, as given by them, amounts to a little more than five degrees at the greatest. This correction varies according to the moon's *kêndra* or 'anomaly;' which is taken to be her distance from apogee.[2] From this correction is calculated the correction in time to be applied to the mean *tithi*; it is named **parâkhya**; and it is given in Table IV., on p. 20, in the column headed *parâkhya*. It evidently varies according to the moon's *kêndra*. One revolution of the moon's *kêndra* is completed in 27 *days*, 33 *ghaṭîs*, 16·56 *palas*. This period is called *nîchôchcha-mâsa*;[3] and is known to English astronomers by the name of the 'anomalistic month.' This period, converted into *tithis*,[4] is equal to 27 *tithis*, 59 *ghaṭîs*, 33·36 *palas*; that is, nearly and practically, 28 *tithis*. It is converted into *tithis* for the sake of convenience; since, the variation in the *kêndra* is one *tithi* of *kêndra* in one *tithi* of time; and it is called **tithi-kêndra,** or 'the anomaly of the *tithi*, expressed in *tithis*.' The moon's mean *kêndra* at the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, was 10 signs, 19 degrees, 58·8 minutes (p. 87). This, converted into *tithis*, is equal to 24 *tithis*, 52 *ghaṭîs*, 50 *palas*;[5] and this is given (p. 10) as the **tithi-madhyama-kêndra,** or 'mean anomaly of the *tithi*,' at the time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired. It shews that so many *tithis* and parts of a *tithi* had elapsed, up to that *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, from the moon's preceding arrival at her apogee. The variation in the moon's *kêndra*, in one solar year, is 3 signs, 2 degrees, 6·2 minutes (p. 87, col. 3). This, changed into *tithis* by the rule of three, *viz.*—360° : 92° 6′·2 :: *ti.* 27, *gh.* 59, *p.* 33·36 : *ti.* 7, *gh.* 9, *p.* 42,—is given, therefore, as the **variation in the tithi-kêndra in one year** (p. 10, col. 5).

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[1] In astronomical works, it is always the *Amânta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights that is actually taken for calculations.

[2] In the *Siddhânta-Śirômaṇi* and other works, the term *tithi-śuddhi* is used in the sense of the number of *tithis*, calculated from the mean places of the sun and the moon, that elapse from the beginning of Chaitra to the time of the sun's *madhyama* or 'mean' *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*.

[3] Though not always in the strictest sense. I say so, because, in practice, extreme accuracy is not, and cannot be, sought. But, in theory, they are required to be 'apparent' in the strictest sense.

[4] According to European Tables, the difference is sometimes about eight degrees

A few other points and terms will be explained, as we proceed with the following example.

To find the Week-Day of a given Tithi.

The process will be best illustrated, step by step, by actually working out an example. And, at Mr. Fleet's request, I take, as my example, the date of **Śaka-Saṁvat 406**

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[1] The amount of this correction, adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, in finding out *tithis* in his *Kâla-sâdhana* Tables (pp. 1 to 30 of his book), is nearly the same as that adopted by ancient Hindu astronomers. Therefore, the *tithis* obtained by his method, as described above, should agree very closely with those obtained from the methods prescribed in Sanskṛit works. But, in the *abdapa* and other elements, the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and other authorities themselves slightly differ, one from the other. And, accordingly the difference will be sometimes about five or six *ghaṭîs*. There are, also, some other minute causes of difference.

[2] In European astronomical works, the anomaly is reckoned from perigee or perihelion; but in Hindu works it is reckoned from apogee or aphelion.

[3] In this term *nîcha* means 'perigee;' and *uchcha*, 'apogee.' And *nîchôchcha-mâsa* is the period in which the moon comes from perigee or apogee to the same point again.

[4] One *tithi* is equal to 0·9843529572 of a mean solar day.

[5] 360°: 319°58′·8 :: *ti.* 27, *gh.* 59, *p.* 33·36 : *ti.* 24, *gh.* 52, *p.* 50

expired (A.D. 484-85); the month **Âshâḍha** (June-July); the **bright fortnight**; the **twelfth tithi.**

From Table I. p. 10, write down (see Table V. on page 151 below), in three separate columns, three quantities, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, which are technically called the **kshêpaka** or 'additive quantities;' *viz.* in (*a*) the *abdapa*, enter *vâras* 1, *ghaṭîs* 10, *palas* 10; in (*b*) the *tithi-śuddhi,* enter *tithis* 12, *ghaṭîs* 45, *palas* 14; and in (*c*) the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra*, enter *tithis* 24, *ghaṭîs* 52, *palas* 50. Below each of them respectively, in its proper column, enter, from the same Table, the **bhêda** or 'variation' for the component parts of the given Śaka year;[1] *viz.* for 400, in (*a*) *vâras* 6, *gh.* 30, *p.* 9·3, in (*b*) *tithis* 15, *gh.* 55, *p.* 49·2, and in (*c*) *tithis* 9, *gh.* 24, *p.* 45; and for 6 years, in (*a*) *vâras* 0, *gh.* 33, *p.* 9·1, in (*b*) *tithis* 6, *gh.* 23, *p.* 20·2, and in (*c*) *tithis* 14, *gh.* 58, *p.* 39.

Now, as the given year is anterior to Śaka-Saṁvat 1622 expired, **a correction,** to be arrived at from Table II. p. 12, is to be applied, and is always to be added, in respect of the *tithi-śuddhi* and the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra.* The reason for this correction, is this. As explained above, the *tithi-śuddhi* and the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra* depend respectively on the mean longitude and the mean anomaly of the moon. But the moon's mean motion is not always the same. Therefore, to her mean longitude and mean anomaly, obtained from the general Table of annual variation in them (Table III. p. 87 f., cols. 2, 3), a correction (Table IV. p. 89 f., cols. 2, 3) is to be applied. Thus, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, the correction in the moon's mean longitude is 44 seconds, and that in the *kêndra* is 2 degrees, 55 seconds (p. 90). These, turned into *tithis*, are 3 *ghaṭîs*, 40 *palas*, with regard to the *tithi-śuddhi*; and 14 *ghaṭîs*, with regard to the *tithi-kêndra.* These figures, therefore, are given as the correction in respectively the *tithi-śuddhi* and the *tithi-kêndra* for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired. In the Table, this correction is given for intervals of 1000 years each. Taking first the *tithi-śuddhi*, the correction for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, is *gh.* 3, *p.* 40; and the correction for Śaka-Saṁvat 1000 expired, is *p.* 32. Therefore, deducting the latter from the former, the difference, *gh.* 3, *p.* 8, or 188 *palas*, is the variation of correction in 1000 years.[2] Then, by the Rule of Three,—1000 years : 406 years :: 188 *palas* : 76 *palas*. And 76 *palas* are *gh.* 1, *p.* 16. As the quantities are decreasing ones, this is to be subtracted from *gh.* 3, *p.* 40, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired. And the remainder gives us, as the sufficiently approximate correction for Śaka-Samvat 406 expired, *gh.* 2, *p.* 24, to be added in (*b*). Similarly, the correction for the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra*, worked out in the same way, is *gh.* 9, *p.* 8, to be added in (*c*).

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[1] The decimals in the *palas* of (*a*) the *abdapa* are taken from the *ahargaṇa*, or total number of solar days of the solar year, in col. 2.

[2] Properly speaking, this variation is for Śaka-Saṁvat 500 expired, midway between Śaka-Saṁvat 0 and 1000. It should be reduced first for the year midway between Śaka-Saṁvat 0 and the given year; in this instance 406. But there is no absolute necessity for such exact precision.

TABLE V.

Calculation of the Week-day of a given Tithi.

Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.
Âshâḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvâra (Thursday).

(*a*) Abdapa.	vâra	gh.	p.	(*b*) Tithi-śuddhi.	tithi	gh.	p.	(*c*) Tithi-madhyama-kêndra.	tithi	gh.	p.
Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired (p. 10)	1	10	10	....	12	45	14	....	24	52	50
Add variation for 400 Śaka years (p. 11)	6	30	9·3	....	15	55	49·2	....	9	24	45
Add variation for 6 Saka years (p. 10)	0	33	9·1	....	6	23	20·2	....	14	58	39
Add correction for a date prior to Śaka-Saṁvat 1622 expired				....	0	2	24	....	0	9	8
Week-day and time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired	1	13	28·4	*tithi-dhruva* and *bhukta-tithi* ..	5	6	47·4		21	25	22
				From one *tithi* .	1	0	0				
				Deduct *bhukta-tithi*	0	6	47	Add, from (*b*) the *bhôgya-tithi* ...	0	53	13
				bhôgya-tithi	0	53	13	*tithi-spashṭa-kêndra*	22	18	35
ghaṭîs and *palas* only, from above	0	13	28	Deduct as many *palas* as there are *ghaṭîs* in the *bhôgya-tithi* ..	0	0	53				
Add, from (*b*), the mean solar day	0	52	20	Mean solar day .	0	52	20				
tithi-bhôga	1	5	48								
Add:—											
expired *tithis*:—											
Chaitra	15										
Vaiśâkha	30										
Jyêshṭha	30										
Âshâḍha	26										
	101										
minus, from (*b*), *tithi-dhruva*	5										
expired *tithis* from end of Chaitra śukla 5	96							Add *tithi-kêndra* of (*a*) 96 *tithis*			
solar equivalent of 96 *tithis* (p. 14)	94	17	36					(p. 14)	12	1	20
	95	23	24								
Add *parâkhya*, obtained from (*c*) *tithi-spashṭa-kêndra* of Âshâḍha śukla 12	0	24	19					*tithi-spashṭa-kêndra* at end of Âshâḍha śukla 12	6	19	55
Days elapsed up to end of apparent Âshâḍha śukla 12	95	47	43								
Add week-day of *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired	1										
Reduce to weeks ......7)	96 (13										
	91										
Remainder, the 5th day, is Thursday	5			**Result; Thursday.**							

Now add together the respective quantities in (*a*) (*b*) and (*c*), bearing in mind that, in doing so, when the *vâras* in (*a*) the *abdapa* exceed 7, or any multiple of 7, only the remainder, above 7 or its multiple, is to be brought to account, because there are 7 *vâras* or week-days in each week; and that, when the *tithis* in (*b*) the *tithi-śuddhi* and in (*c*) the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra* exceed 30 and 28 respectively, or any multiple of them, only the remainders above 30 and 28, or their multiple, are to be taken notice of, because there are 30 *tithis* in one lunar month, and, as nearly as possible, 28 *tithis* in one revolution of the *tithi-kêndra*.

We thus obtain in (*a*) the *abdapa*, *vâras* 1, *gh.* 13, *p.* 28·4. The first quantity, of the days, shews that the week-day on which occurred the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, was Sunday. And the remaining quantities shew that the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* took place at the end of *gh.* 13, *p.* 28·4, after sunrise on that Sunday. The small decimal which we have here, as also in (*b*) the *tithi-śuddhi*, under the *palas*, may be disregarded in the following steps of the process.

In (*b*) the *tithi-śuddhi*, we obtain *tithis* 5, *gh.* 6, *p.* 47·4. From this we learn that, when the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, occurred, 5 mean *tithis* of the month Chaitra were completed, and also 6 *ghaṭîs* and 47 *palas* of the 6th *tithi* had elapsed. The number of completed *tithis*, here 5, is technically called the **tithi-dhruva** or 'constant of the *tithi*;' because, when it has been determined for any given year, it remains uniform or constant in working out any example in that same year. And the remainder, here *gh.* 6, *p.* 47, is called the **bhukta-tithi** or 'elapsed portion of the (current) *tithi*.'

Subtracting the *bhukta-tithi*, *gh.* 6, *p.* 47, from 1 *tithi* or 60 *ghaṭîs*, the remainder, *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, gives the portion of the 6th *tithi* that was still to run. This is technically called the **bhôgya-tithi,** *lit.* '(that portion of) the *tithi* which is still to be enjoyed.'

In (*c*), the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra*, we obtain *tithis* 21, *gh.* 25, *p.* 22. This gives us the moon's *kêndra*, reduced to *tithis*, at the time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired.

To this, the *bhôgya-tithi*, viz. *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, is to be added. And the result, *tithis* 22, *gh.* 18, *p.* 35, is the *kêndra* at the end of the 6th *tithi* of Chaitra. This is called the **tithi-spashṭa-kêndra** or 'apparent *kêndra* of the *tithi*.'

Next, by subtracting from the *bhôgya-tithi*, viz. *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, as many *palas*, 53, as there are *ghaṭîs* in it,[1] we convert it into a **mean solar day**, with the result of *gh.* 52, *p.* 20.

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[1] *i.e.* by subtracting the sixtieth part. This proportion is taken for the sake of easy calculation. Properly speaking, to convert a *tithi* into a solar day, the sixty-fourth part should be subtracted; because one mean *tithi* is equal to ·984353 of a solar day, *i.e.*, as nearly as possible, sixty-three sixty-fourths of a solar day. The difference, however, does not introduce any material error.

Add this *gh.* 52, *p.* 20, to the *ghatîs* and *palas* only of (*a*) the *abdapa*. The result, *vâra* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, shews that the 6th mean *tithi* of Chaitra ended with *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, after sunrise on the following day, Monday, after the day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, Sunday. This quantity, *vâra* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, is called the **tithi-bhôga,** *lit.* 'the enjoyment or duration of the *tithi*;' and it is the end of the *tithi-dhruva*, increased by one *tithi*. It is, of course, a mean *tithi*. And it shews that *days* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, up to the end of Chaitra śukla 6 as a mean *tithi*.

We have now to bring into consideration the **number of tithis elapsed** up to the commencement of the given *tithi*. And, in doing this, we must of course take account of any intercalary month that there may be, preceding the given *tithi*, in the given year.

In our example, however, the result in (*b*) the *tithi-śuddhi*, is less than nineteen *tithis*. And a reference to Table VI. p. 22, — which would enable us to determine the intercalary month approximately, if there were one, — shews us that there was, therefore, no intercalary month at all in the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired. The explanation of this, is, that. when the *tithi-śuddhi* is less than nineteen, it shews that the *saṁkrânti* in Chaitra occurred within the first nineteen *tithis* of that month. And, as, generally, the solar months are longer than the lunar months, the *saṁkrântis* of the sun, *i.e.* his passage from one sign of the zodiac into the next, occur continuously later in each successive lunar month. But, when the *saṁkrânti* in Chaitra falls within the first nineteen *tithis*, no *saṁkrânti*, up to the end of the year, can go beyond the thirtieth *tithi* of any lunar month; and, therefore, no month will be intercalary.

Consequently, from the beginning of Chaitra, up to the commencement of the given *tithi*, Âshâḍha śukla 12, there had elapsed only the usual number of one hundred and one *tithis*; *viz.* in the bright fortnight of Chaitra, 15; in Vaiśâkha, 30; in Jyêshṭha, 30; and in Âshâḍha, 15 in the dark fortnight, and 11 in the bright.[1] From this number of *tithis*, 101, we subtract the *tithi-dhruva*, 5. And the remainder, 96, is the number of *tithis* elapsed from the end of Chaitra śukla 5 up to the end of Âshâḍha śukla 11. But the *tithi-bhôga*, which we have already arrived at, is the end of Chaitra śukla 6; and the same number of *tithis*, 96, expire from the end of Chaitra śukla 6 up to the end of Âshâḍha śukla 12. Therefore, adding to the *tithi-bhôga* the solar equivalent, now to be introduced, the result will bring us to the end of the given *tithi*, Âshâḍha śukla 12.

Turning to Table III. p 14, we find that the **equivalent, in mean solar days,** of 96 *tithis*, is *days* 94, *gh.* 17, *p.* 36. And, adding this to the *tithi-bhôga*, the result, *days* 95, *gh.* 23, *p.* 24, gives the interval that had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* up to the end of Âshaḍha śukla 12 as a mean *tithi*

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[1] We are dealing with a northern date; and that is why the *tithis* are counted in this way. If we were dealing with a southern date, the enumeration would be, in Chaitra, 30; in Vaiśâkha, 30; in Jyêshṭha, 30; and in the bright fortnight of Âshâḍha, 11. The total is the same, 101, since a bright fortnight is concerned.

Now, however, we have to determine the **spashṭa-tithi,** or apparent *tithi*. For this purpose, we require the *parâkhya*-correction, which is to be ascertained through the *tithi-kêndra*.

Turning again to Table III. p. 14, we find that the variation in the *tithi-kêndra* for 96 *tithis* is *tithis* 12, *gh*. 1, *p*. 20. Enter this in (*c*), below *tithis* 22, *gh*. 18, *p*. 35, which we have already arrived at as the *tithi-kêndra* at the end of Chaitra śukla 6. Add the two quantities together; and the result,—excluding 28 *tithis*, as before,—is *tithis* 6, *gh*. 19, *p*. 55; which is the *tithi-spashṭa-kêndra* at the end of the given *tithi*, Âshâḍha śukla 12.

With this argument, we turn to Table IV. p. 20, for the *parâkhya*-correction. In this Table, the correction is given for *tithis* and *ghaṭîs*, at intervals of ten *ghaṭîs*. Thus, for the *tithi-spashṭa-kêndra*, *tithis* 6, *gh*. 10, the *parâkhya* is *gh*. 24, *p*. 10; and for *tithis* 6, *gh*. 20, it is *gh*. 24, *p*. 19. The difference, 9 *palas*, is shewn in the last column of the Table, and would serve to calculate the exact *parâkhya* for the *tithi-spashṭa-kêndra*. But here it is sufficiently close for our purposes to take the *parâkhya* as *gh*. 24, *p*. 19.

Under (*a*) the *abdapa*, enter this *parâkhya* below the sum of the *tithi-bhôga* and the solar equivalent of 96 *tithis*, and,—as is indicated by the sign plus at the top of col. 1 in Table IV.,—add it to that sum.

The result, *vâras* 95, *gh*. 47, *p*. 43, gives **the number of days, and parts of a day, that had elapsed,** from sunrise on the day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, **up to the end of the apparent Âshâḍha śukla 12.** To the days, 95, add 1, the week-day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*. Divide the sum, 96, by 7, and the result is 13 weeks, and 5 days over; which shews that the current week-day of Âshâḍha śukla 12 was the fifth day in the week; that is **Thursday.** The remaining quantities, *gh*. 47, *p*. 43, shew the time after sunrise, on that Thursday, on which the given *tithi*, Âshâḍha śukla 12, ended.

The Tables in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, however, are adapted to **the meridian of Bombay.** The *ghaṭîs* and *palas*, therefore, of a *tithi* worked out by the method exhibited above, are for Bombay; and are to be reckoned from mean sunrise at Bombay. When the *tithi* is required for any other particular place, the difference of longitude in time (one degree = ten *palas*) is to be added or subtracted, according as the place is east or west of Bombay. In the present instance, as I learned after first working it out, the above Śaka date was selected in consequence of its being the equivalent of the date, in Gupta-Saṁvat 165, recorded in the pillar inscription of Budhagupta at Êraṇ in the Central Provinces. We have therefore now to determine the *tithi* for Êraṇ itself. The longitude of Bombay is 72° 51′; and that of Êraṇ is 78° 15′; both east of Greenwich. Êraṇ, therefore is 5 degrees, 24 minutes, east from Bombay. Adding (5° 24′ × 10 =) 54 *palas* to 47 *ghaṭîs* and 43 *palas*, which we have obtained above for Bombay, **the tithi at Êraṇ is gh. 48, p. 37, reckoned from mean sunrise on the same day, Thursday.**

The above result is sufficient for all practical purposes. But it is further to be noted that the *tithis* in our *Pañchâṅgs* are intended to be given from apparent sunrise. In practice, however, so much minuteness is not always and everywhere attempted ; at least, in the present day, in the Dekkan. For this reason, it seems, Prof. K. L. Chhatre has not noticed this point in his method exhibited above. But I will now give the *tithi* in question from apparent sunrise at Êraṇ. Without going through the process, which is rather too complicated to be given in the present paper, I will state only the result, that the apparent sunrise at Êraṇ, on the day in question, took place *gh.* 1, *p.* 56, before the mean sunrise ; the latitude of Êraṇ used in the process, being 24° 5′. Adding, therefore, *gh.* 1, *p.* 56, to the above result from mean sunrise, we get *gh.* 50, *p.* 33, reckoned from apparent sunrise, as the time at which the given *tithi*, Âshâḍha śukla 12, ended at Êraṇ on the Thursday.

Before dismissing this part of the subject, I would point out that the calculation of a *tithi*, by the above method, is not of necessity absolutely accurate, according to the present absolutely accurate European Tables of the sun and the moon. Absolute accuracy, in this sense, could be ensured only by working from the actual places or longitudes of the sun and the moon, to be determined in strict accordance with the method prescribed for that purpose. The *tithi* obtained by the method exhibited above, will differ, sometimes by as much as ten *ghaṭîs*, from that which would be obtained from the apparent places of the sun and the moon, actually calculated from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables for the sun and the moon. The difference, however, at full-moon and new-moon will be very small, one *ghaṭî* at the greatest ; and it reaches its maximum on the eighth *tithi* of the bright and of the dark fortnight. But, in respect of this second possible method of Prof. K. L. Chhatre, it must be stated that we have nothing to do with it in dealing with Hindu *tithis* ; for the reason that, with the exception of the *phala-saṁskâra*, the corrections introduced by him in finding the apparent longitude of the moon, were not taken into account by ancient Hindu astronomers.

And, on the other hand, the method exhibited above being in close agreement with Hindu works, it may be claimed that the *tithi* obtained by it will differ but very little from the *tithi* obtained by the method prescribed in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and other Hindu works. The difference[1] will amount to five or six *ghaṭîs* at the utmost ; and that in but very few cases.

In order, however, that no room may be left for doubt, I have also calculated the *tithi* in the present example actually by the *Âryabhaṭîya* or *Ârya-Siddhânta* of the first Âryabhaṭa, the *Brahma-Siddhânta* of Brahmagupta, the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, the *Siddhânta-*

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[1] See page 149 above, note 1.

Śirômaṇi, and the *Ârya-Siddhânta* of the second Âryabhaṭa.[1] I calculated it first for Ujjain, *i.e.* for the Hindu meridian, reckoning from the mean sunrise there; and then turned it into the *tithi* for Êraṇ. The longitude of Ujjain is 75° 43 east of Greenwich. I have also calculated the *ghaṭîs* and *palas* from the apparent sunrise at Êraṇ; and all the results are given in Table VI., on the upper part of page 157 below. From them we see that **the tithi fell on a Thursday,[2] according to all the authorities.**

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[1] *i.e.* the work that is usually called the *Laghu-Ârya-Siddhânta*.—There are two distinct and separate works, each bearing the name of Âryabhaṭa as its author. The one published by Dr. Kern contains one hundred and eighteen verses in the Âryâ metre, and is called *Âryabhaṭîya* in general and by the author himself; but it may, and justly so, be called *Ârya-Siddhânta*; and it is called so by many Hindu astronomers. The date of this work is Saka-Saṁvat 421 expired (A. D. 499-500). The other, which, I believe, has not yet been printed, contains about six hundred and twenty-five verses in the Âryâ metre, divided into eighteen chapters. The date of it is not given. But, from internal evidence, I find that it is later than the *Brahma-Siddhânta* of Brahmagupta (Śaka-Saṁvat 550 expired; A.D. 628-29); and there is a reference to it in the *Siddhânta-Śirômaṇi* (Śaka-Saṁvat 1072 expired; A.D. 1150-51). Its date, therefore, lies somewhere between these two limits. In the first verse of it, the author calls himself Âryabhaṭa; and his work, a Siddhânta, without *Laghu* or any other epithet. In a manuscript copy of it, I find that it is named *Mahâ-Siddhânta* at the end of some chapters, and *Laghu-Ârya-Siddhânta* at the end of others. For the sake of distinction and convenience, it is better to call the authors of these two works, the first and the second Âryabhaṭa. The numbers of the revolutions of the planets &c. given, as belonging to the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, in the Rev. E. Burgess' Translation of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and in some instances those given by Prinsep (*Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 153) as belonging to the same authority, belong really to the second Âryabhaṭa. Probably, when these gentlemen wrote, they had not themselves seen the Siddhânta of the first Aryabhaṭa Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, also, was not, it seems, aware of the two different Aryabhatas, when he wrote (*Indian Eras*, p. 88) "according to Warren the number of days assigned by Âryabhaṭa to a Mahâyuga of 4,320,000 years is 1,577,917,500 in the south of India and 42 more in the MSS. preserved in Bengal." Of these two numbers, the former belongs to the first, and the latter to the second, Âryabhaṭa.

[2] [*i.e.* on a Hindu Thursday.—It must be borne in mind that the Hindu week-day is reckoned, with the solar day and night, from sunrise to sunrise, as stated at page 146 f. above; but the English week-day, and the civil date coupled with it, from midnight to midnight. In comparing Hindu and English dates, the only course is to take mean sunrise and mean midnight (6·0 A.M. and 12·0 P.M. respectively), and to give, as the English equivalent, that week-day, with its civil date, which is actually running during these eighteen hours, when of course the same week-day is running in India; *i.e.* the week-day which is identical for the greater part by both the English and the Hindu reckonings. And, if the difference in mean time between Greenwich and Ujjain, *viz.* 5 hours, 2 minutes, 52 seconds (using the same longitude for Ujjain, 75° 43′, taken from Keith Johnston's Atlas, that is used by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit for his calculations in this paper and for the *Sâyana-Pañchâng*) be taken into consideration, of course the week-days of the two places are absolutely identical, except for the space of 57 minutes, 8 seconds, or 2 *ghaṭîs*, 22·8 *palas*, at the end of the Hindu week-day; during that time, while at Ujjain a Hindu Thursday for instance, is still running, at Greenwich the week-day will be Friday. Owing to this, there may sometimes be a nominal discrepancy in the resulting English week-day for a given *tithi*; but the instances will be few and far between, as very few *tithis* will be found to end so late after sunrise; and the discrepancy will be confined mostly to such occurrences as the heliacal rising of Jupiter (see, for instance, the double dates which it has been necessary to quote at page 104 ff. above). In the present case, not one of the ending-points of the given *tithi* falls within the debatable period; either for Ujjain, or for Êraṇ, which is appreciably to the east of Ujjain.—J. F. F.]

TABLE VI.

The Times, after Sunrise, of the ending of a given Tithi.

Saka-Saṁvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Âshâḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvâra (Thursday).

The Time, after Sunrise, at which the Tithi ended.	By K. L. Chhatre's method exhibited above.		By the Ârya-Siddhânta of the first Âryabhaṭa.		By the Brahma-Siddhânta of Brahmagupta.		By the Sûrya-Siddhânta		By the Siddhânta-Sirômani.		By the Ârya-Siddhânta of the second Âryabhaṭa.	
	gh.	p.	gh.	p.	gh.	p.	gh.	p.	gh.	p.	gh.	p.
Reckoned from mean sunrise at Bombay ..	47	43	49	19	49	46	50	42	52	52	54	24
" " " " " Ujjain ...	48	12	49	48	50	15	51	11	53	21	54	53
" " " " " Ëran	48	37	50	13	50	40	51	36	53	46	55	18
" " apparent sunrise at Eraṇ ..	50	33	52	9	52	36	53	32	55	42	57	14

TABLE VII.

Calculation of the English Date of a given Tithi.

Śaka-Saṁvat 400 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Âshâḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvâra (Thursday).

		days	gh.	p.
Date of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* in March of A.D. 0 (p. 30)		13	59	10
Add variation for 400 years A.D. (p. 30)		3	30	9
" " 84 years A.D. (p. 27)		0	44	7
Date of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* in March of A.D. 484		18	13	26
Add days elapsed from the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* up to the given *tithi*, from col. (*a*) of the previous process		95		
		113		
Deduct number of days in completed months from the 1st March:—				
March	31			
April	30			
May	31			
		92		
Remainder is the current day of the next month, and the current day of the given *tithi*		21		

Result; 21st June, A.D. 484

If, by the calculations detailed above, we find that a certain *tithi* ended nearly at the end of a Hindu day,—for instance, fifty-seven *ghaṭîs* after sunrise on a Sunday; *i.e.* three *ghaṭîs* before sunrise on Monday,—there may be the possibility that it really ended shortly after sunrise on the following day, Monday. And, on the other hand, if our results shew that a certain *tithi* ended shortly after the commencement of a Hindu day,—for instance, three *ghaṭîs* after sunrise on a Sunday,—there may be the possibility that it really ended shortly before the termination of the preceding day, Saturday.

In dealing with a particular record that, on a certain week-day, there was a certain *tithi*, we can only be sure of absolute accuracy in our results, if we can ascertain, so as to apply, the actual authority and method used by the author of the calendar which the drafter of that record consulted in preparing his statement. The method exhibited above, however, may be safely relied on for all practical purposes.

To find the English Date for a given Tithi.

The materials for this process are to be found in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, in Table IX. on page 27, and in Table XI. on page 30.

The English date answering to the given Hindu date in our present example, has obviously to be worked out according to the Julian Calendar, or Old Style; being long anterior to A.D. 1752, when the Gregorian Calendar, or New Style, was introduced.

From the heading of Table XI. p. 30, we find that, in A.D. 0, the Hindu *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* occurred on the 13th March, and *gh.* 59, *p.* 10, after sunrise (civil time). Enter these quantities (see Table VII. on the lower part of page 157 above). And below them, enter the *bhêda* or variation for the component parts of the given current year A.D., in this instance A.D. 484-(85), which is always obtained by adding A.D. 78-(79) to the given expired Śaka year; *viz.* for 400, *days* 3, *gh.* 30, *p.* 9, from Table XI.; and for 84, *days* 0, *gh.* 44, *p.* 7, from Table IX.

Add these quantities together. The result, for A.D. 484, is *days* 18, *gh.* 13, *p.* 26. And this shews that, in A.D. 484, the Hindu *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* occurred on the 18th March, and 13 *ghaṭîs* and 26 *palas* [1] after sunrise.

Add 95, which we have already ascertained, in the previous process, under (*a*) the *abdapa*, to be the number of days that had elapsed from sunrise on the day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, up to sunrise on the day on which the given *tithi* ended. The sum, 113, gives the number of days up to, and inclusive of, the given *tithi*, from, and inclusive of, the 1st March.

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[1] The *ghaṭîs* and *palas* ought to agree with the *ghaṭîs* and *palas* of the *abdapa* of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, in col. (*a*) of the previous process. Here there is a difference of 2·4 *palas*; which shews that there is a small mistake somewhere in the Tables.

From this sum subtract the number of days in as many entire months as were completed within the total of 113 days; *viz.* in the present instance, in March, 31 days; in April, 30; and in May, 31; total, 92.

The remainder, in this instance 21, gives the current day of the next month, corresponding to the given *tithi*. The result, therefore, in the present instance, is the **21st June, A.D. 484,** Old Style. The identification of this date with the week-day previously obtained for the given *tithi*, may be verified by any of the ordinary means available. For instance, from General Sir A. Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, Table II. p. 98, we find that the 1st January, A.D. 484, Old Style, was a Sunday. And then, turning, as the given year was a Leap-year, to the right-hand side of his Table I. p. 97, we find that the 21st June of the same year was a **Thursday,** as required.

APPENDIX III.

The Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

By Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit; Bombay Educational Department.

The names of the *saṁvatsaras*, or years, of the **Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter,** are determined in accordance with the following rule in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* of Varâhamihira, adhyâya viii. verse 1, — nakshatrêṇa sah=ôdayam upagachchhati yêna dêvapati-mantrî[1] I tat-saṁjñaṁ vaktavyaṁ varshaṁ mâsa-kramêṇ=aiva II, — "with whatever *nakshatra* (Jupiter) the counsellor of (Indra) the lord of the gods attains (*his*) rising, the year is to be spoken of (*as*) having the appellation of that (*nakshatra*), in accordance with the order of the months."

Here, by the word *udaya*, 'rising,' we have to understand, not the daily rising of Jupiter, but his **heliacal rising.** Jupiter becomes invisible for some days before and after his conjunction with the sun. The sun's daily motion is faster than that of Jupiter. So, when the sun in his course comes near Jupiter, the latter becomes invisible, on the west side of the horizon; and he is then said to set. He remains from twenty-five to thirty-one days in this state of invisibility. And, when he is left behind by the sun, he again becomes visible, in the east; and then he is said to rise. Generally, in India, when the interval between the daily settings or risings of the sun and Jupiter amounts to forty-four minutes

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[1] The reading that I give, is from an old manuscript in my possession. But the commentator, Utpala, explains the verse with the reading—*nakshatrêṇa sah=ôdayam astaṁ vâ yêna yâti sura-mantrî*,—'with whatever *nakshatra* (Jupiter) the counsellor of the gods attains (his) rising or setting." It is curious that the text, in my manuscript copy, stands as given above. The copyists, however far they might go wrong in ordinary transcribing, could not, unless intentionally, turn the letters *mastam vâ yêna yâti sura*, if they were original at all, into *mupagachchhati yêna dêvapati*. And Utpala himself gives the note—*Ṛishiputr-âdibhiḥ udaya-nakshatra-mâsa-saṁjñâ-kramêṇa varshaṁ jñâtavyam ity=uktam*,—"it is said by Ṛishiputra and others, that the year is to be known according to the order of the name of the month of the *nakshatra* of the rising (of Jupiter)." Also, all the other authorities, which I find giving the rule of naming the years of the cycle according to the risings of Jupiter, make each year take its name from only the rising of the planet; not from its setting.—[The reading in the text above, is the one adopted by Kern, in his edition of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, p. 47. His translation (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 45) is—"each year (during which Jupiter completes a twelfth part of his revolution) has to bear the name of the lunar mansion in which he rises; the years follow each other in the same order as the lunar months." Both in his Various Readings, p. 6, and in the note to his translation, he notices the reading *sah=ôdayam astaṁ vâ yêna yâti sura-mantrî*. But he points out that "the comparison of the MSS leaves little doubt that this reading is a correction, suggested by the remark of Utpala, that, in case the planet should set in one and rise in another *nakshatra*, only that name must be taken which agrees with the order of the month.—J. F. F.]

(of time), then the so-called setting or rising of Jupiter, *i.e.* his heliacal setting or rising, takes place.

To such a system, as is taught in this verse of Varâhamihira, and by no less than eleven other authorities, as will be seen further on, or determining the commencement of a *saṁvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle, and of naming it, from Jupiter's heliacal-rising, I would give the name of **the heliacal-rising system,** in order to distinguish it from the other system in which the duration and name of a *saṁvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle are determined from the particular sign of the zodiac in which Jupiter stands with reference to his mean longitude, and which latter system, to be mentioned more fully further on, I would name **the mean-sign system.**

Now, the years of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter and of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the mean-sign system, are determined by his mean longitude,[1] which sometimes differs from his apparent longitude by as much as fifteen degrees. But, as the disappearance or reappearance of Jupiter is no imaginary thing, it is evident that it can be calculated, and is to be calculated, only according to Jupiter's actual place, that is, his apparent longitude (or right ascension), and not from his mean longitude. And, consequently, the beginning of each *saṁvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the heliacal-rising system, depends on **Jupiter's apparent longitude** at the time of his heliacal rising.

One revolution of Jupiter, in the zodiac, is completed in about twelve years; and, in twelve years, there are twelve revolutions of the sun (that is, of the earth). So that, in this period of about twelve years, there are only eleven conjunctions of the sun and Jupiter. Therefore, in twelve years there are only eleven heliacal risings of Jupiter.[2] The interval between two risings is generally 399 days. And thus, in each cycle of the heliacal-rising system, **there are only eleven saṁvatsaras in twelve years**; the duration of each being about 400 days, and one *saṁvatsara*, determined by the circumstances of the particular cycle, being altogether omitted.

The **names of the lunar months** are used as the names of the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. And the names of these months are given to the *saṁvatsaras*, in accordance with the particular *nakshatra* in which Jupiter's heliacal rising takes place. Of the twenty-seven *nakshatras*, two are assigned to each of nine of the twelve months; and three to each of the remaining three months. The rule for this is given in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, viii. 2, — varshâṇi Kârttik-âdîny=âgnêyâd bha-dvay-ânuyôgîni I kramaśas tri-bhaṁ tu pañchamam upântyam antyaṁ cha yad varsham II,—"the years Kârttika and others (*that follow*) combine two *nakshatras*, from (*the nakshatra*) belonging

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[1] The mean longitude of a heavenly body is the longitude of an imaginary body, of the same name, conceived to move uniformly with the mean motion of the real body.

[2] In his note on the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, xiv. 17 (see the Rev. E. Burgess' Translation, p 271), Prof. Whitney says that Jupiter "would set and rise heliacally twelve times in each revolution, and each time about a month later than before." But this is evidently a mistake.

TABLE VIII.

Regulation of the Names of the Saṁvatsaras from the Nakshatras.

Names and Grouping of the Nakshatras.	Names of the Months to be allotted to the Saṁvatsaras.
Kṛittikâ; Rôhiṇî	Kârttika
Mṛiga; Ârdrâ	Mârgaśîrsha
Punarvasu; Pushya	Pausha
Âślêshâ; Maghâ	Mâgha
Pûrvâ-Phalgunî; Uttarâ-Phalgunî; Hasta	Phâlguna
Chitrâ; Svâti	Chaitra
Viśâkhâ; Anurâdhâ	Vaiśâkha
Jyêshṭhâ; Mûla	Jyêshṭha
Pûrvâ-Ashâḍhâ; Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ; (Abhijit)	Âshâḍha
(Abhijit); Śravaṇa; Dhanishṭhâ	Śrâvaṇa
Śatatârakâ; Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ; Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ	Bhâdrapada
Rêvatî; Aśvinî; Bharaṇî	Âśvina (Âśvayuja)

to Agni (*as the starting-point*),[1] in regular succession; but that year which is the fifth, (*or*) the last but one, or the last, has three *nakshatras*."[2] And, from this and similar authorities, we obtain the results exhibited in Table VIII. above, for the naming of the *saṁvatsaras* from the *nakshatras*.[3]

Now, the twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic circle is called a **nakshatra.** And 360 degrees, divided by 27, gives 13 degrees, 20 minutes (of arc). Therefore, according to such a division of the circle into equal parts, there is this much distance from the beginning of one *nakshatra* to the beginning of the next following. And, when the longitude of a heavenly body exceeds *nil*, but does not exceed 13 degrees, 20 minutes, it is said to be in Aśvinî; and so on. The longitudes of the ending-points of all the *nakshatras*, on this **system of equal spaces,** are given in the last column but two in Table IX. on page 165 below. And generally, whenever we meet with a *nakshatra* spoken of with reference to the place of a heavenly body, that *nakshatra* is to be taken in the above sense.

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[1] *i.e.* from Kṛittikâ. Agni is the regent of the *nakshatra* Kṛittikâ, which was, at one time, the first in order of the lunar mansions.

[2] [Kern's text is the same. His translation is—"the years Kârttika and following comprehend two lunar mansions beginning with Kṛittikâ, and so on, in regular succession, except the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth years, to each of which appertain three asterisms."—J. F. F.]

[3] I should state, however, that there is a little difference of opinion on this point. Utpala, the commentator on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, has discussed it at length; and arrived at the conclusion which is exhibited in Table VIII. In the ancient and modern works that I have referred to, I find ten authorities,—and such ancient names as those of Vṛiddha-Garga and Kaśyapa among them,—giving the rule regulating the names of the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the *nakshatras*. Out of these ten, Garga (not Vṛiddha-Garga), and Parâśara, as quoted by Utpala,—but these two only,—hold that the tenth and eleventh months, Śrâvana and Bhâdrapada, have three *nakshatras* each; *viz.* Śravaṇa, Dhanishṭhâ, and Śatatârakâ, are assigned to Śrâvaṇa; and Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ, Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ, and Rêvatî, to Bhâdrapada; and, consequently, Âśvina has only Âśvinî and Bharaṇî.

There is, however, **a second method of determining the nakshatras** with reference to the places of heavenly bodies. And, though it has now gone almost out of use, yet it was undoubtedly prevalent to a great extent in early times, and was much made use of, on important religious occasions at least. The chief feature of it is, that the space on the ecliptic allotted to each *nakshatra* is not equal. Fifteen *nakshatras* are held to be of an equal average space; but six, of one and a half times the average; and six others, of only half the average.

One system of unequal spaces, according to this method, is referred to in some of the verses from the *Garga-Saṁhitâ*, which are quoted by Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*. The commentary, with the passages quoted in it, runs — tathâ cha Gargaḥ I Uttarâś cha tath=Âdityaṁ Viśâkhâ ch=aiva Rôhiṇî I êtâni shaṭ adhyardha-bhôgânî II Paushṇ-Âśvi-Kṛittikâ-Sôma-Tishya-Pitrya-Bhag-âhvayâḥ Sâvitra-Chitr-Ânûrâdhâ Mûlaṁ Tôyaṁ cha Vaishṇavaṁ Dhanishṭh=Âjaikapâch ch=aiva sama-vargaḥ prakîrtitaḥ I êtâni pañchadaśa sama-bhôgâni II Yâmy-Aindra-Raudra-Vâyavya-Sârpa-Vâruṇa-saṁjñitâḥ I êtâni shaṭ ardha-bhôgâni II,—"and so Garga (*says*), 'the Uttarâs (*i.e.* Uttarâ-Phalgunî, Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ, and Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ), and Âditya (Punarvasu), Viśâkhâ, and also Rôhiṇî;' these six (*are*) of one-and-a-half times (*the average*) longitude. '(*The nakshatras*) of which the names are Paushṇa (Rêvatî), Aśvi (Aśvinî), Kṛittikâ, Sôma (Mṛiga), Tishya (Pushya), Pitrya (Maghâ), and Bhaga (Pûrvâ-Phalgunî), (*and also*) Sâvitra (Hasta), Chitrâ, Anûrâdhâ, Mûla, Tôya (Pûrvâ-Ashâḍhâ), and Vaishṇava (Śravaṇa), (*and*) Dhanishṭhâ, and also Ajaikapâd (Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ); (*this class of nakshatras*) is called the equal class;' these fifteen (*are*) of equal (*average*) longitude. '(*The nakshatras*) which have the appellations of Yâmya (Bharaṇî), Aindra (Jyêshṭhâ), Raudra (Ârdrâ), Vâyavya (Svâti), Sârpa (Âślêshâ), and Vâruṇa (Śatatârakâ);' these six (*are*) of half (*the average*) longitude." In this system, which I would name **the Garga system of unequal spaces,** the number of the *nakshatras* is twenty-seven, as usual. The average space of a *nakshatra*, therefore, is 13 degrees, 20 minutes; a one-and-a-half space is 20 degrees; and a half space is 6 degrees, 40 minutes. The longitudes of the ending-points of all the *nakshatras*, according to this system, are given in the last column but one in Table IX. on page 165 below; and the entries of ½ and 1½ in the sub-column, mark the spaces which differ from the average space. Nârada and Vasishṭha give this system in the same way as Garga. It seems to have originated in the fact that the distances between the chief stars, called *yôga-târâ*, of the different *nakshatras*, are not equal. The distance is naturally expected to be 13 degrees, 20 minutes. But, in some cases it is less than 7 degrees; while in others it is more than 20 degrees. However, be the reason of the system what it may, there is no doubt that it was extensively in use in ancient times. And, that either it,

TABLE IX.

Longitudes of the Ending-points of the Nakshatras.

Order of the Nakshatras	System of Equal Spaces.			Systems of Unequal Spaces.						
				Garga System				Brahma-Siddhânta System.		
	deg.	min.	sec.		deg.	min.	sec.	deg.	min.	sec.
Aśvinî	13°	20′	0″	...	13°	20′	0″	13°	10′	35″
Bharaṇî	26	40	0	- ½	20	0	0	19	45	52½
Kṛittikâ	40	0	0	...	33	20	0	32	56	27½
Rôhiṇî	53	20	0	1½	53	20	0	52	42	20
Mṛiga	66	40	0	...	66	40	0	65	52	55
Ârdrâ	80	0	0	½	73	20	0	72	28	12½
Punarvasu	93	20	0	1½	93	20	0	92	14	5
Pushya	106	40	0	..	106	40	0	105	24	40
Âślêshâ	120	0	0	½	113	20	0	111	59	57½
Maghâ	133	20	0	...	126	40	0	125	10	32½
Pûrvâ-Phalgunî	146	40	0	...	140	0	0	138	21	7½
Uttarâ-Phalgunî	160	0	0	1½	160	0	0	158	7	0
Hasta	173	20	0	...	173	20	0	171	17	35
Chitrâ	186	40	0	...	186	40	0	184	28	10
Svâti	200	0	0	½	193	20	0	191	3	27½
Viśâkhâ	213	20	0	1½	213	20	0	210	49	20
Anurâdhâ	226	40	0	...	226	40	0	223	59	55
Jyêshṭhâ	240	0	0	½	233	20	0	230	35	12½
Mûla	253	20	0	...	246	40	0	243	45	47½
Pûrvâ-Ashâḍhâ	266	40	0	...	260	0	0	256	56	22½
Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ	280	0	0	1½	280	0	0	276	42	15
(Abhijit)		......		(Balance)		.....		280	56	30
Śravaṇa	293	20	0	...	293	20	0	294	7	5
Dhanishṭhâ	306	40	0	...	306	40	0	307	17	40
Śatatârakâ	320	0	0	½	313	20	0	313	52	57½
Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ	333	20	0	...	326	40	0	327	3	32½
Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ	346	40	0	1½	346	40	0	346	49	25
Rêvatî	360	0	0	...	360	0	0	360	0	0

or the very similar system of the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, explained below, was still in use, at least on important occasions, up to A.D. 862, is proved by the Dêôgaḍh inscription of Bhôjadêva of Kanauj; the results for which, calculated by me, have been exhibited by Mr. Fleet at page 107 above, note 1.

Another system of unequal spaces is given in the *Brahma-Siddhânta*,[1] chapter xiv. verses 45 to 53. In its leading feature, it is the same with Garga's system; but it differs a little from Garga's, in introducing Abhijit, in addition to the twenty-seven *nakshatras*. The moon's daily mean motion,—13 degrees, 10 minutes, 35 seconds,—is taken as the average space of a *nakshatra*. And, as the total of the spaces thus allotted to the usual twenty-seven *nakshatras*, on a similar arrangement of unequal spaces, amounts to only 355 degrees, 45 minutes, 45 seconds, the remainder,—4 degrees, 14 minutes, 15 seconds,—is allotted to Abhijit, as an additional *nakshatra*, placed between Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ and Śravaṇa. This system, which I would name **the Brahma-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces,** is best explained by Bhâskarâchârya,[1] in his *Siddhânta-Śirômaṇi*, Part iii., chapter 2 (Grahagaṇitaspashṭâdhikâra), verses 71 to 74. His text, and his own commentary on it, are as follows, — sthûlaṁ kṛitaṁ bh-ânayanaṁ yad êtaj jyôtirvidâṁ saṁvyavahâra-hêtôh II 71 II Sûkshmaṁ pravakshyê=tha muni-praṇîtaṁ vivâha-yâtr-âdi-phala-prasiddhyai I adhyardha-bhôgâni shaḍ atra taj-jñâḥ prôchur Viśâkh-Âditibha-dhruvâṇi II 72 II Shaḍ ardha-bhôgâni cha Bhôgi-Rudra-Vât-Ântak-Êndr-âdhipa-Vâruṇâni I śêshâṇy=ataḥ pañchadaś=aika-bhôgâny=uktô bha-bhôgaḥ śaśi-madhya-bhuktiḥ II 73 II Sarv-arksha-bhôg-ônita-chakra-liptâ Vaiśv-âgrataḥ syâd Abhijid-bha-bhôgaḥ I 74 II *Commentary.*— Iha yan nakshatr-ânayanaṁ kṛitaṁ tat sthûlaṁ lôka-vyavahâr-ârtha-mâtraṁ kṛitaṁ II Atha Puliśa-Vasishṭha-Garg-âdibhir yad vivâha-yâtr-âdau saṁyak-phala-siddhy-arthaṁ kathitaṁ tat sûkshmam idânîṁ pravakshyê II Tatra shaḍ adhyardha-bhôgâni I Viśâkhâ Punarvasu Rôhiṇy=Uttarâ-trayaṁ I atha shaḍ ardha-bhôgâni I Âślêsh=Ârdrâ Svâtî Bharaṇî Jyêshṭhâ Śatabhishak I êbhyaḥ śêshâṇi pañchadaś=aika-bhôgâni II Bhôga-pramâṇaṁ tu śaśi-madhya-bhuktiḥ 790 35 I adhyardha-bhôgaḥ 1185 52½ I ardha-bhôgaḥ 395 17½ II Sarv-arksha-bhôgair ûnitânâṁ chakra-kalânâṁ yach chhêshaṁ sô=Bhijid-bhôgaḥ 254 15 II *Translation.*—"This bringing out of *nakshatras* (*i.e.* the method of finding *nakshatras*, with their *ghaṭîs* and *palas*) which has been made (*in the preceding verses*), (*is*) rough, (*and is only*) for the practical purposes of astrologers. Now I will explain the accurate (*method*) taught by [Puliśa, Vasishṭha, Garga, and other] sages, for the purpose of securing [good] results in the case of a marriage, a journey, &c. On this point, those who are versed in that (*branch of the science*) say, that six (*nakshatras*) have (*each*) a space which is one-and-a-half (*times of the average space*) ; (*viz.*) Viśâkhâ, Aditibha (Punarvasu), and the *dhruvas* (Rôhiṇî, Uttarâ-Phalgunî, Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ, and Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ). And six have a half space (*each*) ; (*viz.*) those the lords of which are Bhôgin, Rudra, Vâta, Antaka, and Indra, and Vâruṇa [Âślêshâ, Ârdrâ, Svâtî, Bharaṇî, Jyêshṭhâ, (*and*) Śatabhishaj (Śatatârakâ)]. The remaining fifteen (*nakshatras*) have one space (*each*). The (*average*) space of a *nakshatra* is declared to be the (*daily*) mean motion of the moon [790′ 35″(=13° 10′ 35″)]. [A one-and-a-half space (*is*) 1185′ 52½″(=19° 45′ 52½″)]. A half space (*is*) 395′ 17½″ (=6° 35′ 17½″)]. The space of the *nakshatra* Abhijit, (*which comes*) next after Vaiśva (Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ), is [the remainder, 254′ 15″ (=4° 14′ 15″), of] the minutes of the whole circle, diminished by the spaces of all the (*other*) *nakshatras*." The longitudes of the ending-points of all the *nakshatras* according to this system, are given in the last column of Table IX., on page 165 above. And, as before,

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[1] By this name, is to be understood, throughout this paper, the Siddhânta by Brahmagupta.

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[1] The system explained by Bhâskarâchârya, now given, is just the same as that in the *Brahma-Siddhânta*. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to give the verses from the Siddhânta itself.

TABLE X.

Details of two Twelve-Year Cycles of Jupiter.

Śaka-Saṁvat, expired.		English Date.	Longitude of Jupiter.		Nakshatra.	Month and Name of the Saṁvatsara.
			deg.	min.		
1780	Adhika-Jyêshṭha śukla 10	7th June, 1858 . . .	41°	47′	Rôhiṇî	Kârttika
1781	Âshâḍha śukla 14 . .	13th July, 1859 . . .	77	2	Punarvasu	Pausha
1782	Śrâvaṇa kṛishṇa 13 . .	15th August, 1860 . .	110	20	Âślêshâ	Mâgha
1783	Bhâdrapada śukla 13 .	16th September, 1861	141	38	Uttarâ-Phalgunî .	Phâlguna
1784	Âśvina kṛishṇa 9 . . .	17th October, 1862 .	171	55	Chitrâ	Chaitra
1785	Kârttika śukla 6 . . .	16th November, 1863	201	32	Viśâkha	Vaiśâkha
1786	Mârgaśîrsha kṛishṇa 3 .	16th December, 1864	232	3	Mûla	Jyêshṭha
1787	Mâgha śukla 2	18th January, 1866 .	263	48	Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ . .	Âshâḍha
1788	Mâgha kṛishṇa 4 . . .	22nd February, 1867 .	298	0	Dhanishṭhâ . . .	Śrâvaṇa
1790	Chaitra śukla 5	29th March, 1868 . .	334	3	Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ	Bhâdrapada
1791	Adhika-Vaiśâkha krishṇa 10	6th May, 1869 . . .	10	27	Aśvinî	Âśvina
1792	Jyêshṭha śukla 14 . . .	12th June, 1870 . . .	46	39	Rôhiṇî	Kârttika
1793	Śrâvaṇa śukla 1 . . .	18th July, 1871 . . .	81	47	Punarvasu	Pausha
1794	Śrâvaṇa kṛishṇa 1 . . .	19th August, 1872 . .	114	45	Maghâ	Mâgha
1795	Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 14	20th September, 1873	145	53	Uttarâ-Phalgunî .	Phâlguna
1796	Âśvina śukla 11 . . .	21st October, 1874 .	175	52	Chitrâ	Chaitra
1797	Kârttika kṛishṇa 8 . .	20th November, 1875	205	36	Viśâkhâ	Vaiśâkha
1798	Pausha śukla 1	16th December, 1876	235	21	Mûla	Jyêshṭha
1799	Pausha śukla 15 . . .	18th January, 1878 .	267	22	Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ . .	Âshâḍha
1800	Phâlguna śukla 6 . . .	27th February, 1879 .	302	46	Dhanishṭhâ	Śrâvaṇa
1801	Phâlguna kṛishṇa 10 .	4th April, 1880 . . .	339	0	Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ	Bhâdrapada
1803	Vaiśâkha śukla 12 . . .	11th May, 1881 . . .	15	30	Bharaṇî	Aśvina

the entries of ½ and 1½ in the previous sub-column, mark the spaces which differ from the average space.

Now, **the additional nakshatra Abhijit,** introduced in this system, is not taken into account among the *nakshatras* from which the names of the months are derived.[1] The question, therefore, occurs,—What name is to be given to the *saṁvatsara*, when Jupiter rises in Abhijit? It can be solved thus. Abhijit is considered to be composed of the last quarter of Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ, and the first fifteenth part of Śravaṇa. This is stated in the following verse of Vasishṭha, as quoted in the commentary, called *Pîyûshadhârâ*, on the *Muhûrta-Chintâmaṇi*;— Abhijid-bha-bhôgam êtad Viśvêdêv-ântya-pâdam akhilaṁ tat I âdya-chatasrô nâḍyô Haribhasya,— "this (*is*) the longitude of Abhijit; the whole last quarter of Viśvêdêva (Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ), (*and*) the first four *ghaṭîs* (*i.e.* the fifteenth part) of Haribha (Śravaṇa)." And other later authorities give the same rule. A quarter of a *nakshatra* is 3 degrees, 20 minutes; and a fifteenth part is 53 minutes, 20 seconds; and the sum of the two amounts to 4 degrees, 13 minutes, 20 seconds In other words, Abhijit consists of nineteen parts; of which, the first fifteen come from, and properly belong to, Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ; and the last four come from, and properly belong to, Śravaṇa. And the name of the *saṁvatsara* is to be determined as Âshâḍha or Śrâvaṇa, according to the particular part of Abhijit in which Jupiter rises.

As a **practical illustration** of the application of the rules, I give in Table X. above, a list, in which the dates of the heliacal risings of Jupiter are shewn for twenty-four years, from Śaka-Saṁvat 1780 to 1803 (expired);[1] with Jupiter's apparent longitudes at the time, and his *nakshatras* determined from those longitudes. The dates of the risings of Jupiter are taken from ordinary *Pañchâṅgs* in my possession, printed in different Presses at various places. The lunar months in which the risings took place, are all given by the *Amânta* southern reckoning.[2] The longitude of Jupiter at each rising, is calculated from his longitude, given in the *Pañchâṅgs*, at some stated interval; for instance, of seven or fifteen days. In naming the *nakshatras*, the Brahma-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces, in the last column of Table IX. on page 165 above, is the one that has been resorted to. In the last column, the months, that is, the names of the *saṁvatsaras* which then began, are given. It will be seen, that Mârgaśîrsha is omitted in each of these two cycles. Other *saṁvatsaras* also may be omitted, in the same way, according to the circumstances of the particular cycle

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[1] See the verse *varshâṇi Kârttik-âdîni, &c.*, at page 162 above.

From this Table X. it will be seen that, from one rising of Jupiter to another, the motion of the planet amounts to from 30 to 36 degrees. By the systems of unequal spaces, some months, and the *saṁvatsaras* which are named from them, have the average space of one and a half *nakshatras*; that is, about 20 degrees only; they are Mârgaśîrsha, Mâgha, Chaitra, and Jyêshṭha; and these are **the saṁvatsaras that are most apt to be omitted.** For example, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1780 expired, when Jupiter rose, he was in Rôhiṇî. The following rising took place in Punarvasu; that is, from the first rising, he passed entirely through Mṛiga and Ârdrâ, before the next rising occurred. And, therefore, Mârgaśîrsha was omitted. Again, by these two systems, Śrâvaṇa contains the average space of two *nakshatras*; that is, about 26 degrees, 40 minutes; and, therefore, it also is liable to be omitted. Kârttika, Pausha, Vaiśâkha, Âshâḍha, and Âśvina, contain the average space of two and a half *nakshatras* each; that is, about 33 degrees; and will but rarely be omitted. And Phâlguna and Bhâdrapada, containing not less than 40 degrees each, will never be omitted. So also, by the system of equal spaces, the nine months that contain two *nakshatras* each (excluding Abhijit), are sometimes likely to be omitted. But the remaining three, *viz.* Phâlguna, Bhâdrapada, and Âśvina, containing three *nakshatras* each, will never be omitted.

On the other hand, sometimes it is possible that **a samvatsara may be repeated.** By either system of unequal spaces, this may happen in respect of Kârttika, Pausha, Phâlguna, Vaiśâkha, Âshâḍha, Bhâdrapada, and Âśvina; but, by the system of equal spaces, only in respect of Phâlguna, Bhâdrapada, and Âśvina. And, whenever a *saṁvatsara* is repeated, then two *saṁvatsaras* will be omitted in the same cycle; one, under ordinary circumstances; and one, on account of the repetition.

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[1] Out of these years, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1789 expired, and again in 1802 expired, no heliacal rising took place.

[2] See page 148 above, note 1.

In the preceding remarks, my object has been to explain concisely the system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter that is based on his heliacal risings; and the three methods for determining the *nakshatra* with which the heliacal rising takes place. I have now to make a few **observations of a more general kind**; and to introduce the eleven other authorities of which I have spoken at page 162 above. Before doing so, however, I must refer more fully to another system, which also has been incidentally mentioned, of naming the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to Jupiter's passage from one sign of the zodiac into another, with reference to his mean longitude.

The rule for that which I have named **the mean-sign system,** is thus given by Âryabhaṭa in his *Ârya-Siddhânta* or *Âryabhaṭîya*, Kâlakriyâpâda, verse 4,—Guru-bhagaṇâ râśi-guṇâs tv=Âśvayuj-âdyâ Gurôr abdâḥ,—"the revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by the signs (twelve), (*are*) the years of Jupiter, the first of which is Âśvayuja." And it is given, in very similar words, by Brahmagupta, in his *Brahma-Siddhânta*, adhyâya xiii. verse 42,—Guru-varshâṇy=Âśvayujâd dvâdaśa-guṇitâ Gurôr bhagaṇâḥ. In this rule, the revolutions (*bhagaṇa*) are meant to be taken from the beginning of the Kalpa, or of a Mahâyuga. But, for practical purposes, we need not go back so far. One Twelve-Year Cycle is completed in one revolution. And, therefore, we can determine the *saṁvatsara* for a given year, or for any given date in it, by taking Jupiter's signs, including the current sign, of the current revolution, and counting from Âśvayuja. In this system, the signs are intended to be taken, and in practice are taken, according to Jupiter's mean longitude. Now, suppose that on a certain day Jupiter's mean longitude is 9 signs and 12 degrees; *i.e.* that he is in the tenth sign. Then, counting from Âśvayuja, we have Âshâḍha, as the current *saṁvatsara* for the given day.[1]

The names of the *saṁvatsaras* of **the Sixty-Year Cycle** also,—according to that which is usually called the northern system, but which is, in reality, the only truly astronomical system of it, and was current, as is shewn by many epigraphical quotations of it, in Southern India also,—are determined by Jupiter's mean place. And the rule is thus given in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, i. 55,—dvâdaśa-ghnâ Gurôr yâta-bhagaṇâ vartamânakaiḥ I râśibhiḥ sahitâḥ śuddhâḥ shashṭyâ syur Vijay-âdayaḥ II,—"the expired revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by twelve, (*then*) increased by the current signs (*of the current revolution*), (*and then*) divided by sixty, are (*i.e.* the remainder is) (*the saṁvatsaras counted from*) Vijaya as the first." In fact, the Sixty-Year Cycle, and the Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, are quite identical with regard to the day of the commencement of each *saṁvatsara*; and, consequently, with regard also to its duration, which, according to Jupiter's mean motion as given in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, is 361 *days*, 1 *ghaṭî*, 36 *palas*. The Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, therefore, with regard to its other details, may be most properly described with the Sixty-Year Cycle, which I shall treat of fully on a separate occasion. And I have introduced the present brief mention of it, only because references to it are unavoidable in the following observations.

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[1] In his treatment of the Twelve-Year Cycle (*Indian Eras*, p. 26 ff.), Gen. Sir A. Cunningham opens the subject by quoting Kern's translation (see page 161 above, note 1) of the same verse in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* which I use for the same purpose. But, for the rest, he altogether ignores the force of the reference to Jupiter's rising, and treats the subject as if the heliacal-rising system, described by me above, did not exist at all. What he has deduced from the verse, is only the mean-sign system, which the verse does not really refer to at all; and in respect of which he is wrong in making the *saṁvatsaras* of both the Twelve-Year and the Sixty-Year Cycle, begin and end with the luni-solar years. The rules that he applies give, at the best, only the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, and of the Sixty-Year Cycle, that are current at the commencement of a given solar year; they do not provide for the essential point in both the cycles, *viz.* the determination of the exact day on which a given *saṁvatsara* of either cycle commences.—I have not had an opportunity of seeing the writings of Davis and Warren on this subject. But, with all due deference, I may safely say that the Twelve-Year Cycle by the heliacal-rising system, has hitherto remained quite unknown to European scholars.—I would take this opportunity of remarking that I can find no authority for the introduction, in Kern's translation, of the bracketed words "(during which Jupiter completes a twelfth part of his revolution)." Jupiter completes a twelfth part (*râśi*) of his revolution in about three hundred and sixty-one days; while the interval between two of his heliacal risings is about four hundred days.

The **eleven authorities** for the heliacal-rising system, in addition to the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, of which I have spoken, are as follows;—(1) **Parâśara** says—Kṛittikâ-Rôhiṇîsh=ûditê kshuch-chhastr-âgni-vṛishṭi-vyâdhi-prâbalyaṁ ..... Chitrâ-Svâtyôr uditê nṛipa-sasya-varsha-kshêm-ârôgya-karaḥ.—(2) **Garga** says—pravâs-ântê sah=arkshêṇa hy=uditô yuga-pach charêt I tasmât kâlâd ṛiksha-pûrvô Gurôr abdaḥ pravartatê II.—(3) **Kaśyapa** says—saṁvatsara-yugê ch=aiva shashṭy-abdê[1]=ṅgirasas sutaḥ I yan-nakshatr-ôdayaṁ kuryât tat-saṁjñaṁ vatsaraṁ viduḥ II.—(4) **Ṛishiputra** says—yasmin tishṭhati nakshatrê saha yêna pravardhatê I saṁvatsaras sa vijñêyas tan-nakshatr-âbhidhânakaḥ II.— (5) Also, in the following, Ṛishiputra quotes **Vasishṭha and Atri,** in addition to Parâśara, who is separately referred to above,—Tishy-âdika-yugaṁ prâhur Vasishṭh-Âtri-Parâśarâḥ I Bṛihaspatês tu Saumy-ântaṁ sadâ dvâdaśa-vârshikaṁ II Udêti yasmin mâsê tu pravâs-ôpagatô=ṅgirâḥ I tasmât saṁvatsaraḥ.—(6) In the **Samâsa-Saṁhitâ,** a short work by Varâhamihira, we have[2]—Gurur udayati nakshatrê yasmin tat-saṁjñitâni varshâṇi.—(7) **Bṛihaspati,** as quoted in the *Kiraṇâvali*, a commentary by Dâdâbhâî on the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, says—yadâ Gur-ûdayô bhânôr Gurôr abdas tad-âditaḥ.—(8) In the **Nârada-Saṁhitâ,** Guruchârâdhyâya, we have—yad-dhishṇy-âbhyuditô Jîvas tannakshatr-âhva-vatsaraḥ.—(9) In the **Muhûrta-Tattva,** Guruchâra, verse 7, we have—dvy-ṛikshô=Gnêḥ Kârttikât try-ṛiksha ishu-ravi-Śivô=bdaḥ sa yên=ôdit=Êjyaḥ.—(10) In the **Jyôtishadarpaṇa,** adhyâya v., we have—yasminn abhyuditô Jîvas tannakshatrasya vatsaraḥ. — It is unnecessary to translate these ten quotations; as the general purport of all of them is the same; *viz.* that "a *saṁvatsara* is to be named after that *nakshatra* in which Jupiter attains his rising."—(11) In the remaining authority, the **Sûrya-Siddhânta,** the rule appears to be a little different from that of all the other authorities; though the general features are the same. And, for this reason, though the work is one of the earliest, I have quoted it last. The rule is given in the verse—Vaiśâkh-âdishu kṛishṇê cha yôgaḥ pañchadaśê tithau I Kârttik-âdîni varshâṇi Gurôr ast-ôdayât tathâ II,—"and the years Kârttika and others (*that follow*) (*are to be named*) from the rising, after setting, of Jupiter,[1] according to the occurrence (*of Kṛittikâ and other nakshatras*)[2] on the fifteenth *tithi* in the dark fortnight of Vaiśâkha and other (*months that follow*)." The application of this rule seems to be thus:—The years are to be named, according as Kṛittikâ and other *nakshatras*,—evidently those in which the sun and the moon stand,—occur on the *amâvâsyâ* of Vaiśâkha and others, immediately preceding or following[3] the day on which Jupiter rises; that is, on whatever day Jupiter may rise, the *nakshatra* on either the preceding, or the following, *amâvâsyâ*, gives the name to the *saṁvatsara*. This rule seems to have been alluded to, though not in the name of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, by Utpala; but it is rejected by him. It may possibly have been occasionally in use; but it certainly does not apply to the Gupta records.

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[1] From this, it appears that the *saṁvatsaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle also, were originally determined by the heliacal risings of the planet. And corroboration of this is afforded by a verse of Varâhamihira, quoted further on. The above verse of Kaśyapa, evidently applies to the Twelve-Year Cycle also.

[2] I have taken this, and the preceding five quotations, from Utpala's commentary on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ.*

Now, all these quotations distinctly refer, in some form or another, to **the rising of Jupiter**; which it is impossible to understand as meaning anything but his **heliacal-rising.** And, if the rising referred to is the heliacal-rising, then no astronomer can deny that, in the period of about twelve solar years, there are only eleven conjunctions of Jupiter and the sun, and consequently eleven heliacal risings of the planet. And, this fact being established, the interval of about four hundred days between two successive risings, —the same period, for the duration of each *saṁvatsara*,—the omission of one *saṁvatsara* in each cycle of twelve years,—and all the other points described by me,—follow of necessity

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[1] I should remark that Raṅganâtha, one of the best commentators on the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, explains this verse with the understanding, into which he seems to have been led by Utpala's comments on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, viii. 1, that *ast-ôdayât* means "from the setting or rising." He adds, however, — *idânîm udaya-varsha-vyavahârô gaṇakair gaṇyatê*,—"at the present time, the practice of (naming) the year by the rising, is taken into account by astronomers." For the sake of consistency, it is justifiable to translate the expression *ast-ôdayât* as I have translated it above; and the use of the compounded base in the singular, supports that translation. I also find that Dâdâbhâî, in his commentary on the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, explains it in the same way; his words being — *tath=âstâd udaya-kâlê Gurôs tad-yukta-nakshatra-saṁjñô Gurôr abdô jñêyaḥ*,—"so the year of Jupiter is to be known as having the appellation of that *nakshatra* with which he is joined at the time of (his) rising after setting."—[There can be no doubt that *ast-ôdayât* is used here in the sense of "from the rising after setting;" compare such compounds as *supt-ôtthita*, 'having arisen from sleep;' *lit.* 'having slept and then having risen.'—J. F. F.]

[2] These words, in connection with *yôgaḥ*, have to be supplied from the preceding verse, in which the result exhibited in Table VIII. page 163 above, is given.

[3] Which of the two, cannot be determined from the context: and I can find no commentator who has explained the point properly. I myself think that the following *amâvâsyâ* is intended. But seems that Utpala, in his allusion to this rule, takes the preceding *amâvâsyâ*.

It will, doubtless, have been noticed that I have not been able to give any quotations from the first **Âryabhaṭa** (born A.D. 476) or **Brahmagupta** (born A.D. 598), in support of the heliacal-rising system. And it might be sought to base some argument against its existence, on the grounds that these two early authorities, who moreover may be said to be the originators of two of the three schools of astronomers in India, are silent about it, though they do give the mean-sign system. But the facts only prove the early existence and use of the mean-sign system; which I do not seek to deny. They do not prove, either that the heliacal-rising system did not exist; or that, having existed, it had gone out of use in their time. To take another instance, Âryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta give no rule for finding the *saṁvatsaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle; but, to say that this cycle was not known to either of them, would hardly be sensible. The mean-sign system for the Twelve-Year Cycle is undoubtedly early. But the heliacal-rising system is earlier still. Among the authorities quoted above, the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*[1] is as early a work as the *Âryabhaṭîya*, if not earlier. And, that Parâśara, Garga, and Kaśyapa, are earlier than Aryabhaṭa, cannot be denied. Utpala quotes a verse of Garga, which, with some proposed emendations, I give as it stands in my manuscript copy,—êvam Âśvayujaṁ ch=aiva Chaitraṁ ch=aiva Bṛihaspatiḥ I saṁvatsarô(?raṁ) nâma(?śa)yatê saptaitêda (? saptaty-abda)-śatê=dhikê II.[2] This verse seems to refer to the mean-sign system; though I can say nothing definitely about it, without seeing the context; of which I have not the opportunity at present. But, supposing that it does refer to the mean-sign system, still it is not unfavourable to the heliacal-rising system; for the same Utpala also quotes a verse of the same Garga, given at page 170 above, in which Garga says—"when Jupiter, after dwelling together (*with the sun*),[3] rises and walks along with a *nakshatra*, then commences the year of Jupiter, of which the first part (*of the name*) is the (*name of that*) *nakshatra*."

Not only that **the heliacal-rising system** is very early, but that it alone **is the original system of the Twelve-Year Cycle,** is self-evident. The heliacal rising of Jupiter is a natural phenomenon. No scientific apparatus is needed for the observation of it; nor are any calculations required.[1] But such is not the case with the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac into another. No kind of apparatus can determine Jupiter's mean longitude. It is to be found only by calculations, the rules for which must have been established after observations carried on during a very long time; to lay down the means of determining Jupiter's mean yearly or daily motion, is not a thing that can be accomplished in a few years. It seems, therefore, quite evident that the system of naming the *saṁvatsaras* after the *nakshatras* in which Jupiter rises, *i.e.* the heliacal-rising system, is the only original one.

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[1] To say that the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* is a work of Varâhamihira, is simply a mistake. I cannot enter into this point at present; but would refer any who hold that view, to Varâhamihira's *Pañcha-Siddhântikâ*, and to Kern's Preface to his edition of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*.

[2] [Gen. Cunningham also has quoted this verse (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 114); and in such a way, his authority giving *nâśyatê*, where Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's MS. gives *nâmayatê*, as to shew that, in the second half of it, we certainly have to read *nâśayatê saptaty-abda-śatê.*—J. F. F.]

[3] *pravâsântê* may be translated by "after having completed his journey;" *i.e.* having completed a revolution of some kind or another.

So much, as regards the antiquity of the heliacal-rising system. Let us now look into its somewhat later use. Varâhamihira is later than Âryabhaṭa. And his verse with which I have opened my account of the Twelve-Year Cycle, undoubtedly refers to this system. So, also, another of his verses, in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, viii. 27, points to the same thing. It runs—âdyaṁ Dhanishṭhâṁ samabhiprapannô[2] Mâghê yad=âyâty=udayaṁ Surêjyaḥ ।

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[1] The phenomenon, moreover, is one to which much attention has always been paid in India. Even in the present day, almost all the Hindu *Pañchâṅgs* give the dates of the heliacal rising and setting of Jupiter. This is for religious purposes; since, when Jupiter is invisible, some duties and ceremonies, such as investiture with the sacred thread, marriage, pilgrimages, &c., are not to be performed; and the dates in question are necessary, in order to know when he is visible, and when he ceases to be so. In *Pañchâṅgs* printed in Mahârâshṭra, the custom of naming the *saṁvatsaras* after the months is not in use; in fact, the Twelve-Year Cycle is now almost unknown to the people at large of the Dekkan. But in a *Pañchâṅg* prepared by Jwâlâpati Siddhânti, and printed in the Jñânasûryôdaya Press at Madras, I find that the author, in the *saṁvatsara-phala*, after giving the two *saṁvatsaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, according to the northern and the southern reckoning, goes on to say—*sarvatra Gur-údaya-vaśát* (*Chaitr*)-*ábdô gráhyaḥ*,—"all over (India) a (certain) year (*i.e.* such *saṁvatsaras* as Chaitra, &c.), which depends on the rising of Jupiter, is to be taken;" from which it is evident that some such rising-system, as that described above, is followed in this *Pañchâṅg* from Madras. Also, in the *Chaṇḍu-Pañchâṅg*, prepared for the meridian of Jôdhpur in Mârwâḍ, and used there and by Mârwâḍîs in other parts of India, the *saṁvatsaras* are named as Chaitra-Varsha, Vaiśâkha-Varsha, &c.; the system adopted in that *Pañchâṅg*, however, for naming the *saṁvatsaras*, is the mean-sign system.

[2] The reading that I give, is from my manuscript copy. But, *s* and *ś* being very liable to confusion, the reading *ádyaṁ Dhanishṭh-áṁśam abhiprapannô*, which is given in some printed copies, may also be of some authority. By calculation, however, I find that Jupiter does not always stand just at the beginning of Dhanishṭhâ, at the time of his rising at the commencement of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*. And I think, therefore, that the reading which I give, is the author's original reading. I take *âdyam* to qualify the word *nakshatram* understood. And Varâhamihira calls the *nakshatra* in question "the first," because his opinion was, I think, that Dhanishṭhâ was the first *nakshatra* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, as it was of the Five-Year Cycle of the Vêdâṅga-Jyautisha [see its verse—*svar ákramêtê sôm-árkau yadá sákaṁ sa-Vásavau syát tad=ádi-yugaṁ Mághaḥ*,—"when the moon and the sun, being in (the *nakshatra*) Vâsava (Dhanishṭhâ), go together in the heavens, then there is the beginning of the Yuga (and of the month) Mâgha"], which two he intends to reconcile.—[Kern would seem to have known only the reading *ádyaṁ Dhanishṭh-aṁśaṁ*. His translation (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 49 f.), which follows also the reading of *pravartatê* for *prapadyatê*, is—"when Jupiter, on reaching the first quarter of Dhanishṭhâ, rises in the lunar month of Mâgha, then begins the first year of the cycle of sixty, named Prabhava, a year salutary to all beings." And he adds the

shashṭy-abda-pûrvaḥ Prabhavaḥ sa namnâ prapadyatê bhûta-hitas tad=âbdaḥ ‖.—"when Jupiter, having come to the first (*nakshatra*) Dhanishṭhâ, attains (*his*) rising in (*the month*) Mâgha, then commences that year, beneficial to beings, which is named Prabhava, the first of the sixty years." Now, in eighteen centuries from the beginning of the Śaka era, the Prabhava *saṁvatsara* has occurred thirty times. And, by approximate calculations, I find that Varâhimihira's assertion, though not quite correct, is nearly so by the heliacal-rising system. Out of the thirty occasions, Jupiter rose, according to the *Amânta* southern arrangement of the fortnights,[1] twenty-six times in the month of Mâgha; three times early in Phâlguna; and once in Pausha, nearly at the end of it. And, on many occasions he rose in the Dhanishṭhâ *nakshatra*; and on some, in Śravaṇa. The assertion, however, is not correct for the mean-sign system. According to that system, at the commencement of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, which always begins when Jupiter, by his mean longitude, enters Kumbha or Aquarius, he evidently always stands in the middle of Dhanishṭhâ.[2] But the Prabhava *saṁvatsara* may begin, and as a matter of fact I find by calculation that it has begun, in any of the twelve months; as will be shewn when I treat of the Sixty-Year Cycle. It is evident, therefore, that the verse in question supports the heliacal-rising system. Moreover, the word *udaya* itself is used in it. It might be argued that Varâhamihira's rule (*Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, viii. 22; êk-aikam abdêshu nav-âhatêshu, &c.) for finding the *nakshatra* of Jupiter, has reference to his mean longitude; and, consequently, that it gives the mean-sign system. But it is absurd to suppose that so learned an astronomer as he, stating the rule that a *saṁvatsara* is to be named from the *nakshatra* in which Jupiter rises, did not know that the *nakshatra*, at the time of his rising, can be determined only from his apparent longitude. The reason why he gives a rule for finding the mean longitude only, is, in my opinion, this:—Anyone conversant with Hindu mathematical astronomy, knows how tedious a task it is to find the mean longitude of a planet from the *ahargaṇa*, or number of elapsed days, counted from the beginning of the Kalpa or of a Yuga. But, when once it has been found, it is much less tedious to calculate, from it, the apparent longitude by the general rules. So, Varâhamihira, I think, gives a simple rule for finding the mean longitude of Jupiter on a given day, and leaves to the astronomer the calculation of the apparent longitude. Or, it may also be said, as the difference between the mean and the apparent longitudes of Jupiter, on the day of his heliacal-rising, is not very much,—sometimes about five degrees, and sometimes nearly nil, as I have found from several calculations,—Varâhamihira gives the simple rule for rough practical purposes only; leaving it to the

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note—"*cf.* Davis, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III. p. 220. The word *aṁśa* also means 'degree,' but is here rendered by 'quarter,' according to Utpala, who explains it by *pâda*."—J. F. F.]

[1] See page 148 above, note 1.

[2] The sign Kumbha commences in the middle of Dhanishṭhâ, and ends at the end of the third quarter of Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ.

astronomer to make more detailed calculations, when absolute accuracy is required. But, even supposing that the said verse of Varâhamihira implies the mean-sign system, it will only prove that he gives both systems.

Let us now turn to the **more modern period.** Of the authorities quoted above in support of the heliacal-rising system, the *Muhûrta-Tattva* and the *Jyôtishadarpaṇa* are comparatively modern. The author of the first is the father of the well-known Gaṇêśa Daivajña, the author of the *Grahalâghava*; and, therefore, its date is about Śaka-Saṁvat 1420 expired (A.D. 1498-99); and it was written at Nandgaum on the western coast, about forty-five miles south of Bombay. The date of the second, as I have determined from certain data in it, is Śaka-Saṁvat 1479 expired (A.D. 1557-58); and it was written at Koṇḍapalli, somewhere in the Karṇâṭaka country. And, in addition to these two, a third reference to the heliacal-rising system has been given above, at page 171 note 1, from Raṅganâtha's commentary on the *Sûrya-Siddhânta.* The date of this commentary is Śaka-Saṁvat 1525 expired (A.D. 1603-1604); and it was written at Benares. These details suffice to shew that the heliacal-rising system is referred to in works of a modern period, and belonging to different parts of the country.

It is true that **the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle is rare.** This is shewn by the fact that some astronomical works do not refer to it, in either system, though it would not have been beyond their sphere to do so; and by the fact that, out of many hundreds of inscriptions, only seven have been found, mentioning the *saṁvatsaras* of it.[1] But, if the use of the heliacal-rising system is rare, the use of the mean-sign system is still more so. The *saṁvatsaras* mentioned in the four records of the Early Gupta period, which give full details for calculation, are proved to belong to the heliacal-rising system. And, while I have been able to quote no less than eleven authorities referring to that system, a distinct reference to the mean-sign system is to be found in only two; *viz.* Âryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta, as quoted above. If to these we add an interpolated verse in the *Siddhânta-Śirômaṇi,* and also hold that Garga and Varâhamihira give the system, even then the number comes to only five.[2] And, in about eight of such works as would be expected to refer to the system, of a date later than A.D. 1478, which I have examined, I find a reference to it in none at all.

Looking to **the present time,** if the mean-sign system is used in one part of the country, the heliacal-rising system is used in another;[3] while, in others, both systems are almost, if not quite, unknown. The mean-sign system is doubtless the more convenient of the two; since the duration of the *saṁvatsara*, roughly three hundred and sixty-one days, approaches so near to that of the solar year; and the omission of a *saṁvatsara* occurs only once in about eighty-five years. And this point of convenience seems to be the reason for which the system was invented by the astronomers. But, as both the systems are given in astronomical works, both of them must certainly have been actually used. And such will always be the case, as long as those works exist.

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[1] *viz.* the five records of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Saṁkshôbha; and the two grants of the Kadamba chieftain Mṛigêśavarman, referred to at page 106 above, note 1.

[2] A verse containing a reference to the system, is given, as belonging to Śrîpati, in Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri's edition of the *Siddhânta-Śirômani,* p. 13, note; but I do not find it in the *Ratnamâlâ* of Srîpati.

[3] See page 173 above, note 1.

APPENDIX IV.

The Chronology of the Early Rulers of Nêpâl.

The inscriptions which give the matter for this Appendix all belong to Khâṭmâṇḍu and its vicinity, and consist of fifteen collected by the late **Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji**, and published by him and Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.; and of four obtained by **Mr. Bendall**, of which the most important one was published originally in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and has been reprinted in his *Journey in Nêpâl and Northern India*, p. 72 ff. and Plate viii., with the first publication of the other three, p. 74 ff. and Plates ix. x. and xi.

The **historical results** of the former set were discussed at length by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his paper entitled "Some Considerations on the History of Nêpâl," edited by Dr. Bühler, and published in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 411 ff. His results, however, are unfortunately vitiated by a radical error; *viz.* the reference of one series of the dates to the Vikrama era, instead of to the Gupta era nearly four hundred years later. This was due, partly to the misinterpretation of an important verse in the inscription of Jayadêva II. of Harsha-Saṁvat 153; and partly to the want of the key-note supplied by Mr. Bendall's inscription of Gupta-Saṁvat 316. And it was, of course, the publication of this last inscription that led me to look carefully into the whole matter, and at length to hit upon the fundamental mistake, without a recognition of which it might still be argued that Mr. Bendall's date of 316, for Śivadêva I. and Aṁśuvarman, stands alone in belonging to the Gupta era, and that, in spite of it, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was right in referring the other larger dates to the Vikrama era.

Taking the inscriptions in question **in regular chronological order,** the dates and other important points are as follows:—

A.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 1; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and *Journey in Nêpâl*, p. 72 ff. and Plate viii.—The charter recorded is issued from the house or palace called **Mânagṛiha** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâja*, the illustrious[1] **Śivadêva I.** (l. 2 f.), the banner or glory of the **Lichchhavikula.**[2] And it records a grant made by him on the advice, or at the request,[3] of the *Mahâsâmanta* **Aṁśuvarman** (l. 6 f.). The *Dûtaka* is the *Svâmin* Bhôgavarman (l. 15.)[4] The **date**

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[1] *śrî.*

[2] *Lichchhavi-kula-kêtu*, line 2.

[3] *mahâsâmant-Aṁśuvarmmaṇâ vijñâpitêna mayâ*; line 6-7.

[4] This person would seem to be Aṁśuvarman's sister's son, who is mentioned in inscription E. below.—He must not be confused with Śivadêva II.'s father-in-law, the Maukhari Bhôgavarman, who is mentioned in inscription R. below, and was at least a full generation later.—See page 180 below, note 3, on another point.

(l. 15), in numerical symbols here and throughout the series, is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 316, Jyaishṭha-śukla-divâ-daśamyâm; which, with the epoch of A.D. 319-20, answers, approximately, to the 3rd May, A.D. 635.

B.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 5; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168 f.—The charter is issued from **Mânagṛiha** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Śivadêva I.** (l. 2 f.), the banner of the **Lichchhavikula.** It recorded some act, the details of which are broken away and lost, done by him, as in inscription A., on the advice, or at the request, of the *Mahâsâmanta*, the illustrious **Aṁśuvarman** (l. 8 f).[1] The **date,** and the name of the *Dûtaka*, are broken away and lost in line 11 ff.

C.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 6; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 169 f.—The charter is issued from the house or palace called **Kailâsakûṭabhavana** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Mahâsâmanta*, the illustrious **Aṁśuvarman** (l. 2). The *Dûtaka* is the *Mahâsarva*[*daṇḍanâ*]*yaka* Vikra[masêna] (l. 14).[2] The **date** (l. 14) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 34, Jyaishṭha-śukla-daśamyâm; which, with the epoch[3] of A.D. 605-606, answers, approximately, to the 18th May, A.D. 639.

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[1] As in page 177 above, note 3.

[2] This is the name as completed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. But, if we accept it as correct, we must be careful not to confuse this person with the *Râjaputra* Vikramasêna who was the *Dûtaka* of inscription S. below, more than two hundred years later.—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

[3] This epoch is taken from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculation of the date in the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant of the *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla. At the end (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 113, line 14) we have, for the assignment of the charter, the year 155, Mâgha śu di 10; and from line 12 we learn that, when making the grant, the *Mahârâja* had bathed on the occasion of the *Kumbha-Saṁkrânti* or entrance of the Sun into Aquarius. The epoch of the era is fixed approximately by a statement of Albêrûnî (*Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 5), to the effect that, in a Kaśmîrî almanac, he had read that Harshavardhana was six hundred and sixty-four years later than Vikramâditya. Subject to some doubt as to whether Albêrûnî is speaking of the epoch of the era, or of its first current year, and as to whether the Vikrama year indicated by him is to be taken as current or as expired, this statement indicates, approximately, Śaka-Saṁvat 528 expired, and 529 current (A.D. 606-607), as the epoch or year 0 of the era And this is the epoch selected by Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, pp. 64 f., 157 ff.), on the authority of Albêrûnî's statement. By calculations based on the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, however, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that an epoch one year earlier than this is required, in order that the details of the date in the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant may work out correctly. Thus, with the basis of Harsha-Saṁvat 155 + Śaka-Saṁvat 527 expired = Śaka-Saṁvat 682 expired, the *Kumbha-Saṁkrânti* occurred at 43 *ghaṭîs*, 40 *palas*, on Monday, the 19th January, A.D. 761; and the ninth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mâgha ended about four hours later, at 53 *ghaṭîs*, 15 *palas*, on the same day. Or, by the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, the times were, for the *Saṁkrânti*, 42 *ghaṭîs*, 30 *palas*; and for the *tithi*, 52 *ghaṭîs*, 41 *palas*. In both cases, the *ghaṭîs* and *palas* are from mean sunrise at Ujjain. And he adds the note—"the *puṇyakâla* or meritorious time for performing religious duties in connection with a *saṁkrânti*, is, according to some authorities, from sixteen *ghaṭîs* before, to sixteen *ghaṭîs* after, the time of the *saṁkrânti*; and, according to others, in the case of some *saṁkrântis*, from ten to

D.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 2; *Journey in Nêpâl*, p. 74 f., and Plate ix.—The charter is issued from **Kailâsakûṭabhavana** (line 1). The inscription is one of an illustrious *Mahâsâmanta*, whose name is effaced, but may with tolerable certainty be restored as **Aṁśuvarman** (l. 2). And it records the grant of two fields, for the purpose of providing for the repairs of some building. The *Dûtaka* (l. 17) is the *Mahâbalâdhyaksha* Vindusvâmin. The **date** (l. 16) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 34, prathama-Pausha-śukla-dvitîyâyâm; which should answer,[1] approximately, to the 3rd December, A.D. 639.

E.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 7; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 170 f.—The charter is issued from **Kailâsakûṭabhavana** (line 1). The inscription is one of the illustrious **Aṁśuvarman** (l. 5), to whom no formal titles are allotted here. It mentions

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sixteen or even forty *ghaṭîs* before the *saṁkrânti*, up to the time of the *saṁkrânti*, and, in the case of the other *saṁkrântis*, from the time of the *saṁkrânti*, up to from ten to sixteen or even forty *ghaṭîs* after it. But generally, when a *saṁkrânti* occurs at midnight,—as it did, roughly, in the present instance,—the *puṇyakâla* is held to be on the following day. And, in the present case, there is every probability of the bathing &c. having been performed on the following day; *i.e.* on Mâgha śukla daśamî."—With other years, the given *saṁkrânti* cannot be brought into accordance with the given day and *tithi*. Thus, with Śaka-Saṁvat 680 expired, the *saṁkrânti* occurred six or seven days after the given *tithi*, on the *Pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa 2; with 681 expired, on the *Pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa 13; with 683 expired, on the *Pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa 5; with 684 expired, on Mâgha śukla 1; and with 685 expired, on Mâgha śukla 12. It is certain, therefore, that the correct English equivalent is the one obtained with Śaka-Saṁvat 682 expired. And, taking the given Harsha year as a current year, and treating it as having the same scheme with the northern Śaka year, the epoch is Śaka-Saṁvat 527 expired, or A.D. 605-606 current; and 528 years have to be added, to convert current Harsha years into current Śaka years, and 527, to convert them into expired Śaka years as the basis of calculations. The commencement or first current year of the era, is A.D. 606-607 current.—I should remark, as I did when editing the grant, that a slight doubt may be felt as to the value of the third numerical symbol, in the units place, which I interpret as 5. And the exact epoch would be varied, by allotting a different value to this symbol. But the choice lies only between 4, 5, and 8. I do not think that any authority can be found for interpreting it as 4. And, if it were interpreted as 8, then the epoch of the era would be A.D. 602-603; and its first current year would be A.D. 603-604, for which year, as the commencement of the reign of Harshavardhana, there seems to be no authority whatever.—I should also point out that the next inscription, D. below, of Harsha-Saṁvat 34, refers to an intercalation of the month Pausha; and that Prof. Adams of Cambridge, and Prof. Schram of Vienna, as reported by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 338 (see also *Journey in Nêpâl*, p. 76), obtained a mean intercalation of Pausha in A.D. 640; which would necessitate the adoption of A.D. 606-607 as the epoch. But this intercalation remains to be examined in detail; and, for the present, I have only a note by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit that, according to the verse *Mêsh-âdi-sthê savitari &c.* (see page 88 above, note 5), the intercalated period should be called Mârgaśîrsha; and that, in calling it Pausha, exactly the contrary is done of the process by which we obtain Mârgaśîrsha as the name of the intercalated period that is referred to in the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 330 (see page 93 ff. above).—The question will, I hope, be treated more fully by Mr. Dikshit hereafter. Meanwhile, for present purposes, I adopt A.D. 605-606 as the epoch.

[1] As regards the equivalent English date, however, see a remark, in the preceding note, on the indicated intercalary nature of this month Pausha.

Aṁśuvarman's sister Bhôgadêvî, who was the wife of the *Râjaputra* Sûrasêna,[1] and the mother of the illustrious Bhôgavarman[2] and Bhâgyadêvî. It records certain orders addressed by Aṁśuvarman to the officials of the Western Province (*paśchim-âdhikaraṇa-vṛittibhujaḥ*, lines 5-6; and *paśchim-âdhikaraṇa*, line 14), in connection with three *liṅga* forms of the god Îśvara or Śiva. The *Dûtaka* is the *Yuvarâja* Udayadêva.[3] The **date** (l. 22) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 39, Vaiśâkha-śukla-divâ-daśamyâm; answering, approximately, to the 24th April, A.D. 644.

F.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 8; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 171.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records that, by the favour of the illustrious **Aṁśuvarman** (line 2), a *praṇâlî* or 'conduit' was caused to be built by the *Vârtta*[4] Vibhuvarman, for the increase of his father's religious merit. The **date** (l. 1) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat[5] 44 or 45, Jyêshṭha-śukla . . . ., which has its equivalent in the month of May or June, A.D. 649, or May, A.D. 650.

G.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 9; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 171 f.—The charter is issued from **Kailâsakûṭabhavana** (line 3 f.). The inscription is one of the illustrious **Jishṇugupta** (l. 4). It records that, at the request of the *Sâmanta* Chandravarman, a *tilamaka* or 'water-course,' which had been constructed by the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Aṁśuvarman** (l. 6 f.), was made over by Jishṇugupta to Chandravarman, to be repaired; &c. The *Dûtaka* (l. 21) is the *Yuvarâja*, the illustrious Vishṇugupta. The **date** (l. 21) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 48, Kârttika-śukla-2; answering, approximately, to the 30th September, A.D. 653.—Lines 1 and 2 of this inscription mention **Mânagṛiha**,[6] and, in connection with it, the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâja* **Dhruvadêva**; but the passage is much mutilated, and does not in itself suffice to explain the connection between Dhruvadêva and Jishṇugupta.[7]

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[1] The original is somewhat damaged, but it has undoubtedly *s* in the first *akshara* of this name; not *ś* as given by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his text and translation. And the spelling is the same in line 3 of an inscription of the Sûrasêna family published by him in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 34 ff. But very probably *ś* is the more correct spelling; especially as line 8 of the present inscription mentions the *liṅga* named Śûrabhôgêśvara.

[2] See page 177 above, note 4.

[3] The dates seem to prevent the identification of this person with the Udayadêva of the Ṭhâkurî family, mentioned in inscription R. below.—He was perhaps a Lichchhavi, as suggested by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. If so, in this Lichchhavi *Dûtaka* of a Ṭhâkurî charter, we have an instance parallel to the Ṭhâkurî *Dûtaka* of a Lichchhavi grant, suggested in page 177 above, note 4.

[4] Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji took Vârta as a family or tribal name. It seems more likely, however, that, as suggested by himself, it is an official title, synonymous with the *vṛittibhuj* of inscription E. above; and that the correct form is *vârtta* (with the double *t*) from *vṛitti*.

[5] The second symbol is doubtful; but it is either 4 or 5.—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

[6] The two syllables *mâna*, immediately after *svasti*, are clear enough in the original rubbing, though they hardly shew in the lithograph, and were not given by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his text.

[7] The purport of it, however, must have been the same as in the next inscription H.

H.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 10; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 173 f.—The charter is issued from **Kailâsakûṭabhavana** (line 6). The inscription is one of the illustrious **Jishṇugupta** (l. 7). The details are much mutilated; but the subject is a *tilamaka* or 'water-course,' which had been constructed by the *Mahâsâmanta*, the illustrious[1] ...... **dêva.** The name of the *Dûtaka*, and the date, have peeled off and are lost.—Lines 3 and 4 of this inscription again mention **Mânagṛiha,** and, in connection with it, the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Dhruvadeva,** the banner of the **Lichchhavikula**. Between *mânagṛiha* and *dita-chitta* in line 4, there are four (or perhaps five) *aksharas* which are much damaged, and are quite uncertain even in the rubbing; but the *ha* (not *hâ*) is distinct enough; and this, and the whole construction, shews that we have here,—not *Mânagṛihât*, the formal ablative of issue,—but the base *Mânagṛiha*, as the first member of a compound, ending with *santati*, that qualifies *śrî-Dhruvadêva*, and means something like "who belonged to a lineage which had its thoughts [gladdened by residing] at Mânagṛiha." As regards the connection between Dhruvadêva and Jishṇugupta,—in line 5, after *śrî-Dhruvadêva*, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read *purassarê sakala*, and interpreted the passage as shewing that Jishṇugupta acknowledged Dhruvadêva as his lord paramount. The interpretation is possibly correct; though the text may equally well mean nothing more than a courteous reference by Jishṇugupta to one whose position was equal to his own. But, from the rubbing, the proper reading is certainly *purassara-sakala*, in composition. The whole passage, in fact, from *Mânagṛiha*, line 4, down to *mânasa*, lines 5-6, is one continuous compound, meaning, in the latter part, that Jishṇugupta's mind had been brought into a state of contentment by devising the means of freeing from calamity all the people headed by Dhruvadêva, &c. And the expression *Dhruvadêva-purassara-sakala-jana* is analogous in its purport to the *sa-nṛipatêr=jjagatô* (*hitâya*), "(for the welfare) of the world (*i.e.* of all the people), together with the king," of line 2 of inscription M. below.

I.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 11; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 174.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records certain grants made in the augmenting victorious reign of the illustrious **Jishṇugupta** (line 9). The era-date, if any was recorded, is lost with lines 27 ff.

J.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 3; *Journey in Nêpâl*, page 77 ff. and Plate x.—The charter is issued from **Kailâsakûṭabhavana** (line 1). The king's name is lost, somewhere in lines 2 to 7. The inscription provides for the worship of the god Vajrêśvara (l. 17), and other religious matters. The *Dûtaka* (l. 28) is the *Bhaṭṭâraka*, the *Yuvarâja* Skandadêva. The **date** (l. 29) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 82, Bhâdrapada-śukla-divâ ......; which has its equivalent in the month of August, A.D. 687.

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[1] In the original rubbing, *śrî* is very distinct at the beginning of line 14. Two *aksharas* are illegible between it and *dêvêna*.

K.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 1 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.—This furnishes the following short genealogy :—**Vṛishadêva** (line 8) :—his son **Śaṁkaradêva** (l. 12), with a reference in lines 9 and 10 to other sons, who, however, are not mentioned by name ;—Śaṁkara's son, **Dharmadêva** (l. 16), who with justice [governed] a great hereditary kingdom (*kula-kram-âgatam* .... *râjyaṁ mahat*, line 17), and whose wife was Râjyavatî ;—and Dharmadêva's son **Mânadêva** (l. 20), who was appointed to reign by his mother on his father's death. The inscription then records that Mânadêva made an expedition to the East, and reduced to obedience some "roguish," ill-behaved, or rebellious *Sâmantas* there ; and then went back to the West, where also he heard of misdoings on the part of a *Sâmanta*. Here, unfortunately, the available part of the inscription terminates, the rest being buried underground. The **date** (l. 1 f.) is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 386, Jyêshṭha-mâsa-śukla-pakshê pratipadi 1 Rôhiṇî-nakshatra-yuktê chandramasi muhûrtê praśastê=Bhijiti ; the exact equivalent of which, as we have seen at page 95 ff. above, is Tuesday, the 28th April, A.D. 705.

L.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 12 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 174 ff.—The charter is issued from **Kailâsakûṭabhavana** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Śivadêva II.** (l. 3). The *Dûtaka* (l. 23) is the *Râjaputra* Jayadêva. The **date** (l. 23) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 119, Phâlguna-śukla-divâ-daśamyâm ; answering, approximately, to the 20th February, A.D. 725.

M.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 2 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 166 f.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records that, by the favour of the illustrious 'king' **Mânadêva** (line 1), a certain Jayavarman erected a *liṅga* named Jayêśvara, for the welfare of the world, (*i.e.* of all the people), together with the king,[1] and endowed it with a permanent endowment.[2] The **date** (l. 1) is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 413, equivalent to A.D. 732-33, without any further details.

N.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 13 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 176 f.—This inscription is very much damaged.[3] The name of the palace whence the charter was issued, is lost. And the king's name is illegible in line 3 ; but, as it is preceded by the titles of *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the name was probably that of **Śivadêva II.**, as in inscription L. above ; and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji filled up the *lacunæ* in that way. This is a Buddhist inscription. The *Dûtaka* (line 36) is the *Bhaṭṭâraka*, the illustrious, or perhaps the venerable, Śivadêva. The **date** (l. 37) is somewhat doubtful ;[4] but

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[1] *sa-nṛipatêr=jagatô hitâya* ; line 2.

[2] *akshaya-nîvî* ; line 2.

[3] I have not seen the rubbing of this inscription:

[4] In Śaka-Saṁvat 672 current, or 671 expired, the month Jyêshṭha was intercalary (see *Indian Eras*, p. 161, and *Chronology*, p. 126). And the absence of any hint of this in the present record, would, if the reading of the second numerical symbol as 40 could be established, be a point in favour of the year being Śaka-Saṁvat 671 current, or 670 expired ; which is in accordance with the epoch of A.D. 605-606.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read it as (Harsha)-Saṁvat 143, Jyaishṭha-śukla-divâ-trayôdaśyâm; answering, approximately, to the 25th May, A.D. 748. There is, however, the possibility that the second numerical symbol is 20 or 30, instead of 40.

O.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 14; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 177 f.—All the introductory part of this inscription, recording the palace whence the charter was issued and the name of the king, is broken away and lost. The *Dûtaka* (line 17) is the *Yuvarâja* Vijayadêva. The **date** (l. 17) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 145, Pausha-śukla-divâ-tṛitîyâyâm; answering, approximately, to the 6th December, A.D. 750.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, taking Vijayadêva as a "vicarious" name of Jayadêva II., allotted the inscription, chiefly on this account, to Śivadêva II. As far as the date goes, the inscription may be one either of him, or of **Jayadêva II.** But Vijayadêva cannot be a "vicarious" name of Jayadêva II. Occasional instances may be cited, in which the special terminations of names vary; thus, the Vasantasêna of inscription P. below, appears in R. line 10, and in the *Vaṁśâvali*, as Vasantadêva; and Jayadêva I. of R. line 8, perhaps appears in the *Vaṁśâvali* as Jayavarman. But even this is rare enough. And, apart from the substitution of *birudas* or secondary titles, the only epigraphical instance that I can quote, of any variation in the first and really distinctive part of a king's name, is to be found in line 46 ff. of the Kauṭhêṁ grant[1] of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya V., of Śaka-Saṁvat 930, where the Daśavarman of other inscriptions is called Yaśôvarman. But that instance is not a very satisfactory one.[2] And in the present case there is not any metrical exigency, as there is in the places where the name of Daśavarman occurs, to justify any variation. If the present inscription is one of Śivadêva II., then Vijayadêva was another son of his; if, as seems to me more probable, it is one of Jayadêva II., then Vijayadêva was a son of the last-mentioned person.

P.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 3; *Ind. Ant.* Vol IX. p. 167.—The charter is issued from **Mânagṛiha** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Vasantasêna.**[3] The *Dûtaka* (l. 21) is the *Sarvadaṇḍanâyaka* and *Mahâpratîhâra* Ravigupta. The **date** (l. 20 f.) is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 435, Aśvayuji śukla-divâ-1; answering, approximately, to the 23rd September, A.D. 754.

Q.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 4; *Journey in Nêpâl*, p. 79 f. and Plate xi.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place; nor does it give any king's name. It only records a grant by a private person to a *Pâñchaka* or Committee. The **date** (line 1) is (Harsha)-Samvat 151, Vaiśâkha-śukla-dvitîyâyâm; answering, approximately, to the 8th April, A.D. 756.

R.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 15; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 178 ff.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. The inscription, which gives a good deal of genealogical information, to be commented on below, is one of **Jayadêva II.** (line 14), who also had the second name or *biruda* of Parachakrakâma (l. 18). The object of it is to record that he caused a silver water-lily to be made, for the worship of Śiva under the name of Paśupati; and that it was worshipped and installed by his mother Vatsadêvî. The **date** (l. 35) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 153, Kârttika-śukla-navamyâm; answering, approximately, to the 16th October, A.D. 758.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 23.

[2] See *id.* p 19 f.

[3] In inscription R. below, line 10, he is called Vasantadêva.

S.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 4; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168.—The commencement of the inscription, recording the place whence the order was issued and the king's name, is broken away and lost. And the inscription, therefore, is of importance only as indicating the period during which the era that is referred to in it, continued to be used. The *Dûtaka* (line 17) is the *Râjaputra* Vikramasêna.[1] The **date** (l. 18) is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 535, Śrâvaṇa-śukla-divâ-saptamyâm; answering, approximately, to the 1st July, A.D. 854.

When Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji summed up, according to his view of them, the historical results of his inscriptions, Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 1, A. above, was not known; and the only available clue was the mention, in B. C. E. F. and G., of Aṁśuvarman, who was evidently to be identified with the king of that name who was reigning during, or shortly before, Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Northern India, in or about A.D. 637. Acting on this identification, he very properly referred the dates of (C.) 34, (E.) 39, (F.) 44 or 45, (G.) 48, (L.) 119, (N.) 143 (?), (O.) 145, and (R.) 153, to the era dating from the commencement of the reign of Harshavardhana of Kanauj in A.D. 606 (or 607).

Mr. Bendall's discovery of the Gôlmâḍhiṭôl inscription, furnished the key-note for the interpretation of the whole matter. For, mentioning Aṁśuvarman as the contemporary of Śivadêva I., and giving for the latter the date of the year 316, it shews that this date, and all belonging to the same uniform series, must be referred to an era commencing just about three centuries before the Harsha era; *i. e.* to the so-called Gupta era, with the epoch of A.D. 319-20; for then the year 316 + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 635-36, which is in the closest possible accordance with the first recorded date of Aṁśuvarman, in A.D. 639.

But, when Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji wrote, nothing was certain about the other larger dates of (K.) 386, (M.) 413, (P.) 435, and (S.) 535; except that all the circumstances of the case shewed that they were not of the same series with the smaller dates belonging to the Harsha era. And, after examining the theory of the Śaka era, commencing A.D. 78, and rejecting it on the grounds that even this was not early enough, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji finally referred them to the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 58.

Curiously enough, the Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvali* states that Vikramâditya came to Nêpâl, and established his era there. And, as we have seen at page 74 f. above, an offshoot of the Vikrama era certainly was introduced into Nêpâl in A.D. 880. But the statement of the *Vaṁśâvali* refers to the time of the predecessor of Aṁśuvarman; *i.e.* to the end of the sixth, or the beginning of the seventh, century A.D. And Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji shewed[1] that the statement is certainly quite wrong as regards the name of the king and the particular era intended; and that what it probably contains, is a reminiscence of the conquest of the country by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and the adoption of the Harsha era as the result. This statement, therefore, can have influenced him but little, if at all, in his assignment of the above-mentioned dates to the Vikrama era.

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[1] See page 178 above, note 2.

The real grounds for his doing so,—grounds which, in spite of the existence of the date of (Gupta)-Saṁvat 316 for Śivadêva I. and Aṁśuvarman, still require to be cleared away, in order that we may properly adjust the whole of the early chronology of Nêpâl,—are to be found in his erroneous treatment of R., **the inscription of Jayadêva II.** of (Harsha)-Saṁvat 153.

Starting with a mythological genealogy, this inscription carries the descent from the god Brahman (line 3), through Sûrya or the Sun,[2] Manu, Ikshvâku, and others, down to Raghu, Aja, and Daśaratha (l. 6). After Daśaratha, there were eight kings, in lineal succession of sons and sons' sons, who are passed over unnamed; and then there was the illustrious **Lichchhavi** (l. 6). Then comes verse 6, which records that "even still," at the time of the writing of the inscription, "there exists a family which bears the pure second name of **Lichchhavi**;"—svachchhaṁ Lichchhavi-nâma vi(bi)bhrad=aparaṁ vaṅśaḥ, (l. 7). Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his lithograph, text, and translation, gave *aparô vaṅśaḥ* "a new race .... which bears the pure name Lichchhavi." But, on examining his original rubbing, I find that the real reading is *aparaṁ* (*nâma*), "another name, a second name;"—not *aparô* (*vaṅśaḥ*), "another race, a new race." This verse, therefore, is of some interest, in shewing that,—in addition to the appellation of Lichchhavivaṁśa or Lichchhavikula, the latter of which actually occurs in inscriptions A. B. and H. above,—the family had another original name, which, however, is not recorded. After Lichchhavi there came some kings, who again are passed over unnamed, and the number of whom is illegible[3] at the end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8; and then the illustrious king **Supushpa** (l. 8) was born at the city of Pushpapura.[4] After him, "omitting in the interim (*to mention the names of*) twenty-three kings," there was another[5] king, the famous

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 421 f.

[2] In accordance with this, the *Vaṁśâvali* enters the historical Lichchhavis of this inscription as members of a Sûryavaṁśi family.

[3] But the number was probably twelve, as *hitv=âpa*[*rân=dvâdaśa*] seems to suit best the metre and such traces as are discernible in the rubbing.

[4] *i.e.* Pâṭaliputra, the modern Paṭna in Bihâr; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 180, note 44.—This part of the inscription, therefore, relates to a period antecedent to the settlement of the Lichchhavis in Nêpâl.

[5] As no previous Jayadêva, with whom this one could be contrasted, is mentioned in the inscriptions, *apara* seems to introduce another branch of the Lichchhavi family, not directly descended from Lichchhavi and Supushpa.

Jayadêva I. (l. 8), who was treated by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji as the first really historical member of the family, and the founder of the Nêpâl branch of it,[1] and on the Vikrama-Saṁvat theory, was placed about A.D. 1. After this "victorious" Jayadêva I., and again "omitting in the interim (*to mention the names of*) eleven ...... kings," the inscription gives the first unbroken succession of names that it contains; *viz.*—**Vṛishadêva** (l. 9);—his son, **Śaṁkaradêva**;—his son, **Dharmadêva**;—his son, **Mânadêva** (l. 10);—his son, **Mahîdêva**;—and his son, **Vasantadêva.** The first four of these names have already been made known by inscription K. above; and the sixth, in the form of Vasantasêna, by inscription P. And these six kings plainly belong to the family, the genealogy of which forms the subject of all the preceding part of the inscription; *viz.* the Lichchhavikula.

Then follows, in lines 10 and 11, the eleventh verse, which was entirely misunderstood by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and which, through that misunderstanding, led to the erroneous reference of the larger dates of his inscriptions to the Vikrama era. He read this verse—asy=ântarê=py=Udayadêva iti kshitîśâj=jâtâs=trayôdaśa [tata]ś=cha Narêndradêvaḥ mân-ônnatô nata-samasta-narêndra-mauli-mâlâ-rajô-nikara-pâṁśula-pâdapîṭhaḥ; and translated —"afterwards came thirteen (*rulers*), sprung from king **Udayadêva** (l. 10),[2] and then **Narêndradêva** (l. 11), who was proud, and whose footstool was covered with the dust from the row of diadems worn by numerous prostrated kings." With the exception that the original has *pâṁsula*, not *pâṁśula*, the reading and translation of the second half of the verse represent the original correctly. It is the first half that has not been properly treated. In the first place, *asy=ântarê* does not mean 'afterwards,' or 'after him.' The literal meaning of *antara* is 'an interval;' and in *anantaram* it helps to make up the equivalent of 'afterwards,' only from its meaning in the first place 'no interval after.' But, standing without the negative particle, *antara* can have only the meaning of 'interval;' and it is used twice before by the composer of this inscription, in lines 8 and 9, distinctly in that sense. *Asy=ântarê* can only mean "in an interval of this;" and, supplying *vaṅśasya*, from the *vaṅśaḥ* of line 7, in apposition with *asya*, we have "in an interval, *i.e.* at an intervening point, of this (*lineage that has just been detailed*)." The expression plainly introduces some names, in respect of which it is intended to be conveyed that they are of another family or branch; and that the last of them comes contemporaneously with or immediately after the name of Vasantadêva, the last mentioned of the immediately preceding succession, and the first comes at some unspecified point intervening between Vṛishadêva and Vasantadêva. In the second place, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's reading of *kshitîśâj=jâtâs* cannot be maintained. In the two syllables *jjâtâ*, the rubbing shews distinctly the double *jj*, of which, in the lithograph, the lower one is only sketched in faintly, as if it were doubtful; but the second is as distinctly *ta*, not *tâ*, as is in fact shewn in the lithograph. There is a slight abrasion mark between the *ta* and the following *akshara*, which does not appear in the lithograph; but the rubbing shews most distinctly that this mark is no remnant of a half-obliterated *â*, and that the stroke for *â*, for which in fact there is no room, never was engraved here The reading of the original, in short, is *jâtas*, the nominative singular; not *jâtâs*, the nominative plural. This is the first objection to the more serious error, the introduction of *trayôdaśa*, 'thirteen,' immediately after *jâtas*. The second is, that, of the six following *aksharas* which are read *s=trayôdaśa* [*tata*], the only parts that can be pronounced on with any certainty, are *s*, as part of the first, and, at the beginning of line 11, *da*, the third, which is well preserved and unmistakable. The others are hopelessly injured and unrecognisable; and,—with the exception that the first probably had a *t* below the *s*; and that the second looks more like *thâ* (*tathâ*), or *dâ* (*tadâ*), or *pô* (*tapô*), than *yô*,—it is quite impossible, even from the rubbing, to say what they may be. But the culminating and final objection to the reading of *trayôdaśa* [*tata*]*ś=cha* is, that, in the passage, as thus read, there is no such word as *vyatîtya*, *vihâya*, *hitvâ*, or *tyaktvâ*, "having passed over or omitted (*to mention the names of*)," which we have in lines 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9, where, in each case, a specified number of kings is passed over; and that the metre does not allow of our introducing any such word. The *lacunæ* at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 render it, as I said, impossible to decide what the original reading may have been. But the whole structure of the passage leaves no doubt whatever that the original contained nothing but an epithet, or perhaps two, of Narêndradêva; and that, so far from thirteen rulers having intervened between him and Udayadêva, he was the son of Udayadêva.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 424.

[2] Or, again, —"after him (Vasantadêva), followed thirteen, sprung from the lord of the earth called Udavadêva;" *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 425, note.

Narêndradêva's son was **Śivadêva II.** (line 12), who married Vatsadêvî, of the family of the Maukharis who abounded in strength of arm,[1] the daughter of the illustrious Bhôgavarman, and the daughter of the daughter of "the great" Âdityasêna, the lord of Magadha (l. 13). And their son was the *Râja*, the illustrious **Jayadêva II.** (l. 14). also called Parachakrakâma (l. 18), whose wife was Râjyamatî, of the family of king Bhagadatta or of the Bhagadatta kings (l. 16), the daughter of Harsha, king of Gauḍa, Ôḍra; &c., and Kaliṅga, and Kôsala (l. 15). The rest of the inscription details the beauty of the silver water-lily which Jayadêva II. caused to be made, and how it was worshipped and installed by his mother Vatsadêvî; and then concludes with the date.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's acceptance of Udayadêva as the successor of Vasantadêva, and insertion of thirteen rulers between him and Narêndradêva, led of necessity to the reference of the dates for Mânadêva of (K.) 386 and (M.) 413, and for Vasantadêva of (P.) 435, to the Vikrama era. It is unnecessary to repeat his calculations in full. But, starting with fifteen names between Vasantadêva and Śivadêva II., or nineteen from Mânadêva to Śivadêva II. (both included), all of which denote "*generations* of kings, not reigns of *collaterals*," [1] and taking twenty-one years as the smallest possible average for these generation-reigns, he found that no era later than the Vikrama era would meet the requirements of the case; and that that era would meet them. For, on the Vikrama-Saṁvat theory, Mânadêva's first date represented A.D. 329; the interval from this to A.D. 759, the date of Jayadêva II., was 430 years; and this, divided by nineteen gave about twenty-two years and three-quarters as the average for each generation-reign. This was all right enough from his point of view.

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[1] The original has *dêvî vâ(bâ)hu-va(ba)l-âḍhya-Maukhari-kulâ śrîvarmma* &c.; not *kula-śrîvarmma*, in composition, as in the published text.

But let us now take the matter from the correct point of view; *viz.* that Udayadêva did not come after Vasantadêva. This frees us at once from the necessity, under which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji laboured, of forcing Vasantadêva and his ancestors back to such early times; and leaves us at liberty to follow the analogy of inscription A., and to refer his date and Mânadêva's to the Gupta era. The result is, that we have for **Vasantasêna** the date of (P.) A.D. 754, just synchronous with the dates of perhaps (O.) A.D. 750, and certainly (R.) A.D. 758, for **Jayadêva II.,** exactly what inscription R. seeks to convey; and we have for **Mânadêva,** the grandfather of Vasantasêna, the dates of (K.) A.D. 705 and (M.) A.D. 732-33, just about one generation before Jayadêva II.'s father Śivadêva II., for whom we have the dates of (L.) A.D. 725 and probably (N.) A.D. 748 (?).

Here the question naturally suggests itself:—As Udayadêva and his descendants were not successors and descendants of Vasantasêna, who were they? I think the answer is perfectly plain:—That they were successors of Aṁśuvarman; and, though not his direct lineal descendants, belonged, like him, to the family which in the *Vaṁśâvali* is called the Ṭhâkurî family

Inscription R., in fact, furnishes another instance of **the double government of Nêpâl,** to which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji drew attention in the case of Śivadêva I. and Aṁśuvar-man; and which is illustrated in the most pointed way throughout these inscriptions.[2] We have two separate families, ruling contemporaneously and mostly on equal terms, but each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own.

On the one side (see Table XI. page 189 below), we have the **Lichchhavikula** of the inscriptions,—the **Sûryavaṁśi family** of the *Vaṁśâvali*,—issuing its charters from the house or palace called **Mânagṛiha;** and **using the Gupta era.** To this family belong inscriptions A. B. K. M. P. and S.; and it was represented in A.D. 635 by

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 425.

[2] So also in later times. See, for instance, the colophon of a manuscript of the *Ashṭasâhasrikâ-Prajñâpâramitâ* (Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist MSS.* p. 4), dated in Nêpâl-Saṁvat 128 (A.D. 1007), which speaks of the double rule of Nirbhaya and Rudradêva; and another manuscript bearing the same title (*id.* p. 151), dated in Nêpâl-Saṁvat 135 (A.D. 1015), which speaks of the government being enjoyed, half by Bhôjadêva and Rudradêva, and half by Lakshmîkâmadêva.

TABLE XI.

List of the Early Rulers of Nêpâl.

The Lichchhavi or Sûryavaṁśi Family of Mânagṛiha.		The Ṭhâkurî Family of Kailâsakûṭabhavana.	
	1. Jayadêva I.—About A.D. 330-355.		
	2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. Names not recorded in the inscription. A.D. 355-630.		
Śivadêva I., *Mahârâja*.—A.D. 635.	13. Vṛishadêva.—About A.D. 630-655.	Aṁśuvarman, *Mahâsâmanta*, and afterwards *Mahârâjâdhirâja*.—A.D. 635, 639, 644, and 649 or 650.	
Dhruvadêva, *Mahârâja*.—A.D. 653.	14. Śaṁkaradêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 655-680.	Jishṇugupta. — A.D. 653.	
	15. Dharmadêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 680-704.		Udayadêva. — About A.D. 675-700.
	16. Mânadêva, son of preceding.—A.D. 705 and 732.		Narêndradêva, son of preceding. — About A.D. 700-724.
	17. Mahîdêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 733-753.		Śivadêva II., *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, son of preceding. — A.D. 725 and 748 (?).
	18. Vasantasêna, or Vasantadêva, *Mahârâja*, son of preceding.—A.D. 754.		Jayadêva II., *Râja*, son of preceding.—A.D. 750 (?) and 758.

Śivadêva I., (in A.D. 653 by **Dhruvadêva**),[1] in A.D. 705 and 732-33 by **Mânadêva**, and in A.D. 754 by **Vasantasêna** or Vasantadêva.

And, on the other side, we have a family, the name of which is not given in the inscriptions hitherto brought to notice, but which in the *Vaṁśâvali* is called the **Ṭhâkurî family**; issuing its charters from the house or palace called **Kailâsakûṭabhavana**; and **using the Harsha era.** To this family belong inscriptions C. D. E. F. G. H. I. J. L. N. O. Q. and R.; and it was represented in A.D. (635),[2] 639, 644, and 649 or 650, by **Aṁśuvarman**, in A.D. 653 by **Jishṇugupta**, in A.D. 725 and 748 (?) by **Śivadêva II.**, and in A.D. 750 (?) and 758 by **Jayadêva II.**

From the fact that each of the two families issued its charters from a palace, not a town, and the fact that all the inscriptions are either at Khâṭmâṇḍu itself, or close in the neighbourhood, **the two palaces of Mânagṛiha and Kailâsakûṭabhavana** appear to have been in the immediate vicinity of each other, in different divisions of one and the same ancient capital. And, though the inscriptions give no specific information on this point, from the fact that the order of Aṁśuvarman, recorded in inscription E., is issued to the officials of the western province, and from the way in which, in inscription K., Mânadêva is described as marching to the east and reducing to obedience the rebellious *Sâmantas* there, and then returning to the west, it seems pretty clear that the Lichchhavikula or Sûryavaṁśi family had the government of the territory to the east of the capital; and the Ṭhâkurî family, of the territory to the west of it.

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[1] From Jishṇugupta's inscription, G.

[2] From inscription A. of Śivadêva I.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji treated **Aṁśuvarman** as if he was at first the feudatory of Śivadêva I. There is, however, nothing in the inscriptions to support this. The inscriptions of Śivadêva I., it is true, record acts that were done by him "on the advice," or "at the request," of Aṁśuvarman; but this expression, though often used in respect of feudatories and officials, does not of necessity imply any state of subordination. And, whereas Śivadêva I. uses in respect of himself only the feudatory title of *Mahârâja*, in his own inscriptions he allots to Aṁśuvarman the equal title of *Mahâsâmanta*; not simply *Sâmanta*, as represented almost throughout by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. Śivadêva I. and Aṁśuvarman were only co-ordinate feudatories of a paramount sovereign, *viz.* Harshavardhana of Kanauj. During the time when **Aṁśuvarman** was a *Mahârâjâdhirâja* or paramount sovereign, as recorded in inscription G., the Lichchhavis must have been feudatory to him. This was after his inscription C. of A.D. 639. His other two inscriptions E. and F., which give him no titles except that of *śrî*, "the illustrious, or the glorious," perhaps belong to a transitional period, when he hesitated about adopting the paramount title, and yet was unwilling to use a feudatory title any longer. He probably assumed the paramount rank and title, on the death of Harshavardhana; when, as Ma-twan-lin tells us,[1] the kingdom of Kanauj fell into a state of anarchy, and the minister *Na-fo-ti-a-la-na-shun* usurped the supreme power. And Aṁśuvarman is probably the king of Nêpâl, who came with seven thousand horsemen to help the Chinese general Wang-hiwen-tse who defeated the usurper. In the time of **Dhruvadêva** and **Jishṇugupta**, it is possible that the Ṭhâkurî family may to a certain extent have acknowledged the Lichchhavis as superior to them. But **Śivadêva II.** again had the paramount title and rank; and the Lichchhavis were then, of course, again the feudatories of the Ṭhâkurî family. Finally, the fact that the Lichchhavi genealogy is given in the Ṭhâkurî inscription R., coupled with the use by **Jayadêva II.** in this inscription of no title but that of *Râja* (line 14), with the epithet *śrî*, 'the illustrious,' may perhaps indicate that at this latter time the Ṭhâkurîs again acknowledged a certain amount of superiority on the part of the Lichchhavis. Or it may be nothing more than another expression of the mutual courtesy of the two families, already exhibited in the inscriptions of Śivadêva I. and Jishṇugupta.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 20.

In **the Lichchhavi family,** the earliest name for which we have as yet a definite date, is that of **Śivadêva I.,** A.D. 635. And either Śivavṛiddhivarman, No. 14 in the *Vaṁśâvali* list of the Sûryavaṁśi family, or Śivavavarman, No. 16 in the same, seems to be intended for him. The next name is that of **Dhruvadêva,** A.D. 653, who is not given or represented in the *Vaṁśâvali.* The connection between Śivadêva I. and Dhruvadêva, is not as yet explained. But they probably belonged both to one branch of the family; though, from their not being mentioned in inscription R., certainly not to the same branch with Vasantadêva and his ancestors. Their contemporaries of the Ṭhâkurî family were respectively Aṁśuvarman and Jishṇugupta. They were followed by another branch of the same family, introduced about A.D. 630 (not A.D. 260, as proposed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji) by **Vṛishadêva,** who was the contemporary of Śivadêva I.; an [illegible] ented, as far as definite dates go, by **Mânadêva** in A.D. 705 and 732-33 (not A.D. 32 [illegible] 356), and by **Vasantasêna** or Vasantadêva in A.D. 754 (not A.D. 378). The six names from Vṛishadêva to Vasantasêna, are given correctly in the *Vaṁśâvali,* as Nos. 18 to 23 of the Sûryavaṁśi family. If inscription R. is to be accepted throughout, this branch of the family was founded by **Jayadêva I.** He is doubtless the person who is intended by Jayavarman, No. 3 in the *Vaṁśâvali* list of the Sûryavaṁśi family. And, calculating back fifteen generations, at the average rate of twenty-five years, from Mânadêva, whose generation is represented by his recorded dates, we have for Jayadêva I. the initial date of about A.D. 330 (not A.D. 1). But, if Vṛishadêva was a direct lineal descendant of Jayadêva I., it is rather peculiar that the composer of inscription R., writing only five generations after him, was unable to give the names of the persons, only eleven in number, who intervened before him and after Jayadêva I. It would seem, therefore, that, though the number of generations may be accepted, there was at this point a break in the direct succession.

In **the Ṭhâkurî family,** the earliest name is that of **Aṁśuvarman,** with the extreme dates of A.D. 635 and 649 or 650; and the next is that of **Jishṇugupta,** A.D. 653. Aṁśuvarman is mentioned in the *Vaṁśâvali,* under exactly the same name, as the founder of the Ṭhâkurî family; but Jishṇugupta's name is not given or represented. The connection between them is not as yet explained. They were followed by **Udayadêva** (about A.D. 675, not A.D. 400) and his descendants, who, from there being no mention of Aṁśuvarman and Jishṇugupta in inscription R., plainly belonged to another branch of the family. Udayadêva was contemporaneous with Dharmadêva of the Lichchhavi family; he is not mentioned in the *Vaṁśâvali,* being certainly not the Udayadêvavarman, No. 24 in the *Vaṁśâvali* list of the Sûryavaṁśi family. His son, **Narêndradêva,** is possibly the person intended by Narêndradêva, No. 7 in the *Vaṁśâvali* list of the Ṭhâkurî family. His son, **Śivadêva II.,** A.D. 725 and 748 (?), is not mentioned in the *Vaṁśâvali.* His son, **Jayadêva II.,** A.D. 750 (?) and 758, is possibly the person intended by Jayadêva, No. 11 in the *Vaṁśâvali* list of the Ṭhâkurî family.

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APPENDIX V.

System of Transliteration.

The system of transliteration followed in this volume, except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, is this :—

Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ಆ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಟ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಡ	ḍa
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	lṛi	त	ತ	ta
—	ಎ	e	थ	ಥ	tha
ए	ಏ	ê	द	ದ	da
ऐ	ಐ	ai	ध	ಧ	dha
—	ಒ	o	न	ನ	na
ओ	ಓ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ಔ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvámúlíya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ḣ	भ	ಭ	bha
			म	ಮ	ma
Upadhmáníya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	h̤	य	ಯ	ya
			र	ರ	ra
			—	ಱ	ṟa
Anusvára	*Anusvára*	ṁ	ल	ಲ	la
Anunásiká	—	m̋	ळ	ಳ	ḷa
क	ಕ	ka	—	ೞ	ḻa
ख	ಖ	kha	व	ವ	va
ग	ಗ	ga	श	ಶ	śa
घ	ಘ	gha	ष	ಷ	sha
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	स	ಸ	sa
च	ಚ	cha	ह	ಹ	ha
छ	ಛ	chha			

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities have been made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi.* Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions, and does not occur at all in the present series. Where it does occur, I find it most convenient to represent it by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also, practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî **marks of punctuation**; than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets,** for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets, than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn, attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and, in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshara* or syllable.

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

No. I; PLATE I.

ALLAHABAD POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

THIS inscription appears to have been first brought to the notice of the public in 1834, when, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III. p. 118 ff., Captain A. Troyer published his reading of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate vi.), which was reduced by Mr. James Prinsep from a copy commenced by a brother of Lieutenant T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, finished by a Munshî, and revised by Lieutenant Burt himself.—In the same volume, p. 257 ff., the Revd. Dr. W. H. Mill, working from the same lithograph, published a revised version of the text and translation; followed, at p. 339 ff., by a supplementary paper containing the first genealogical tree of the dynasty. His version, however, though it was an improvement on that of Captain Troyer, still fell very far short of exhibiting the original completely or accurately; especially in his failing, like Captain Troyer, to recognise that the inscription is a posthumous one; in his misreading lines 11 and 21, in such a way as to introduce into the translation and genealogical tree, without any foundation whatever in the original, the independent princess Saṁhârikâ, with a daughter, name unknown, who was the wife of Samudragupta, other mothers-in-law of the same king, and a royal issue expected at the date of the inscription; and in his treatment of line 30, where, instead of *âchakshâṇa iva bhuvô bâhur=ayam=uchchhritaḥ stambhaḥ*, "this lofty column (*is*) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming (the fame of Samudragupta)," he read *rôma-charmaṇaḥ ravi-bhuvô bâhur=ayam=uchchhritaḥ stambhaḥ*, and translated "of this child of the Sun, though clothed in hairy flesh, this lofty pillar is the arm," which led him to refer Samudragupta and his dynasty to the Solar Race, a mistake that sometimes seems to have been not even yet completely eradicated.—In 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 969 ff., Mr. James Prinsep gave a fresh and much improved lithograph of the inscription and its alphabet (*id.* Plate lv.), reduced from impressions on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own version of the text and translation.[1] His rendering of the inscription still failed to represent the original with any real approach to accuracy and completeness. But it was a very great improvement on the two versions that had preceded it; especially in avoiding the leading mistakes of Dr. Mill, pointed out above. And it has remained the standard version up to the present time; except that in 1872 in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. cxcvi. ff., Dr. Bhau Daji notified, from a copy on cloth made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, some corrections in the historical part, in the names of the kings and countries conquered by Samudragupta.[1]

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[1] The translation is reprinted in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 233 ff.

The round monolith sandstone column, thirty-five feet in height, on which this inscription is, dates from the third century B.C., as is shewn by the famous edicts of Aśôka on it. It now stands in a conspicuous position inside the Fort at **Allahâbâd** (properly Ilâhâbâd), the seat of Government of the North-West Provinces. It is doubtful, however, whether the column was originally erected at this place, or whether, as has been suggested by General Cunningham,[2] it was first set up at the ancient **Kauśâmbî,** now represented by the village of **Kôsam**[3] on the left bank of the Jamnâ, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahâbâd; and, being still at that place when the present inscription was engraved, was afterwards moved from there to Allahâbâd by one of the early Musalmân kings of Dehli, just as the two Aśôka columns now at Dehli were brought there from original positions at Mêraṭh and in the Siwâlik hills. The points in favour of the latter supposition are (1) that the column contains a short Aśôka edict addressed to the rulers of Kauśâmbî;[4] and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang makes no mention of this column in his account of *Po-lo-ye-kia*, *i.e.* Prayâga or Allahâbâd.[5]

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 6′ 8″ broad by 5′ 4″ high, commences on the north of the column, towards the north-east, and in the longest part, line 30, runs all round the column, except for a space of about 1′ 9.″ The bottom line is about 6′ 0″ above the point where the column starts from its present pedestal. There is a large crack in the column, from above the first word of the first line, and extending down to the beginning of the fourteenth. And the upper part of the inscription has suffered very much, partly from some of the mediæval inscriptions, which are so abundant on the column, being engraved on and between the original lines here, and partly from the peeling off of the surface of the stone in several places. But nothing of a historical nature appears to have been lost; except, perhaps, after the mention of Nâgasêna in line 13, and in connection with the mention of Pushpapura in line 14. A few letters, again, have been damaged or destroyed by the peeling off of the stone near the beginning of line 23, and in the centre of lines 23, 24, 31, and 32; but, except in line 32, the letters can be supplied without any doubt. The really important part of the inscription, the historical and genealogical passages commencing with line 19 and ending in line 30, is fortunately in a state of excellent preservation, and is decipherable without the slightest doubt from beginning to end.—The **size** of the letters (by which I mean, here and throughout, the height of such letters as *cha*, *da*, *pa*, *ma*, *ba*, *va*, &c., which are formed entirely within the limits of, so to speak, the lines of writing, without any projections above or below) varies from $\frac{7}{16}''$ to $\frac{3}{4}''$. As regards the **palæography** of this and the other inscriptions in the volume, this division of the subject is so extensive as to require a separate treatise to itself; and I cannot here do more than touch in a general way on such special points as call for particular notice. The **characters** of the present inscription belong to what it has been customary to call the Gupta Alphabet. This, however, like all other similar dynastic appellations, is an unsatisfactory and misleading term. In the first place, these characters were not confined to the inscriptions of the Early Gupta dynasty; for they were used, with slight modifications, but not such as to affect their essential nature, on the coins of the later Indo-Scythian kings of the Pañjâb. Even in respect of a character of such leading importance as the letter *m*,—though some of these coins exhibit what is called the Indo-Scythic form,[1] in distinction from the *m* of the northern Gupta inscriptions, yet, on one coin which I had the advantage of examining in General Cunningham's collection, and which has on it the name of Samudra,[2] the *m* that is used is the so-called Gupta *m*, somewhat later than the *m* of the present inscription, but of exactly the same shape with the *m* of *mahârâja* in line 8 (to choose a clear example) of the Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 below, Plate iiiA. And in the second place, the inscriptions of the Early Guptas themselves were by no means written exclusively in this alphabet. To say nothing of the frequent use of the Indo-Scythic *m* on Samudragupta's coins,—illustrated, for instance, by the coins given by Mr. V. A. Smith in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc* Vol. LIII. Part I. Plate ii. Nos. 3, 7, 9, 10, and 11,—we meet with at least two perfectly distinct alphabets in their inscriptions, in addition to the one now under notice. The Êraṇ inscription of Samudragupta, No. 2 below, Plate iiA., and the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB., are in a 'box-headed' and 'nail-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, which has hitherto been called the Nerbudda Alphabet and the Vâkâṭaka Alphabet, and which, in addition to the very distinctive form of *m*, has all the leading characteristics of the southern alphabets. The Sâñchi inscription of Chandragupta II., again, No. 5 below, Plate iiiB., is distinctly in the characters of the southern alphabets. And the Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta is in a somewhat later modification of the Saurâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâḍ alphabet, exhibited with all its leading characteristics in the inscription of Rudradâman, on the same rock, of which we have a lithograph in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128, Plate xiv. It is perfectly plain that the alphabets varied, not according to dynasties, but according to localities; and, in establishing any system of comparative palæography, we must select territorial, not dynastic, names. I would propose calling the alphabet of the inscription now under notice, the general North India Alphabet of the fourth century A.D. The characters include two letters which, after the Pâli period, lay for a long time in disuse in the southern alphabets, and were not revived for a considerable time after the present period; *viz.* the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, exhibited in *krîḍatâ*, line 14, *ḍavâka*, line 22, and *vrîḍita*, line 27; and the lingual *ḍh*, exhibited in *virûḍha*, line 18. On the other hand, in the *ḷ* which occurs in *vyâluḷita*, line 8, *kaurâḷaka* for *kairaḷaka*, line 19, *saiṁhaḷaka*, line 23, and *laḷita*, lines 27 and 30, they include a letter which properly belongs exclusively to the southern alphabets and languages; and its occurrence here seems to furnish an unconscious piece of evidence to the effect that some, at least, of the conquests attributed to Samudragupta in the south of India, were actual facts; in the other inscriptions in this volume, this letter occurs only in the word *aḷi*, 'a bee,' in line 1 of the Tuśâm rock inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xlA. In *śôbhâ*, line 18, *vishṇugôpa*, line 19, and *gô-śata*, line 25, the vowel *ô* is formed in rather a peculiar way, which, so far as the right-hand stroke is concerned, is followed also in the vowel *â* as attached to the same consonants, *e.g.* in *śâsana*, lines 23 and 24, and *gâṅgaṁ*, line 31. In respect of *r* in combination with a following *y*, we have to notice that, as in the case of other consonants, the *y* is doubled, and the *r* is written above the line, *e.g.* in *vîryya*, line 13; whereas, in a somewhat later development of this alphabet in Central India, it became the custom, as in the case of *y* in conjunction with other letters, to write the *r* on the line, with a single *y* attached below it, *e.g.* in *maryâdayâ*, line 6-7, and *kuryât*, line 12, of the Majhgawâṁ plates of the *Mahârâja* Hastin, No. 23 below, Plate xiv. The characters also include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 3, 4, and 8; the intervening symbols are destroyed.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in verse as far as the end of line 16, and the rest in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *parâkkrama*, line 17, *kkriyâ*, lines 27 and 28, and *vikkrama*, line 30; (2) the doubling of *dh* (by *d*, as required by the rules), in conjunction with a following *y* and *v*, in *addhyêya*, line 16, and *sâddhv-asâdhu*, line 25; and (3) the use of the southern *ḷ*, in the instances pointed out a few lines above.

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[1] This notice was published in 1872; but it was read before the Society two years earlier, on the 11th August 1870. It records that Dr. Bhau Daji submitted to the Society a revised facsimile, text, and translation, of the inscription; but they do not appear to have been ever published, or to be now forthcoming. His suggestions were perhaps more correct in his own notes, than in the form in which they stand printed in the Journal.

[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. p. 39.

[3] The 'Kosam and Kosim Kheraj' of maps; about eight miles to the south of Karârî, the chief town of the Karârî Pargaṇâ in the Manjhanpur or Mânjhandpur Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 20′ N.; Long. 81° 27′ E.

[4] *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. pp. 39, 116, 141, and Pl. xxii.; see also after the end of line 10 of the present inscription in the Plate now published.

[5] Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. p. 230 ff.; Stanislas Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, Vol. II. p. 276 ff.—At the same time, it must be noted that Hiuen Tsiang also makes no mention of any such column in his immediately following account of *Kiau-shang-mi* or Kauśâmbî.

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[1] Setting aside the few exceptional instances that we have of irregular usage, confined, I think, entirely to coins, this letter is in itself sufficient to shew, for the whole period covered by the inscriptions in this volume, whether the characters of a particular record belong to the northern or to the southern class of alphabets. The *m* of the Indo-Scythic inscriptions, a good representation of which may be seen in the word *mahârâjasya* at the beginning of the Mathurâ inscription of Huvishka of the year 39 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. Pl. xiv. No. 1), is simply a stiff angular development of the *m* of the Aśôka period. This particular form was not confined, however, to the Indo-Scythian records. We have it, in all its angularity, in the word *svâmi* in the Sâñchi pillar inscription, No. 73 below, Plate xliiA.; and, with very little modification, in the early inscriptions from Nâsik and that neighbourhood published in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. Plates xliv. ff. And in the slightly modified form, with simply the angles rounded off, which it must have had in the earliest stages of development of the southern alphabets, we have it throughout the Sâñchi inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 5 below, Plate iiiB., *e.g.* in *mahâvihârê*, line 1; the Gaṅgdhâr inscription of Viśvavarman, No. 17 below, Plate x., *e.g.* in *appratimêna*, line 4; and the Mandasôr inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xi., *e.g.* in *bhavanam=idam=udâraṁ*, line 23. While, in a more modified form, which must have been of later development, though the instances in this volume happen to be of earlier date, we have it throughout the Êraṇ inscription of Samudragupta, No. 2 below, Plate ii.A, *e.g.* in *samara*, line 21; and throughout the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB., *e.g.* in *mahârâja*, at the beginning of line 2.—The *m* of the inscription now under notice must also be simply a development of the Aśôka *m*, arrived at by forming the left part of the letter in a different way, *viz.* by one unbroken movement, leading gradually to its being separated entirely from the right part, which then eventually assumed a straight form, instead of curved. And, though the instances in this volume happen to be of later date, undoubtedly the form that we have in, for instance, *mahârâja*, in line 8 of the Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 below, Plate iiiA., must have preceded the form used in the inscription now under notice.

[2] The three components of the name are written one above the other, inside the spear and under the left arm of the king, on the obverse; and they are practically identical with the components of the same name on the coin of Samudragupta given by Mr. V. A. Smith in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. No. 6.

The **inscription** is non-sectarian, being devoted entirely to a recital of the glory, conquests, and descent, of the **Early Gupta** king **Samudragupta.** It is not dated; but, as it describes Samudragupta as deceased, it belongs to the time of his son and successor **Chandragupta II.,** and must have been engraved soon after the accession of the latter. Its great value lies in the abundant information which, in the conquests attributed to **Samudragupta,** it gives us as to the divisions of India, its tribes, and its kings, about the middle of the fourth century A.D. This, however, is a subject for detailed treatment in the historical chapters which will form the second part of this volume.

In connection with **Samudragupta,** there is mentioned, in line 14, a city named **Pushpapura,** which is spoken of in such a way as to indicate apparently that it was his capital. **Pushpapura, Pushpapurî,** and **Kusumapura,** all meaning 'the town or city of flowers,' were names of **Pâṭaliputra,** which is now represented by the modern **Patna** in Bihâr, on the Ganges; the original city, Pâṭaliputra itself, stood on the opposite south bank of the river, at the place where, in ancient times, the Śôṇ used to flow into it. The antiquity of the name **Kusumapura** is vouched for by Hiuen Tsiang,[1] who speaks of the city under both names,—*K'u-su-mo-pu-lo*, or *Keu-su-mo-pu-lo*, which he also explains by the Chinese Hwa-kong or Hwa-kung, 'flower-palace,' and Hiang-hu-kong-sh'ing, 'city or royal precinct of the scented flower;' and *Po-ch'a-li-tsu-ch'ing*, 'the city of Pâṭaliputra.' He tells us that **Kusumapura** was the more ancient name of the two. And, though I cannot find any early authority for it apart from the present passage, there is no reason for declining to think that the synonym **Pushpapura** was in use in early days, quite as much as it was at the time when the *Daśakumâracharita* and other books, which give us this form and Pushpapurî, were written. This passage, therefore, may furnish good grounds for locating **Samudragupta's** capital at **Pâṭaliputra.** At the same time, I have to draw attention to the following points, as requiring consideration in determining this question. (1) Until the time of Skandagupta, no inscriptions of this dynasty have been found anywhere in the neighbourhood of Pâṭaliputra.[2] (2) Though Pâṭaliputra is mentioned, under its own proper name, in two of the inscriptions[3] of Chandragupta II., yet neither of these passages connects the city with him, as his capital. And (3) Hiuen Tsiang[4] mentions another ancient **Kusumapura,**—for which the synonym **Pushpapura** would be equally acceptable,—far distant, and quite distinct, from Pâṭaliputra. He tells us that the old capital of **Kanyâkubja,** or **Kanauj,** was originally called **Kusumapura.** And, though he is not absolutely specific on the point, yet the way in which he describes how the town came to be invested with the name of Kanyâkubja, seems to indicate that he understood **Kusumapura** to be the ancient name of the very site which, in his time, was called **Kanyâkubja.** A capital here, or anywhere in this neighbourhood, would be far more in accordance with the localities at which all the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty exist; and still more so with the selection of a column either at **Allahâbâd** or at **Kauśâmbî,** to contain the record of the conquests of **Samudragupta,** by whom the power of the family was brought to maturity and was placed on an extensive footing. It is a matter for regret that the last *pâda* of the verse that mentions **Pushpapura,** is so hopelessly illegible; it evidently contained a reference to some river, which might have made the point quite clear. As it is, we must look for the clue in the identification of the **Kôta** family, tribe, or dynasty, which is mentioned in the same verse But, for this name, I have not as yet succeeded in obtaining any other reference.

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[1] *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 83 ff.

[2] I exclude intentionally, of course, the spurious Gayâ grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.

[3] The Udayagiri cave inscription, No. 6 below, Plate ivA. l. 4; and the Gaḍhwâ inscription of the year 88, No. 7, Plate ivB. l. 12.

[4] *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 207.

TEXT.[1]

1 [Yaḥ[2]] kulyaiḥ svai .... âtasa ....
....
2 ya(?)sya(?) ....
.... [||*] [1]
3 Pu(?)ṁv ....
tra ....
4 sphâ(?)ra-dva(?) .... kshaḥ sphuṭ-
ôddhva[ṁ]sita .... pravitata .... [||*] [2]
5 Yasya[3] prajñ-ânushaṅg-ôchita-sukha-manasaḥ śâstra-tattv-ârttha-bharttuḥ [— —]
stabdh-ô[◡ — — ◡]ni[◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ —]n-ôchchhṛi[— — ◡ — —]
6 [sa]t-kâvya-śrî-virôdhân=budha-guṇita-guṇ-âjñ-âhatân=êva kṛitvâ v[i]dval-lôkê
vi[— —]sphuṭa-bahu-kavitâ-kîrtti-râjyaṁ bhunakti [||*] 3
7 [Â]ryyô[4] h=îty=upaguhya bhâva-piśunair=utkarṇṇitai rômabhiḥ sabhyêsh=
ûchchhvasitêshu tulyakulaja-mlân-ânan-ôdvîkshi[ta]ḥ
8 sn[ê]ha-vyâluḷitêna bâshpa-guruṇâ tattv-êkshiṇâ chakshushâ yaḥ pitr=
âbhihitô ni[r]îksh[y]a nikhi[lâṁ pâhy=êva]m=[u]rv[v]îm=iti [||*] 4
9 [Dṛi]shṭvâ[5] karmmâṇy=anêkâny=amanuja-sadṛisâny=adbhut-ôdbhinna-harshâ
bh[â*]vair=âsvâdaya[— ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡] [kê]chit
10 vîryy-ôttaptâś=cha kêchich=chharaṇam=upagatâ yasya vṛittê pranâmê=
py=art[t]ê(?)[— — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — —] [||*] [5]
11 Saṁgrâmêshu[6] sva-bhuja-vijitâ nityam=uchch-âpakârâḥ śvaḥ-śvô mâna-
pra[◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — —]
12 tôsh-ôttuṅgaiḥ sphuṭa-bahu-rasa-snêha-phullair=mmanôbhiḥ paśchâttâpaṁ
va[◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡]ma[ṁ(?)] sy[â]d=vasa(?)nta[m(?)] [||*] [6]
13 Udvêl[7]-ôdita-bâhu-vîryya-rabhasâd=êkêna yêna kshaṇâd=unmûly=**Âchyuta-Nâgasêna**-g[◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ —]
14 daṇḍair=grâhayat=aiva **Kôta**-kula-jaṁ **Pushp**-âhvayê krîḍatâ sûryyê
nê[◡ ◡ — ◡ —]taṭa[◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ —] [||*] [7]
15 Dharmma[8]-prâchîra-bandhaḥ śaśi-kara-śuchayaḥ kîrttayaḥ sa-pratânâ vaidu-
shyaṁ tattva-bhêdi praśama[◡ ◡ ◡]uku[—]y k[◡]mu(?)t[— ◡]t-ârttham(?)
16 addhyêyaḥ sûkta-mârggaḥ kavi-mati-vibhav-ôtsâraṇaṁ ch=âpi kâvyaṁ kô nu
syâd=yô=sya na syâd=guṇa-mati-v[i]dushâṁ dhyâna-pâtraṁ ya êkaḥ [||*] 8
17 Tasya vividha-samara-śat-âvataraṇa-dakshasya sva-bhuja-bala-parâkkram-aika-
bandhôḥ parâkkrâm-âṅkasya paraśu-śara-śaṅku-śakti-prâs-âsi-tômara-

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[1] From the original column.

[2] The first four lines, containing the first two verses, are almost entirely destroyed; and the few letters that remain of them do not suffice to shew what the metres were.

[3] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[4] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[5] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[6] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

[7] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[8] Metre, Sragdharâ.

18 bhindipâla-n[â]râcha-vaitastik-âdy-anêka-praharaṇa-virûḍh-âkula-vraṇa-śat-âṅka-śôbhâ-samuday-ôpachita-kântatara-varshmanaḥ

19 **Kausalaka-Mahêndra-Mâh[â*]kântâraka-Vyâghrarâja-Kaurâḷaka**[1] **-Maṇṭarâja-Paishṭapuraka-Mahêndra-giriKauṭṭûraka-Svâmidatt**[2] **-Airaṇḍapallaka-Damana-Kâñchêyaka-Vishṇugôp-Âvamuktaka-**

20 **Nîlarâja-Vaiṅgêyaka-Hastivarmma-Pâlakkak-Ûgrasêna-Daivarâshṭraka-Kubêra-Kausthalapuraka-Dhanañjaya**-prabhṛiti-sarvva-**dakshiṇâpatha**-râja-grahaṇa-môksh-ânugraha-janita-pratâp-ônmiśra-mâhâbhagyasya

21 **Rudradêva-Matila-Nâgadatta-Chandravarmma-Gaṇapatinâga-Nâgasên-Âchyuta-Nandi-Balavarmm**-âdy-anêk-**Âryyâvartta**-râja-prasabh-ôddharaṇ-ôdvṛitta-prabhâva-mahataḥ parichârakîkṛita-sarvv-**âṭavika**-râjasya

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[1] Read *kairaḷaka*, for which the word in the text is obviously a mistake.—The text, as it stands, would give "the country, or city, of Kurâḷa;" but, though *kurâla* occurs in the sense of 'a light bay horse with black legs,' it is not known as the name of a country or a city. Kêraḷa, on the other hand, is so well known as one of the countries in the south of India, that it would be strange if it were omitted in a passage like the present one; and it is easy to see how the engraver, or perhaps the writer from whose draft he engraved, formed *kaurâḷaka*, by mistake for *kairaḷaka*, through a stroke on the right of the top of the *k* in *kai* and of the *ra*.

[2] This is not altogether an easy passage to deal with. In the first instance,—coming immediately after the mention of the city of Pishṭapura, which is the modern Piṭṭâpuram (the 'Pittapooram' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17° 6'; Long. 82° 18'), the chief town of the Piṭṭâpuram Zamîndârî or Estate, twelve miles north by east of 'Cocanada' in the Gôdâvarî District in the Madras Presidency,—the syllables *mahêndragiri* suggest at once a reference to the famous Mahêndra mountain in the Gañjâm District, among the Eastern Ghauts, the 'Mahendrogiri' of maps (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108; Lat. 18° 58' N.; Long. 84° 26' E.), which is mentioned in other early inscriptions; for instance, as Mahêndrâchala, in lines 1 and 3 of the two 'Chicacole' grants of the *Mahârâja* Indravarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 120, 123). And this tempts us to divide the passage thus, *Paishṭapuraka-MahêndragiriKauṭṭûraka-Svâmidatta*, and to translate "Svâmidatta of Pishṭapura and of Koṭṭûra on Mahêndragiri."—Another rendering that might suggest itself is "Svâmidatta of Pishṭapura, Mahêndragiri, and Koṭṭûra;" which, in fact, except in respect of his mistake of Kudura, for Koṭṭûra, was adopted by Dr. Bhau Daji (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. cxcviii.) But this is not admissible, because it would require *mâhêndragirika* in the text, instead of *mahêndragiri*; and, though it is possible to find the final *ka* in the text as it stands, yet this would give us as the next word, instead of Koṭṭûra (Koṭṭûr), which is a Drâviḍian name of frequent occurrence, Oṭṭûr, for which I can find no authority at all, or Hoṭṭûr (if we assume an omission of the initial *h*), which occurs, but not in connection with any place of importance.—If *mahêndragiri* is to be taken as one word, and as denoting the mountain, the translation that I have noted above is the one that must be adopted. And it might be supported by the fact that we have a Koṭṭûr on almost the same range of hills as that to which the Mahêndragiri belongs; *viz.* the 'Kailaskotta and Kylascottah' of the map (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 107; Lat. 19° 14'; Long. 83° 36' E.), which represents Kailâsa-Koṭṭa or Kailâsa-Koṭṭûr, and seems to be a place of importance.—But the objection to this interpretation is, that none of the other kings' names, mentioned in this inscription, are coupled with more than one locality. This leads us to connect Svâmidatta with Koṭṭûra only, and to find the name of another king in connection with Pishṭapura.—The first inclination then might be, to divide the text thus, *Paishṭapuraka-Mahêndragiri-Kauṭṭûraka-Svâmidatta*; and to translate, "Mahêndragiri of Pishṭapura, and Svâmidatta of Koṭṭûra." But, though *giri* or *gîr* is a very common termination of proper names in the present day, my experience is, that it is used only as a religious title, and is affixed only to the names of Gôsâvîs; and even among them it would seem to be confined to one particular division of the Dasanâmî-Gôsâvîs (see H. H. Wilson's Works, Rost's edition, Vol. I. p. 202; Molesworth's Marâṭhî Dictionary, s. v. *gîr;* and Monier Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, s. v. *giri*). I think, therefore, that, in the absence of any other analogous instance, it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suitable termination for a king's name.—I accordingly divide this passage thus, *Paishṭapuraka-Mahêndra-giriKauṭṭûraka-Svâmidatta*; and translate, "Mahêndra of Pishṭapura, and Svâmidatta of Koṭṭûra on the hill." And this Giri-Koṭṭûra, or "Koṭṭûra on the hill," may either be found in the

22 **Samataṭa-Davâka-Kâmarûpa-Nêpâla-Karttṛipur**-âdi-pratyanta-nṛipatibhir **Mmâlav-Ârjunâyana-Yaudhêya-Mâdrak-Âbhîra-Prârjuna-Sanakânîka**[1]**-Kâka-Kharaparik**-âdibhiś=cha sarvvakaradân-âjñâkaraṇa-praṇâmâgamana-

23 paritôshita-prachaṇḍa-śâsanasya anêka-bhrashṭa-râjyôtsanna-râjavaṁśa-pratishṭhâpan-ôdbhûta-nikhila-bh[uva]na-vicha[ra]ṇa-śânta-yaśasaḥ **Daivaputra-Shâhi-Shâhânushâhi-Śaka-Muruṇḍaiḥ Saiṁhaḷak**-âdibhiś=cha

24 sarvva-dvîpa-vâsibhir=âtmanivêdana-kanyôpâyanadâna-garutmadaṅka-svavishayabhukti-śâsana[y]âchan-âdy-upâya-sêvâ-kṛita-bâhu-vîryya-prasara-dharaṇi-bandhasya pri(pṛi)thivyâm=a-pratirathasya

25 sucharita-śat-âlaṅkṛit-ânêka-guṇa-gaṇ-ôtsiktibhiś=charaṇa-tala-pramṛishṭ-ânya-narapati-kîrttêḥ sâddhv-asâdh-ûdaya-pralaya-hêtu-purushasy=â-chintyasya bhakty-avanati-mâtra-grâhya-mṛidu-hṛidayasy=ânukampâvatô=nêka-gô-śata-sahasra-pradâyinaḥ[2]

26 kṛipaṇa-dîn-ânâth-âtura-jan-ôddharaṇa-sa(ma)ntradîksh-âdy-upagata-manasaḥ samiddhasya vigrahavatô lôk-ânugrahasya Dhanada-Varuṇ-Êndr-Ântaka-samasya sva-bhuja-bala-vijit-ânêka-narapati-vibhava-pratyarppaṇâ-nitya-vyâpṛit-âyuktapurushasya

27 niśita-vidagdha-mati-gândharvva-laḷitair=vrîḍita-tridaśapatiguru-Tumburu-Nârad-âdêr=vvidvaj-jan-ôpajîvy-ânêka-kâvya-kkriyâbhiḥ pratishṭhita-kavirâja-śabdasya suchira-stôtavy-ânêk-âdbhut-ôdâra-charitasya

28 lôka-samaya-kkriy-ânuvidhâna-mâtra-mânushasya lôka-dhâmnô dêvasya mahârâja-śrî-**Gupta**[3]-prapautrasya mahârâja-śrî-**Ghaṭôtkacha**-pautrasya mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Chandragupta**-putrasya

29 **Lichchhavi**-dauhitrasya mahâdêvyâṁ **Kumâradêvyâm**=utpha(tpa)nnasya mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Samudraguptasya** sarvva-pṛithivî-vijaya-janit-ôdaya-vyâpta-nikhil-âvanitalâṁ kîrttim=itas=tridaśapati-

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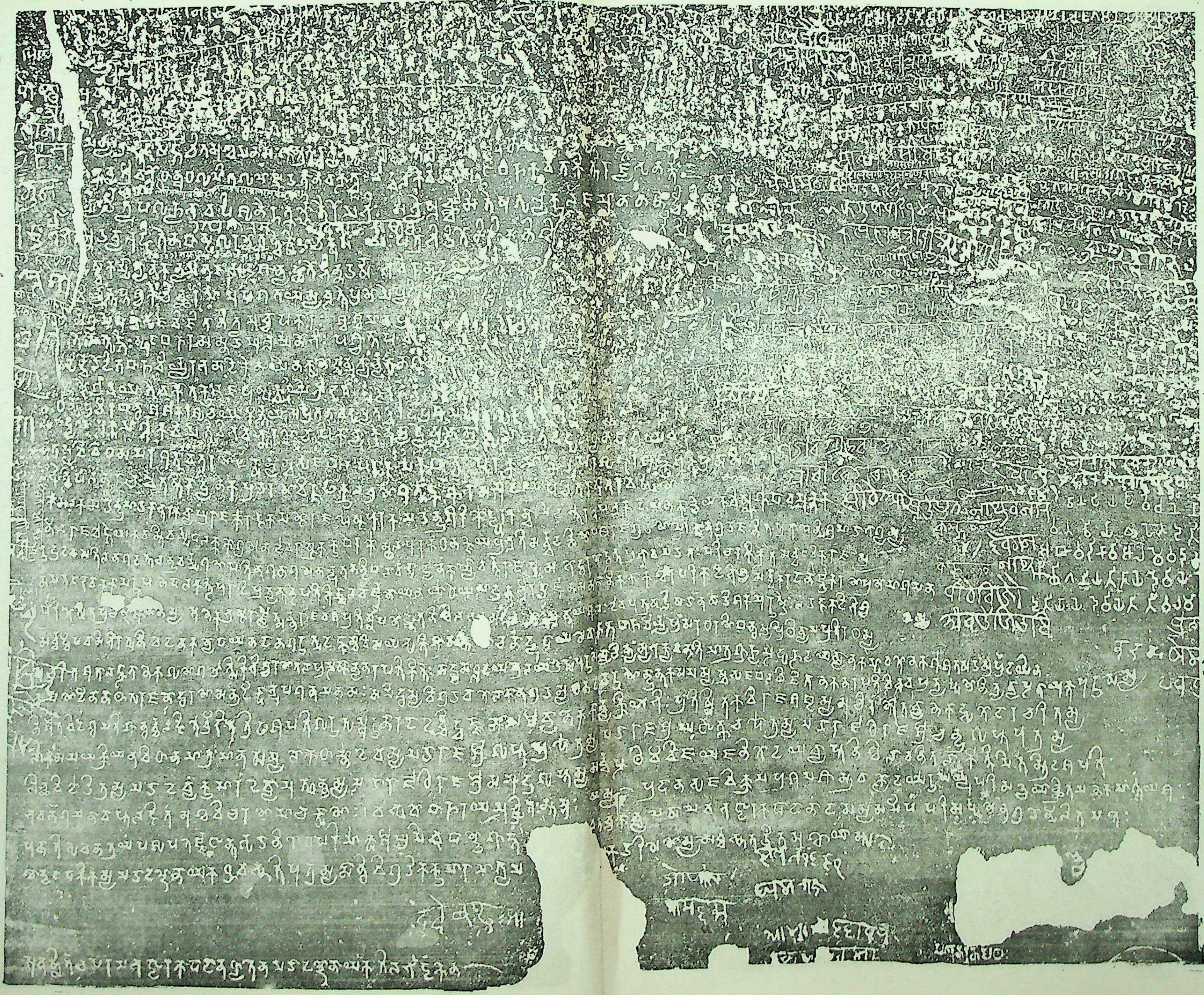
Kailâsa-Koṭṭa, mentioned by me above; or, Koṭṭûr (from Koṭṭapura) being a very common Drâviḍian name, may be looked for in any Koṭṭûr of note, in a mountainous part of Southern India, *e.g.* possibly Koṭṭûr in the 'Coimbatore' District, at the foot of one of the passes in the 'Anaimalai' Hills, (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 61 or 62; Lat. 10° 32′ N.; Long. 77° 2′ E.)

[1] In line 2 of the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB., this name occurs with the short vowel *i* in the fourth syllable.

[2] This *visarga* is imperfect, the engraver having omitted the upper half of it.

[3] Mr. V. A. Smith (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 119, and note) has suggested that this name was not simply Gupta, as it is usually accepted, but Śrîgupta, which form he has used throughout; *i. e.* that, in this instance, *śrî* is an integral part of the name, not the honorific prefix. His grounds for this opinion are (1) that the past participle *gupta*, 'protected,' can hardly stand alone for a proper name, whereas Śrîgupta, 'protected by (the goddess) Śrî or Lakshmî,' would be a complete name, giving a suitable meaning; and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (in India from about A.D. 673 to 693) speaks of a king or *Mahârâja* called Śrîgupta, who preceded his time by about five hundred years (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 571: *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 110), and who has been identified by some with the founder of the Gupta family.—In addition to the instance quoted just above, Śrîgupta occurs as the name of a persecutor of Buddha (Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 151 f.) as the name of a Jain saint (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 252); and as the name of a merchant (Nêpâl inscription, No. 13, line 12; *id.* Vol. IX. p. 176).—But, with regard to the present passage, I have to point out (1) that, as it is now certain that the era used by the Early Guptas commenced A.D. 319-20, the *Mahârâja* Śrîgupta, mentioned by I-tsing and referred by him to about A.D 175, cannot be identified with the founder of the Early Gupta family, who lived in

Allahabad Posthumous Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta



30 bhavana-gaman-âvâpta-laḷita-sukha-vicharaṇâm=âchakshâṇa iva bhuvô bâhur=
ayam=uchchhritaḥ stambhaḥ [|*] yasya |[1] pradâna-bhujavikkrama-
praśama-śâstravâky-ôdayair=uparyupari-sañchay-ôchchhritam=anêka-mârggaṁ
yaśaḥ

31 punâti bhuvana-trayaṁ Paśupatêr=jjaṭ-ântar-guhâ-nirôdha-parimôksha-śîghram=iva
pâṇḍu Gâṅgaṁ p[ayaḥ] [||] Êtach=cha kâvyam=êshâm=êva bhaṭṭâraka-
pâdânâṁ dâsasya samîpa-parisarppaṇ-ânugrah-ônmîlita-matêḥ

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the fourth century A.D. (2) that, in the well-known name of the Buddhist saint Upagupta (e.g. *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 182; Vol. II. pp. 88, 93, 273), we have a precisely similar instance of a past participle, meaning 'hidden, concealed,' standing by itself as a proper name; as also, in its feminine form, Upaguptâ, in line 5 of the Aśîrgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA. (3) that, when *śrî* is an integral part of any proper name of importance, it was customary to emphasise it and prevent the possibility of doubt, by inserting the honorific prefix before it; thus, *mahâdêvyâṁ śrî-Śrîmatyâm=utpannaḥ*, "begotten on the *Mahâdêvî*, the glorious Śrîmatî," in line 2 of the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.; *śrî-Śrîpathâyâṁ puri*, "at the famous city of Śrîpathâ," in verse in line 6 of the Byânâ inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1100 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10); and *śrî-Śrîpathâyâṁ*, "at the famous Śrîpathâ," in prose in the Byânâ inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1503 (*id.* Vol. XV. p. 239). The analogy would require here the reading of *mahârâja-śrî-Śrîgupta-prapautrasya*; which, however, does not once occur in the Early Gupta inscriptions. And (4) the word *gupta* does not appear at all in the name of Ghaṭôtkacha in the next generation; it is only in the case of his son, Chandragupta I., and the successors of the latter, that the word is of necessity only an integral part of a fuller name.—There is, therefore, no objection, but on the contrary every reason, to read the present name as simply Gupta.—The possibility remains, however, of its being an abbreviation of some fuller original name, other than Śrîgupta. And on this point I will produce here a note with which Dr. Bühler has favoured me:—"I "should say the name of the founder of the family was Gupta, not Śrîgupta in the sense of *śriyâ guptaḥ* "(protected by the goddess Śrî). The name Rakshita occurs repeatedly among Brâhmaṇs and Buddhists; "and means the same thing. The origin of such names as Datta, Gupta, Rakshita, &c.," [the two first of these are well-known surnames in Bengal in the present day] "must, I think, be sought for in the habit "of the Hindus of shortening their names by giving only the first part or the second. The former prac-"tice is alluded to by Kâtyâyana, in a Vârttika on Pâṇini, vii. 3, 45, where he teaches that, when the "second part of a compound is left out, the *a* is to remain unchanged before the feminine termination "*â*; thus, the feminine form of Dêvadattaka is Dêvadattikâ; but, if Dêvaka is substituted for "Dêvadattaka, then the feminine is to be Dêvakâ, not Dêvikâ. The second shortening also is com-"mon; thus, we have *nâbhi* for *mṛiganâbhi*, 'musk;' *tâla* for *haritâla*, a kind of tree; *vâlî* for "*khalêvâlî*, 'the post of a threshing-floor;' and Bhâmâ for Satyabhâmâ, a proper name. From "these facts it would seem that Datta, Gupta, &c., are abbreviations of longer names."—The only epigraphical instance that I can quote, of the omission of the first part of a proper name, is the use of Śarman for Dhruvaśarman in line 11 of the Bilsaḍ inscription of Kumâragupta, No. 10 below, Plate v. But instances of the omission of the second part of a name are common enough. Thus, we have the use of Samudra on some of Samudragupta's gold coins, e.g. *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5, and p. 173;—of Chandra and Kumâra, for Chandragupta II. and Kumâragupta, in the same series;—of Vikrama and Mahêndra, for their full titles Vikramâditya and Mahêndrâditya, illustrated partly in the same series, and partly in Kumâragupta's silver coins (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 66);—of Śârdûla and Ananta, for Śârdûlavarman and Anantavarman, in the Barâbar and Nâgârjunî Hill inscriptions, No. 48 below, Plate xxxB. ll. 1, 4, 5, and No 49, Plate xxxiA. ll. 1, 8;—of Kâkustha and Mṛigêśa for Kakusthavarman and Mṛigêśavarman in one of the Halsî grants (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 28, ll. 3, 4);—of Harsha, for Harshavardhana of Kanauj, *e.g.* in the Kauṭhêṁ grant of Vikramâdtya V. (*id.* Vol. XVI. p. 22, l. 26);—of Vikrama, for the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., *e.g.* in one of the Narêgal inscriptions (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 226, l. 24);—and of Padma and Sûrya, for Padmapâla and Sûryapâla, in the Gwâlior inscription of Mahîpâla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 36 ff., ll. 1, 9, 22, 58.)

[1] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

32 Khâdyatapâkikasya mahâdaṇḍanâyaka-Dhruvabhûti-putrasya sândhivigrahika-kumârâmâtya-ma[hâdaṇḍanâya]ka-**Harishêṇasya** sarvva-bhûta-hita-sukhây=âstu I(II)

33 Anushṭhitaṁ cha paramabhaṭṭâraka-pâd-ânudhyâtêna mahâdaṇḍanâyaka-**Tilabhaṭṭakêna** I(II)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 29.)—This lofty column (*is*) as it were an arm of the earth,[1] proclaiming the fame,—which, having pervaded the entire surface of the earth with (*its*) development that was caused by (*his*) conquest of the whole world, (*has departed*) hence (*and now*) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (*his*) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,[2]—of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*,[3] the glorious[4]

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[1] By taking an alternative meaning of *uchchhritaḥ*, we might translate—"This column has been erected, as if it were an arm of the earth," &c. But this would include the assumption that the column had fallen, and was set up again in the time of Chandragupta II.; and in that case *sthâpitaḥ* would have been a better word to use than *uchchhritaḥ*, and the word would have stood better after, instead of before, *stambhaḥ*. It seems best to adopt a translation that does not bind us to either view.—Prinsep considered it to be proved that the column had fallen, and was set up again expressly to display the present inscription. His grounds for this opinion (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 967 f.) are, that there are several names on it which he considered to be in characters of a type intermediate between those of the Aśôka and the Gupta inscriptions, and one of which, at least, it would have been exceedingly inconvenient, if not impossible, to have cut while the column was erect. But this particular name, with several of the others referred to by him, is in characters that are certainly of considerably later date than the Gupta inscription; and none of the names are in characters that are any earlier than the inscription.

[2] *i.e.* on his death.—Compare the expression in line 23 f. of the Kardâ grant of Kakka III. of Śaka-Saṁvat 894,—"and when (his) elder brother, the glorious Kṛishṇarâjadêva, had ascended to the skies, as if from a desire to conquer the realm of Indra" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 265, 268); compare also line 14, verse 30, of the Gwâlior inscription of Mahîpâla of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150 (*id.* Vol. XV. pp. 37, 43),—"Padmapâla, still a youth, through the adversity of fortune, obtained a seat [on the lap] of Saṁkrandana (Indra.)"

[3] *Mahârâjâdhirâja, lit.* 'supreme king of *Mahârâjas*' (see page 15 below, note 4), is one of the titles indicative of supreme paramount sovereignty, and is the only expression that properly and fully answers to our idea of a 'king.' I use it and all other technical titles and terms, without translation, because, if only for the sake of uniformity and convenience of comparison, it is much better to use them in this way, than to attempt to render them into English by expressions which must always vary according to the idiosyncracies of the translators, and which can never suffice to give exact and complete equivalents for the original titles.—The present title, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, in somewhat later times, is almost always coupled with two others, *Paramêśvara*, 'supreme lord,' and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, 'most worshipful one;' *e.g.* in line 50 ff. of the Alînâ grant of Śîlâditya VII., No. 39 below, Plate xxv. And the connection of the three titles was so constant, that a Rîwâ grant (unpublished) of Trailôkyamalla, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1297, considers it unnecessary to give all three titles in full, and contents itself with describing him as *paramabhaṭṭârak-êty-âdi-râjâvalî-tray-ôpêta*, "possessed of the three kingly titles (*lit.* succession) commencing with *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*."—Other titles of paramount sovereignty, occurring in this series, are *Râjâdhirâja* and *Chakravartin*.

[4] *śrî*, 'fortune, majesty, glory,' and *śrîmat*, 'possessed of fortune, majesty, glory,' are words of constant occurrence as honorific prefixes to the names of persons, gods, places, &c. I render them by 'glorious,' in the case of paramount sovereigns and their wives; 'illustrious,' of feudatories and other ordinary persons; 'saintly,' of priests, teachers, &c.; 'holy,' of gods; and 'famous,' of towns, &c.—The usual rule seems to have been, to use *śrî* before a consonant, and *śrîmat* before a vowel; thus *śrîmad-Indrabala-sûnôr . . . . . . śrî-Nannadêvasya tanaya-prâptaḥ . . . . . . śrî-Mahâśiva-Tîvararâjaḥ*, in the Râjim grant of the *Râja* Tîvaradêva, No. 81 below, Plate xlv. l. 16 ff. But instances of deviation from this occur; thus, without *saṁdhi* or the euphonic joining of vowels, *śrî-Âdityasênadêva*, in the Shâhpur image inscription, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA. l. 2 f., and *śrî-Âdityasênadêvas* and *śrî-*

Samudragupta,[1]—

(L. 1.)—[Who] . . . . . by his own kinsmen . . . . ;—whose . . . . ;—

(L. 3.)—[Who] . . . . twanging (*of the bow-string*) . . . . burst open and scattered . . . . dishevelled . . . . ;—

(L. 5.)—Whose happy mind was accustomed to associate with learned people;—who was the supporter of the real truth of the scriptures; . . . . firmly fixed . . . . ; —who, having overwhelmed, with the (*force of the*) commands of the collective merits of (*his*) learned men, those things which obstruct the beauty of excellent poetry, (*still*) enjoys, in the world of the wise, the sovereignty of the fame (*produced*) by much poetry, ... and of clear meaning;—

(L. 7.)—Who, being looked at (*with envy*) by the faces, melancholy (*through the rejection of themselves*), of others of equal birth, while the attendants of the court breathed forth deep sighs (*of happiness*), was bidden by (*his*) father,—who, exclaiming "Verily (*he is*) worthy," embraced (*him*) with the hairs of (*his*) body standing erect (*through pleasure*) (*and thus*) indicative of (*his*) sentiments, and scanned (*him*) with an eye turning

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Ijjâdêvyâm, in the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB., lines 2 f. and 5 f.; and, on the other hand, *paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrîmat-Suvarṇavarshadêva-pṛithvîvallabha-śrîmad-Vallabhanarêndradêvaḥ*, used in respect of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda V in his Sâṅglî grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 251, l. 39 f.); and numerous other instances. —It has been suggested that only *śrî*, not *śrîmat*, is used in the case of paramount sovereigns. But this is not the case. In addition to the passage noted above in connection with Gôvinda V., we have *paramêśvara-śrîmad-Avantivarmaṇâ*, in the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription, l. 15; *śrîmad-Âdityavarma-pṛithvîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvaraḥ*, applied to the Western Chalukya king Âdityavarman in his Karṇûl grant (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 234, l. 12 f.); *paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrîmad-Dhârâvarshadêva*, applied to the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dhruva, in the Waṇi grant of Gôvinda III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 33 f.); *śrîmad-Amôghavarsha-Nṛipatuṅga*, used of king Amôghavarsha I. of the same dynasty, in his Śirûr inscription (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 219, l. 16); *śrîmad-Vikramâditya-śrîmat-Tribhuvanamalladêva*, used of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya V., in his Kauṭhêṁ grant (*id.* Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 73); and many other examples of the same usage.

[1] As regards the termination *gupta*, the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Book iii. Chap. 10, verse 9, says—"(The termination) *śarman* is prescribed for a Brâhmaṇ; *varman* belongs to a Kshatriya; (and) a name characterised by *gupta* or *dâsa* is approved of in the case of (respectively) a Vaiśya and a Śûdra." The commentary in the Bombay edition gives, as examples, Sômaśarman, Indravarman, Chandragupta, and Śivadâsa. (See also F. E. Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. III. p. 99 f.) — So also in the *Mânavadharmaśâstra*, ii. 31 (Burnell's Translation, p. 20), a rule of the same tendency is laid down, though without specifying any particular terminations.—On this authority, it has been suggested that the Early Guptas were not of high rank, being at the best of the Vaiśya caste; and that this is the reason why they felt such pride in their alliance with the Lichchhavis, as shewn by the record of the name of Kumâradêvî and of her family on some of the gold coins of Chandragupta I., and by the epithet, "daughter's son of Lichchhavi (or of a Lichchhavi king)," that is always applied to Samudragupta in the genealogical passages.—No doubt some such rules as those prescribed by the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* and *Mânavadharmaśâstra*, were followed more or less in early times. But, as instances of deviation from them, we have the name of the well-known astronomer Brahmagupta, who it can hardly be doubted was a Brâhmaṇ; and Dâsavarman occurs, as the name of a Brâhmaṇ, in line 36 of the Nerûr grant of Vijayâditya, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 627 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 131; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 20); and doubtless numerous similar instances might be found, if proper indexes were available.

round and round in affection, (*and*) laden with tears (*of joy*), (*and*) perceptive of (*his noble*) nature,—[to govern of a surety] the whole world;[1]—

(L. 9.)—Whose .... some people (*were accustomed to*) taste with affection, displaying exceeding great joy when they beheld (*his*) many actions that resembled nothing of a mortal nature; (*and*) whose protection other people, afflicted by (*his*) prowess, sought, performing obeisance, ...;—

(L. 11.)—[Whose] .... doers of great wrong, always conquered by his arm in battle, ... to-morrow and to-morrow .... pride .... repentance, with minds filled with contentment (*and*) expanding with much clearly displayed pleasure and affection, ... the spring (?);—

(L. 13.)—By whom,—having, unassisted, with the force of the prowess of (*his*) arm that rose up so as to pass all bounds, uprooted **Achyuta** and **Nâgasêna** ....;—(*by whom*), causing him who was born in the family of the **Kôtas** to be captured by (*his*) armies, (*and*) taking his pleasure at (*the city*) that had the name of **Pushpa**, while the sun ...... the banks ......;—

(L. 15.)—(*Of whom it used to be said*),—"The building of the pale of religion; fame as white as the rays of the moon, (*and*) spreading far and wide wisdom that pierced the essential nature of things; ...... calmness ....; the path of the sacred hymns, that is worthy to be studied; and even poetry, which gives free vent to the power of the mind of poets; (*all these are his*); (*in short*) what (*virtue*) is here that does not belong to him, who alone is a worthy subject of contemplation for those who can recognise merit and intellect?;"—

(L. 17.)—Who was skilful in engaging in a hundred battles of various kinds;[2]—whose only ally was the prowess of the strength of his own arm;—who was noted for prowess;[3]—whose most charming body was covered over with all the beauty of the marks of a hundred confused wounds, caused by the blows of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javelins for throwing, iron arrows, *vaitastikas*,[4] and many other (*weapons*);—

(L. 19.)—Whose great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by (*his*) glory produced by the favour shewn in capturing and then liberating **Mahêndra** of

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[1] This verse seems to indicate that Chandragupta I. specially selected Samudragupta, from among several brothers, to conquer the land and to succeed him on the throne.—A clear indication of some such custom of selection is afforded by the epithet *tat-parigrihîta*, "accepted (as his favourite son and chosen successor) by him (Samudragupta)," which is always applied to Chandragupta II. in the genealogical passages; *e.g.* in line 9-10 of his Mathurâ inscription, No. 4 below, Plate iiiA.—And, that occasionally the widow of a deceased king selected his successor, is perhaps indicated by the way in which, in one of the Nêpâl inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. pp. 164, l. 18 ff. and 165, v. 8 ff.), Râjyavatî, the widow of Dharmadêva, is described as bewailing the uselessness of her own life after her husband's death, and as directing her son, Mânadêva, to reign, that she may follow her deceased lord.

[2] With this expression, compare the legend on some of Samudragupta's gold coins,—*Samara-śata-vitata-vijayô jita ...... dêvô jayati*; see, for instance, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5.

[3] With this expression and the preceding, compare the word *parâkramaḥ*, 'prowess,' on the reverse of the coins referred to in the preceding note.

[4] This word is not explained in the dictionaries. It must be a derivative from *vitasti*, 'a long span, measured by the extended thumb and little finger.'

Kôsala, Vyâghrarâja of **Mahâkântâra, Mantarâja** of **Kêrala,**[1] **Mahêndra** of **Pishṭapura,**[2] **Svâmidatta** of **Koṭṭûra** on the hill,[3] **Damana** of **Êraṇḍapalla, Vishṇugôpa** of **Kâñchî, Nîlarâja** of **Avamukta, Hastivarman** of **Veṅgî, Ugrasêna** of **Palakka,**[4] **Kubêra** of **Dêvarâshṭra, Dhanaṁjaya** of **Kusthalapura,** and all the other kings of **the region of the south**;[5]—

(L. 21.)—Who abounded in majesty that had been increased by violently exterminating **Rudradêva, Matila, Nâgadatta, Chandravarman, Gaṇapatinâga, Nâgasêna, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman,** and many other kings of (the land of) **Âryâvarta**;[6]—who made all the kings of **the forest countries**[7] to become (*his*) servants;—

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[1] See page 7 above, note 1.

[2] and [3] See page 7 above, note 2.—As regards the introduction of the mountain Mahêndragiri in this passage, Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 10) accepted it, and identified the mountain with the conical hill close to Mahiyar (the 'Maihar, Meyhar, Meyhere, Myhere, and Myhir,' of maps, &c.; Lat. 24° 16′ N.; Long. 80° 47′ E.), the chief town of the Mahiyar State, a little to the south of Uchaharâ, in the Baghêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. Mahiyar may perhaps be derived from Mahêndragiri; but, under any circumstances, this identification cannot be upheld.

[4] Or perhaps Pâlakka, with the long vowel *â* in the first syllable.

[5] *dakshiṇâpatha, lit.* 'the path or road of the south; the southern road,' was the technical expression for Southern India.—The analogous technical expression for Northern India was *uttarâpatha, lit.* 'the path or road of the north; the northern road.' It does not occur in the present series. But it is of constant use in connection with the great king Harshavardhana of Kanauj, e.g. *samarasaṁsakta-sakalôttarâpathêśvara-śrî-Harshavardhana,* "the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north," in line 8 of the Nerûr grant of the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 622 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 127); and, in line 20 f. of the same grant, it is contrasted with the *dakshiṇâpatha,* which is there mentioned under the synonym of *dakshiṇâśâ,* 'the southern quarter or region.'—A perhaps better known name of Northern India is Âryâvarta, 'the abode of the Âryas, or excellent or noble people,' which occurs in line 21 of the present inscription.—In the *Mânavadharmaśâstra,* ii. 22 (Burnell's Translation, p. 18) Âryâvarta is defined as the land between the Himâlaya and Vindhya mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western sea. But a more precise division between the *uttarâpatha* and the *dakshiṇâpatha* is given by the poet Râjaśêkhara, who, in the *Bâlarâmâyaṇa,* Act 6 (see V. Sh. Apte's *Râjaśêkhara: his Life and Writings,* p. 21), speaks of the river Narmadâ (the 'Nerbudda,'), which rises in, and runs along close to the south of, the Vindhya range, as "the dividing-line of Âryâvarta and the *dakshiṇâpatha.*"

[6] *i.e.* "of northern India;" see the preceding note.

[7] Compare the passage in line 8 f. of the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha, No. 25 below, Pl. xvB., describing his ancestor Hastin as ruling over his hereditary kingdom of Ḍabhâlâ, together with the eighteen forest kingdoms.—I have not been able to trace any definition of the terms *âṭavika-râja,* 'forest-kings' or 'kings of forest countries,' and *aṭavi-râjya,* 'forest-kingdoms;' much less to obtain any enumeration of the eighteen forest-kingdoms referred to in connection with the *Mahârâja* Hastin. But Hastin's territories lay in the direction of Bundêlkhaṇḍ, Baghêlkhaṇḍ, Rîwâ, and other neighbouring parts of the Vindhya range. And I notice that the term *Vindhyâṭavî,* the 'forests of the Vindhya mountains' (which are so often referred to in one of the customary imprecatory verses used in inscriptions), is given by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as seeming to have denoted originally the whole extent of country from near Mathurâ to the Narmadâ. This area corresponds pretty closely with the modern term Central India; and the separate divisions of it would be very suitably represented by the general term 'forest-countries' or 'forest-kingdoms.'—Somewhat similar terms, *vana-râshṭra,* 'forest-countries,' and *vana-râjya,* 'forest-kingdoms,' occur in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ,* xiv. vv. 29, 30. But the countries there spoken of, lay in the north-east division of India, as mapped out by Varâhamihira; and they are, at any rate, not the countries referred to in connection with the *Mahârâja* Hastin.

(L. 22.)—Whose imperious commands were fully gratified by giving all (*kinds of*) taxes and obeying (*his*) orders and coming to perform obeisance, by the frontier-kings[1] of **Samataṭa, Ḍavâka, Kâmarûpa, Nêpâla, Kartṛipura,** and other (*countries*), and by the **Mâlavas, Ârjunâyanas, Yaudhêyas, Mâdrakas, Abhîras, Prârjunas, Sanakânîkas,**[2] **Kâkas, Kharaparikas,** and other (*tribes*);—

(L. 23.)—Whose tranquil fame, pervading the whole world, was generated by establishing (*again*) many royal families, fallen and deprived of sovereignty;—whose binding together of the (*whole*) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (*his*) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (*giving*) Garuḍa-tokens,[3] (*surrendering*) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (*his*) commands, &c., (*rendered*) by the **Daivaputras, Shâhis, Shâhânushâhis, Śakas,** and **Muruṇḍas,** and by the people of **Siṁhaḷa** and all (*other*) dwellers in islands;—who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world;[4]—who, by the overflow of the multitude of (*his*) various virtues adorned by a hundred good actions, rubbed out the fame of other kings with the soles of (*his*) feet;—who, being incomprehensible, was the spirit that was the cause of the production of good and the destruction of evil;—who, being full of compassion, had a tender heart that could be won over simply by devotion and obeisance;—who was the giver of many hundreds of thousands of cows;—

(L. 26.)—Whose mind busied itself with the support and the initiation, &c., of the miserable, the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted;—who was the glorified personification of kindness to mankind;—who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka;[5]—whose officers were always employed in restoring the wealth of the various kings who had been conquered by the strength of his arms;—

(L. 27.)—Who put to shame (Kaśyapa) the preceptor of (Indra) the lord of the gods, and Tumburu and Nârada, and others, by (*his*) sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accomplishments;[1]—who established (*his*) title of 'king of poets' by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people;[2]—whose many wonderful and noble deeds are worthy to be praised for a very long time;—

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[1] *pratyanta-nṛipati.*—This may denote either the kings within the frontiers of Samataṭa and the following countries, *i.e.* the 'neighbouring kings' of those countries, or the kings or chieftains just outside the frontiers of them. Upon the interpretation that is accepted, will depend the question whether Samudragupta's empire included those countries, or whether it only extended up to, and was bounded by, their frontiers.

[2] See page 8 above, note 1.

[3] *garutmad-aṅka.*—Whether the bird be Garuḍa or not, we have here, I consider, a distinct allusion to the 'bird-standard' on some of the coins of Samudragupta and his successors; see, for instance, the coins given by Mr. V. A. Smith in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Plate ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 14, Plate iii. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, Plate iv. Nos. 4, 5, 7; see also *id.* p. 131 f., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. pp. 93, 179. —*garutmat* is explained in dictionaries as meaning 'a bird in general,' as well as denoting 'the bird Garuḍa.' But its most usual and special signification is 'Garuḍa;' as, for instance, in line 7 of the Râjim grant of the *Râja* Tîvaradêva, No. 81 below, Plate xlv.

[4] Three of the habitual expressions of the Early Gupta records, applied always and only to Samudragupta,—*viz.* the present one; "who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka," which we have here in line 26; and "whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans," which occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the Bhitarî pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.,—are applied, curiously enough, to the Chalukya chieftain Vijayarâja of Gujarât, in line 5 f. of his Kaira grant of the year 394 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 248). The only difference is that, in the second epithet, the reading there is *sama-prabhâva*, instead of simply *sama.*—Of the present epithet, the latter part, *apratiratha*, was used on some of Samudragupta's coins; e.g. *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. No. 6.

[5] See the preceding note.

(L. 28.)—Who was a mortal only in celebrating the rites of the observances of mankind, (*but was otherwise*) a god, dwelling on the earth;—who was the son of the son's son[3] of the *Mahârâja*,[4] the illustrious **Gupta**;[5]—who was the son's son of the

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[1] Nârada is regarded as the inventor of the *vîṇâ* or lute; and, with this reference to him and to the musical accomplishments of Samudragupta, we have to compare the coins of the 'lyrist type' (see, for instance, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 7, 8), which represent Samudragupta playing the lute.

[2] Compare lines 6 and 16 of this inscription.—The title *kavirâja*, 'king of poets,' answering somewhat to our 'poet laureate,' is still in use in Native States.

[3] The English terms 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' are applicable to female as well as male descent, and are therefore not suitable for use in translations from the Sanskṛit. The Hindus were almost always most careful about using properly discriminating terms, *e.g. pautra* for a grandson through a son, and *dauhitra* for a grandson through a daughter; the status of the two lines of descent differed even more than in European countries; and, in translating, it is necessary to preserve the distinction accurately.—I will quote an instance in proof. In translating line 12 f. of No. 15 of his Nêpâl inscriptions, Dr. Bhâgwanlal Indraji (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 181) spoke of "Vatsadêvî . . . . "the daughter of illustrious Bhôgavarman . . . . and the grand-daughter of great "Âdityasêna, the illustrious lord of Magadha." From this, Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 163) naturally enough treated Bhôgavarman, who belonged really to the Maukhari family, as a son, instead of a son-in-law, of Âdityasêna. This mistake could not have occurred, if *dauhitrî* had been properly rendered by 'daughter's daughter,' instead of vaguely 'grand-daughter.'—The words that are fairly translatable by 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' are *naptṛi* and *pranaptṛi*. They both occur in the grants of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Saṁkshôbha, Nos. 21 to 23 and 25 below; and *naptṛi* occurs in line 5 of the Bhumarâ pillar inscription, No. 24 below, Pl. xvA. But the use of them is rare.

[4] *Mahârâja, lit.* 'great king,' appears to have been, in somewhat earlier times, one of the titles of paramount sovereignty. Thus, it is used, by itself, by Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudêva, who, there is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 9, 39, and 83 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 31, Pl. xiii. No. 4; p. 32, Pl. xiv. No. 9; and p. 34, Pl. xv. No. 16); and, in conjunction with the higher title of *Râjâtirâja*, 'superior king of kings,' by the same three kings in their inscriptions of the years 11, 47, and 87 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 326; *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 33, Pl. xiv. No. 12, and p. 35, Pl. xv. No. 18). So also, in conjunction sometimes with the same word and sometimes with *Râjarâja*, 'king of kings,' the two together representing the Greek *basileus basileon*, it was used, in Prâkṛit, on the bilingual coins of earlier date; *e.g.* in conjunction with *Râjâtirâja*, on the coins of Hemokadphises (Gardner and Poole's *Catalogue* of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, p. 124 ff.), and, in conjunction with *Râjarâja*, on the coins of Azes (*id.* p. 73 ff.) And, before then, it was used by itself, to represent the Greek *basileus*, at a time when apparently the fuller title of *basileus basileon* had not been introduced; *e.g.* on the coins of Hermaeus (*id.* p. 62 ff.)—But, in the Early Gupta and subsequent periods, *Mahârâja* was habitually used simply as a technical official title, indicative no doubt of considerable rank and power, but applied only to feudatories, not to paramount sovereigns.—From the way in which the two titles are applied uniformly to Samudrasêna and his ancestors in the Nirmaṇḍ grant, No. 80 below, Plate xliv., the title *Mahâsâmanta, lit.* 'great chief of a district,' appears to have been exactly co-ordinate with that of *Mahârâja*.—A third title, *Mahâsênâpati, lit.* 'great lord of the army,' seems to have denoted equal rank with these two; since it is coupled with *Mahârâja* in the fragmentary Bijayagaḍh inscription of the Yaudhêyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxviB., and also in the Walâ clay seal of Pushyêṇa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 274 f.)—And three other offices, *viz.* those o *Mahâpratîhâra*, *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka*, and *Mahâkârtâkṛitika*, would seem to have been sometimes held by *Mahârâjas* and *Mahâsâmantas*; since we find all five titles applied to Dhruvasêna I. of Valabhî in line 13 f. of the Walâ grant of Gupta-Saṁvat 216 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 105).

[5] As regards this name, see page 8 above, note 3.

Mahârâja, the illustrious **Ghaṭôtkacha**;—who was the son of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**, (*and*) the daughter's son of **Lichchhavi**,[1] begotten on the *Mahâdêvî*[2] **Kumâradêvî**;—

(L. 30.)—(*And*) whose fame,—ever heaped up higher and higher by the development of (*his*) liberality and prowess of arm and composure and (*study of*) the precepts of the scriptures,—travelling by many paths, purifies the three worlds, as if it were the pale yellow water of (the river) Gaṅgâ, flowing quickly on being liberated from confinement in the thickets of the matted hair of (the god) Paśupati.[3]

(L. 31.)—And this poetical composition,—(*the work*) of the Khâdyaṭapâkika,[4] the son of the *Mahâdaṇḍanâyzka*[5] Dhruvabhûti, the *Sâṁdhivigrahika*[6] and *Kumârâmâtya*,[7] the *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka* **Harishêṇa**, who is the slave of these same feet of the

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[1] Or "of a Lichchhavi (king)."—The present is the more usual form of the name. But the variant Lichchhivi, with the vowel *i* instead of *a* in the second syllable, occurs in line 3 of the Bhitarî pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.; in line 5 of the spurious Gayâ grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; and in the *Mânavadharmaśâstra*, x. 22 (Burnell's Translation, p. 308), where a Lichchhivi, with others, is defined as the offspring of a degraded member of the Kshatriya caste.

[2] *Mahâdêvî*, *lit.* 'great goddess,' appears to have been always a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns; though, in somewhat later times than that of the present inscription, it was also sometimes applied to the wives of *Mahârâjas*, *e.g.* throughout the Kârîtalâî grant of Jayanâtha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.—As applied to the wives of paramount sovereigns, we have it again in the present volume, in conjunction with *Paramabhaṭṭârikâ* and *Râjñî*, in the Mandâr Hill inscriptions of Âdityasêna, Nos. 44 and 45 below, and throughout the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB. In other series it occurs, for instance, as part of the name of Lôkamahâdêvî, the queen-consort of the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya II., in some of his Paṭṭadakal inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164 ff.); and as the title of Gâmuṇḍabbe, the wife of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III., in line 5 of the grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 726 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 127).

[3] When, under the circumstances referred to in the note on line 3 f. of the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii., the river Ganges was about to descend from heaven to earth,—in order to break the force of its fall, the god Śiva (Paśupati) received it in the matted hair coiled above his forehead and projecting like a horn; and its waters wandered there for a thousand years, before they eventually reached the earth.

[4] It is doubtful whether this is a tribal or family name, or an official title. The etymology of it is not apparent.

[5] *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka*, *lit.* 'great leader of the forces,' is a technical military title.—The officer who held this rank was the superior of the *Daṇḍanâyakas*, or 'leaders of the forces.' This latter title occurs, for instance (together with that of *Piriyadaṇḍanâyaka*, which is the Old-Kanarese translation of the Sanskrit *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka*), in line 17 ff. of the Baḷagâṁve inscription of Saṅkamadêva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 46.)—We constantly meet with *Daṇḍanâtha*, *Daṇḍâdhinâtha*, *Daṇḍâdhipa*, *Daṇḍâdhipati*, *Daṇḍêśa*, and *Daṇḍêśvara*, as synonyms of *Daṇḍanâyaka*.—Prinsep translated *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka* in the present inscription by 'administrator of punishments (magistrate)' and 'criminal magistrate;' and this rendering has sometimes been adopted by other translators. As *daṇḍa* means 'fine' and 'rod (of chastisement),' as well as 'army, forces,' the titles in which it occurs are capable of being explained as either judicial or military. But, that they are employed in the inscriptions as military titles, is shewn (1) by the way in which the words *Chamûnâtha*, *Chamûpa*, *Chamûpati*, &c., in which *chamû* means only 'army,' are occasionally used as synonyms for *Daṇḍanâyaka*, &c., *e.g.* in line 33 ff. of the Kargudari inscription of Vikramâditya VI. and Tailapa II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252), where the *Daṇḍâdhinâtha* and *Daṇḍâdhipa* Îśvarayya is also called *Chamûpa*; and (2) by the definition of the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kâvaṇayya as *samasta-sên-âgrêsara*, or 'leader of the whole army,' in line 19 of the Baḷagâṁve inscription referred to above.

[6] *Sâṁdhivigrahika*, *lit.* 'an officer for peace and war,' is a technical official or military title. Other synonymous titles were *Saṁdhivigrahâdhikṛita* (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 70, line 17 f.); *Saṁdhivigrahâdhikaraṇâdhikṛita* (e.g. *id.* Vol. IV. p. 175, line 18); and *Saṁdhivigrahin* (e.g. *id.* Vol. VIII. p. 20, where it is coupled with *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka*).—The next grade above this was that of the *Mahâsâṁdhivigrahika*, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 29 f. of the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja* Hastin of the year 163, No. 22 below, Plate xiii.

[7] *Kumârâmâtya*, *lit.* 'counsellor of the prince,' is another technical official title.—The next grade above it was that of the *Mahâkumârâmâtya*, who is mentioned, for instance, in line 33 of the Bhâgalpur grant of Nârâyaṇapâla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 306.)

Bhaṭṭâraka,[1] (*and*) whose mind is expanded by the favour of constantly walking about in (*his*) presence,—let it be for the welfare and happiness of all existing beings!

(L. 33.)—And the accomplishment of the matter has been effected by the *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka* **Tilabhaṭṭaka,** who meditates on the feet[2] of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*.[3]

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[1] It is somewhat doubtful whether this title here denotes Samudragupta, or his successor; but on the whole, *êshâm,* 'these,' being used, not *têshâm,* 'those,' the passage seems to have a strictly present sense, and to refer to Chandragupta II.; contrast *tasya*, 'of him, of that one,' which is used to denote Samudragupta in line 17 above, but which I have had, for convenience, to render in the translation by the relative pronoun.—*Bhaṭṭâraka*, *lit.* 'one who is entitled to reverence or homage,' is another technical kingly title. In somewhat later times, it seems to have belonged properly to feudatory *Mahârâjas*; thus, it is coupled with the name of the *Mahârâja* Śivadêva I. in two of the Nêpâl inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168, No. 5, line 2, and Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 2), and with the name of the *Mahârâja* Dhruvadêva in the same series (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 173, No. 10, line 4, where the syllables *mahâ*, at the end of the line, are omitted in the published text). So, also, we find the feminine form, *Bhaṭṭârikâ*, used as the termination of the names of wives of *Mahârâjas*; *e.g.* in line 3 ff. of the Aśîrgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA., and in line 4 of the Nirmaṇḍ grant of the *Mahârâja* and *Mahâsâmanta* Samudrasêna, No. 80 below, Plate xliv.—As applied to paramount sovereigns, the fuller and more usual title is *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, as in line 33 of this inscription (see also page 10 above, note 3). But other instances occur in which the shorter title is used; *e.g.* in line 6 of No. 9 of the Nêpâl inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 172), Aṁśuvarman has the titles of *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*; in line 17 ff. of the Wokkalêri grant of Kîrttivarman II. (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 26 f.), the Western Chalukya kings Vikramâditya I. and his successors, down to Kîrttivarman II., all have the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭâraka*. And we have the same title in Old-Kanarese inscriptions, in the abbreviated, or perhaps original, forms of *Bhaṭâra* and *Bhaṭṭâra*; *e.g.* in line 2 f. of the Mahâkûṭa inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya (*id.* Vol. X. p. 103), in which he has the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Bhaṭâra*; and in line 2 of the Paṭṭadakal inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dhruva (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 124), in which he has the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭâra*.—In the sense of 'reverend,' *bhaṭṭâraka* was also a priestly title; *e.g.* it is applied to the Jain priest Kumudachandra, in line 2 of the Nêsargi inscription (*id.* Vol. X. p. 189, note 16).—And, in the sense of 'worthy of worship; sacred,' it was also applied to gods; *e.g.* to Paśupati (Śiva), in line 1 of No. 6 of the Nêpâl inscriptions (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 169); to the Sun, in line 15 of the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja* Śarvanâtha, No. 28 below, Plate xviii.; and to Varuṇavâsin (the Sun), in line 13 of the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.

[2] *pâd-ânudhyâta*.—This is a customary technical term, used of the relations between a paramount sovereign and his feudatory chieftains, officials, &c.; *e.g.* in the Udayagiri cave inscription No. 3 below, Plate iiB., the *Mahârâja*, who makes the gift, is described as meditating on the feet of Chandragupta II.—It is also applied to the relations between parents and their children; *e.g.* in line 18 of the Râjim grant, No. 81 below, Plate xlv., the *Râja* Tîvaradêva is described as meditating on the feet of his mother and father. It is also used in connection with kingly successions, whether the natural relationship is that of fathers and sons, or of elder and younger brothers; *e.g.* throughout the Kârîtalâî grant of the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.; and in lines *o* and 8 of the grant of the *Mahârâja* Vinâyakapâla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. pp. 140, 141), who is described as meditating on the feet of his father, Mahêndrapâla, and of his elder brother, Bhôja II. And it is also used in respect of the worship of gods; *e.g.* in line 3 of the grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 249), the Chalukyas are described as meditating on the feet of the god Svâmi-Mahâsêna.—In one solitary instance, line 33 f. of the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 930 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 218), *anudhyâta* occurs without *pâda* preceding it, and the Śilâhâra chieftain Raṭṭarâja is described as *śrî-Satyâśrayadêv-ânudhyâta*, "meditating on the glorious (king) Satyâśraya." But the omission of *pâda* here is probably due only to carelessness on the part of the drafter of the record.

[3] *i.e.* Chandragupta II.—*Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *lit.* 'one who is supremely entitled to reverence or homage,' is one of the technical titles indicative of supreme sovereignty (see page 10 above, note 3).—I have found one instance in which it is also used as a priestly title, in line 43 of an inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1172 at Mamdâpur in the Beḷgaum District (*Indian Inscriptions*, No. 1), where it is applied to a Śaiva priest named Vimalaśiva or Vimalaśambhu.—The feminine form, *Paramabhaṭṭârikâ*, was one of the titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns; *e.g.* in the Mandâr Hill inscriptions of Âdityasêna, Nos. 44 and 45 below.

No. 2; PLATE II A.

ERAN STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously edited, was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Alexander Cunningham, R.E., C.S.I., C.I.E., then Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Reports of the *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. X. p. 89.

Êraṇ,[1] the ancient **Airikiṇa,**[2] is a village on the left bank of the Bînâ, eleven miles to the west by north from Khurâî,[3] the chief town of the Khurâî Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Sâgar[4] District in the Central Provinces. The inscription is on a red-sandstone squared block, that was found a short distance to the west of the well-known ruined temple of the Boar,[5] at which there is the inscription of Tôramâṇa, No. 36 below. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The **writing**, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 9½″ broad by 3′ 1″ high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; but it does not give a very clear lithograph, in consequence of the whole surface of the stone being full of holes more or less large. It is only a fragment; six entire lines, as shewn by the numbering of the verses, have been broken away and lost at the top of the stone, and an indefinite number at the bottom; and also an entire *pâda* of each successive verse, has been broken away and lost at the commencement of lines 25 ff. In addition to this, from one to three letters have been destroyed at the commencement of each extant line, as far as line 24, by whetting tools on the edge of the stone. As far as line 24, each line contains one *pâda* of a verse; but the following lines contained originally two *pâdas* each; this shews that the inscription was of an irregular shape, with probably some sculptures on the proper right side of the stone above the first halves of lines 24 ff.—The average **size** of the letters is about ½″. As is indicated especially by the form of *m*, the **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; and I should be inclined to name them a variety, with southern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of the period. The particular type used in this inscription is further represented in the present volume by the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chaṅdragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB.; the Âraṅg plates of Mahâ-Jayarâja, No.

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[1] The 'Airan, Ehrin, Eran, and Erun,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 52. Lat. 24° 5′ N.; Long. 78° 15′ E.—The name is now written and pronounced both Êraṇ and Êran; but, as is shewn by the ancient name, Airikiṇa, the first form, with the lingual *ṇ*, is the correct one.—The name is not unique; for the maps shew another 'Eran' seven miles almost due west of Bhêlsâ, and another thirteen miles to the north-east of Bhêlsâ.

[2] So far as the passage in line 25 of the present inscription goes, we might take this name as either Airikiṇa or Êrikiṇa, in consequence of the euphonic absorption of the final *a* of *vishaya*. But the real form of the name is shewn by line 7 of the Boar inscription of Tôramâṇa, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiiA., where we have *vishayê=sminn=Airikiṇê*, without any *saṁdhi* or joining of vowels.—The autonomous copper coins of the Aśôka period, found at Êraṇ, give us an earlier Pâli or Prâkṛit form of the name, which is either Erakaña or Erakaṇa; but the last syllable is not very distinct in the specimens available for examination (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XIV. p. 149, and Plate xxxi. Nos. 17 and 18.)

[3] The 'Khorye, Khurai, Korai, Kurai, and Kurâi,' of maps, &c.

[4] The 'Sâgar and Saugor' of maps, &c.

[5] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. Plates xxxA. and xxviA.

40, Plate xxvi.; the Râypur plates of Mahâ-Sudêvarâja, No 41, Plate xxvii.; the Vâkâṭaka inscriptions, Nos. 53 to 56, Plates xxxiii. xxxiv. and xxxv.; and the Râjim plates of Tîvara dêva, No. 81, Plate xlv. The chief characteristic of it is the peculiar 'box-headed' tops of the letters, formed by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and leaving a block of stone or copper in the centre of them. We have a variation of this characteristic, represented in this volume by the Majhgawâṁ plates of the *Mahârâja* Hastin of the year 191, No. 23, Plate xiv., in which the tops of the letters, instead of being 'box-headed' or square, are 'nail-headed' or triangular, with the apex of the triangle downwards.[1] And the present inscription contains a mixture of both types; the 'nail-headed' tops can be seen in, for instance, *pṛithu-râghav-âdyâḥ*, line 8, and *samudraguptaḥ*, line 10; and the 'box-headed' tops in, for instance, *bahu-putra-pautra*, line 19, and *samara-karmma parâkkram-êddhaṁ*, line 21. Owing to the nature of the substance worked on, in the case of inscriptions on stone, except those on a large scale, these centre blocks would obviously be very liable to injury; in the actual process of engraving, as well as from the wear and tear of time. The result is that, though these two characteristics of this alphabet are usually very well preserved and are very recognisable in the copper-plates, in the stone inscriptions they are preserved, so as to be clearly recognised in this series of Plates, only in the large-scale Nachnê-kî-talâî inscriptions of the *Mahârâja* Pṛithivishêṇa, Nos. 53 and 54, Plate xxxiiiA. and B. In the present inscription I cannot find a single instance in which there is enough left of the triangular or the square centres of the tops of the letters, to shew distinctly in the lithograph. It is, in fact, quite possible that, in inscriptions of this scale on stone, the engraver was not very particular about leaving the centre-blocks at all; an indifference about this is certainly observable even in the Chammak plates of the *Mahârâja* Pravarasêṇa II., No. 55, Plate xxxiv., through nearly the whole of which the tops of the letters were scooped out hollow, without any centre-blocks at all. The characters include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *h*, in *paribriṅhaṇa*, line 26; and (2) the doubling of *k* and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkrama*, line 1, and *parâkkrama*, lines 17 and 21; and in *ddhrutam*, line 12.

The **inscription** is one of the **Early Gupta** king **Samudragupta,** whose name is recorded in line 10. From the occurrence of the word *babhûva* in line 9, the first part of the inscription probably mentioned some of his ancestors. But, that the inscription did not extend to the time of any of his successors, is shewn by the fact that none of their names can be fitted into any of the places where letters are illegible in lines 11 to 24; consequently, the prowess, &c., described in these lines are those of **Samudragupta;** and this description is immediately followed by the mention of the erection, at the city of **Airikiṇa,** *i.e.* **Êraṇ,** of something or other of which the stone was either a portion or the separate record. The lacunæ here leave us without any clue as to what was erected, and in connection with what form of religion. But, judging from its shape and appearance, the stone is part of a temple. And General Cunningham has suggested that, if it was attached to any of the existing ruins, it belonged most probably to the temple with a colossal figure of Vishṇu,[1] immediately on the north of the temple of the Boar. The date of the inscription, if any was recorded, is broken away and lost.

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[1] Mr. C. Bendall has obtained two specimens of triangular-headed characters, one of them in Nêpâl, in which, differing from the present forms, the apex of the triangle is placed uppermost; see his *Journey in Nêpâl*, p. 54 f. He appears to have named them 'point-headed' or 'arrow-headed' characters.—Quite recently, Mr. J. Robinson, C.E., of Gayâ, has sent me, for examination, another very interesting specimen of a variety of the same characters in an inscription on the bottom plate of a brass image of Buddha.

TEXT.[2]

(*Lines 1 to 6, containing the whole of the first verse and the first half of the second, are entirely broken away and lost.*)

7 [——◡[3] —◡◡ ◡—◡] suvarṇṇa-dânê
8 [——]ritâ nṛipatayaḥ Pṛithu-Râghav-âdyâḥ [‖*] 2
9 [——] babhûva Dhanad-Ântaka-tushṭi-kôpa-tulyaḥ[4]
10 [◡—◡]ma-nayêna **Samudraguptaḥ** [|*]
11 [——]pya pârtthiva-gaṇas=sakalaḥ pṛithivyâm
12 [——]sta(? sva)-râjya-vibhava-ddhrutam=âsthitô=bhût [‖*] 3
13 [——]na bhakti-naya-vikkrama-tôshitêna
14 [yô] râja-śabda-vibhavair=abhishêchan-âdyaiḥ [|*]
15 [——]nitaḥ parama-tushṭi-puraskṛitêna
16 [——◡]vô nṛipatir=aprativâryya-vîryyaḥ [‖*] 4
17 [——]sya paurusha-parâkkrama-datta-śulkâ
18 [hasty-a]śva-ratna-dhana-dhânya-samṛiddhi-yuktâ [|*]
19 [——]ṅ=gṛihêshu muditâ bahu-putra-pautra-
20 [sa]ṅkrâmiṇî kula-vadhuḥ vratinî nivishṭâ [‖*] 5
21 [Yas]y=ôrjjitam samara-karmma parâkkram-êddhaṁ
22 [——] yaśaḥ su-vipulam=paribambhramîti [|*]
23 [——]ṇi yasya ripavaś=cha raṇ-ôrjjitâni[5]
24 [sva]pn-ântarêshv=api vichintya paritrasanti [‖*] 6
25 [——◡—◡◡◡—◡◡—◡——] [—]pta(?)ḥ sva-bhôga-nagar-**Airikiṇa**-pradêśê [|*]
26 [——◡—◡◡◡—◡◡—◡——] [saṁ]sthâpitas=sva-yaśasaḥ paribriṅhan(ṇ)-ârttham [‖*] 7
27 [——◡—◡◡◡—◡◡—◡——] [——◡]vô nṛipatir=âha yadâ [◡——] [|*]

(*The rest of the inscription is entirely broken away and lost.*)

TRANSLATION.

(*Lines 1 to 6, containing the whole of the first verse and the first half of the second, are entirely broken away and lost.*)

(Line 7.)— .... in giving gold .... [by whom] Pṛithu and Râghava and other kings [were outshone.]

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[1] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 89, and Plates xxvB. and xxviB.

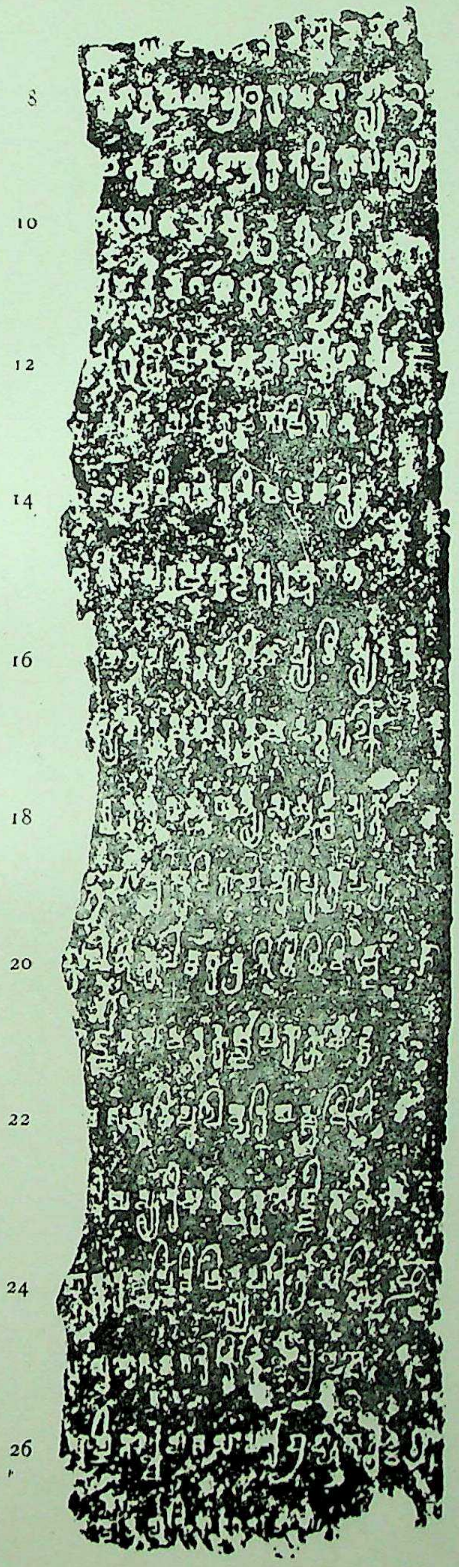
[2] From the original stone.

[3] Metre, Vasantatilaka, throughout.

[4] With this exception, the lines of this inscription, as far as line 24, contain exactly a *pâda* of each verse. Lines 25 ff. contained exactly two *pâdas* of each verse.

[5] Or perhaps *charaṇ-ârjjitâni.*

A.—Eran Inscription of Samudragupta.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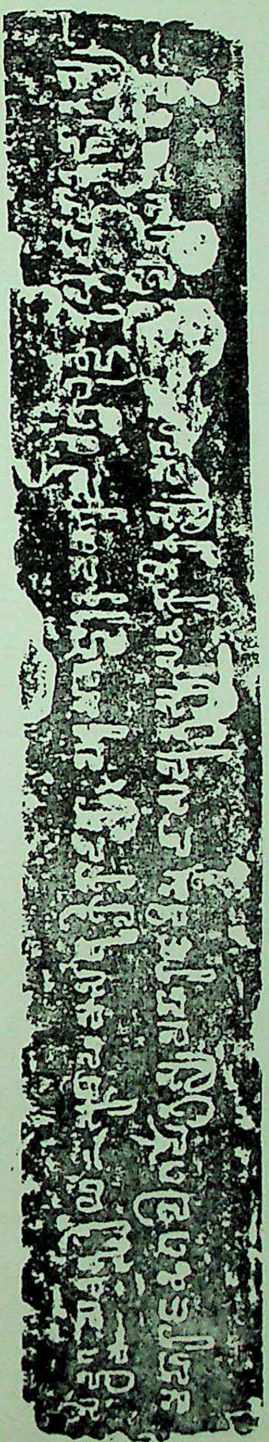
B.—Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II.—The Year 82.



SCALE .33

(L. 9.)— .... there was **Samudragupta,** equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Antaka in (*respectively*) pleasure and anger;[1] .... by policy; (*and*) [by whom] the whole tribe of kings upon the earth was [overthrown] and reduced to the loss of the wealth of their sovereignty;—

(L. 13)—[Who], by .... satisfied by devotion and policy and valour,—by the glories, consisting of the consecration by besprinkling, &c., that belong to the title of 'king,'—(*and*) by .... combined with supreme satisfaction,— .... (*was*) a king whose vigour could not be resisted;—

(L. 17.)—[By whom] there was married a virtuous and faithful wife,[2] whose dower was provided by (*his*) manliness and prowess; who was possessed of an abundance of [elephants] and horses and money and grain; who delighted in the houses of .....; (*and*) who went about in the company of many sons and sons' sons;—

(L. 21.)—Whose deeds in battle (*are*) kindled with prowess; (*whose*) ...... very mighty fame is always circling round about; and whose enemies are terrified, when they think, even in the intervals of dreaming, of (*his*) .... that are vigorous in war;—

(L. 25.)— .... in a place in **Airikiṇa,**[3] the city of his own enjoyment .... has been set up, for the sake of augmenting his own fame

(L. 27.)— .... when the king said ....

(*The rest of the inscription is entirely broken away and lost.*)

No. 3; PLATE II B.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 82.

THIS inscription appears to have been first brought to notice in 1854 by General[4] Cunningham, in his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 150 f., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxi. No. 200).—In 1858, in his edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 246 f. note 4, Mr. Thomas published his own reading of the text, accompanied by a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson.—And, finally, in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 50, General Cunningham published his revised reading of the text, and a revised translation of it, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (*id.* Plate xix.)

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[1] Compare the customary expression, "equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka," in line 26 of No. 1 above, page 8. See also page 14 above, note 4.

[2] Samudragupta's wife was Dattadêvî; but the metre prevents her having been mentioned by name in this verse.

[3] See page 18 above, note 2.

[4] The lacunæ in this verse render it impossible to say whether here, and below, *sva*, 'his own, refers to Samudragupta, or to some feudatory of his, who may have been mentioned here.

Udayagiri[1] is a well-known hill, with a small village of the same name on the eastern side of it, about two miles to the north-west of Bhêlsâ,[2] the chief town of the Bhêlsâ Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Îsâgaḍh[3] District in the dominions of Scindia (properly Śindê) in Central India. On the eastern side of the hill, a little to the south of the village, and almost on the level of the ground, there is a cave-temple, which, from its containing this inscription, General Cunningham has named "the Chandragupta Cave."[4] The inscription is on the upper part of a smoothed and countersunk panel, about 2′ $4\frac{1}{2}$″ broad by 1′ 6″ high, over two figures,—one of the four-armed god Vishṇu, attended by his two wives; and one of a twelve-armed goddess, who must be some form of Lakshmî, the consort of Vishṇu, rather than, as suggested by General Cunningham, Mahishâsurî, *i.e.* Durgâ, the consort of Śiva,—which are sculptured on the face of the rock, outside the cave and a few feet to the north of the entrance to it.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 2′ $3\frac{1}{2}$″ broad by $4\frac{3}{4}$″ high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; the surface of the rock has peeled off in some places; but no letters are entirely destroyed, except the *g* of *chandragupta* in line 1, and, in line 2, the first *akshara* of the name of the *Mahârâja* whose gift is recorded.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{9}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety, peculiar to Central India, which I have commented on at page 18 f. above; but in this inscription, again, there are no instances in which enough remains of the square centre of the tops of the letters to shew distinctly in the lithograph. In *âshâḍha*, line 1, they include an adaptation from the northern alphabets; *viz.* the separate sign for the lingual *ḍh*, which, in the early southern alphabets, was represented, together with its unaspirated form *ḍ*, by the same character as the dental *d*. They also include, in line 1, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 2 and 80.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point that calls for notice, is the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, line 1.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta** king **Chandragupta II.** It is dated, partly in numerical symbols and partly in words, in the year[5] eighty-two (A.D. 401-2), and on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha (June-July). The cave appears to be a Vaishṇava cave; and this must, therefore, be a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the gift or dedi-

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[1] The 'Udaygiri and Udegiri' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 32′ N.; Long. 77° 50′ E.

[2] The 'Bhilsa and Bhelsa' of maps, &c.

[3] The 'Isagarh' of maps.

[4] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 49 ff. and Plates xvi. and xvii.

[5] Whether "current" or "expired," is not specifically stated. But the locative case is used; and, there being no word signifying "expired" in apposition with it, the natural sense of it is "*in* the year eighty-two," *i. e.* "while the year eighty-two is current."—It is often asserted that the ancient Hindus always expressed their dates in expired years. And, according to this, we should understand *atîtê*, 'having gone by, having passed by,' or any similar word, in apposition with *saṁvatsarê* in the present passage, and translate accordingly.—No doubt, in making calculations, the Hindus worked, as Europeans must work, with the number of expired years as a basis. But this is quite a different question from that of their method of expressing the dates; as, also, is the question whether they did not sometimes by mistake quote years as current which were really expired, and the reverse, and even occasionally quote, as current, or even as expired, years that were still to come. And, as a very clear and pointed instance of the record of a date in current years, we have the Gwâlior Sâsbahû temple inscription of Mahîpâla, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150, which gives (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 41; vv. 107, 108; l. 40) first, in words, the number of years expired, and then, partially

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in words and fully in figures, the number of the current year,—*Êkádaśasv=atîtêshu saṁvatsara-śatêshu cha* I *êk-ôna-pañcháśati cha gatêshv=abdêshu Vikramát* II *Pañcháśê ch=Âśvinê másê krishṇa-pakshê nṛip-ájñayá* I *rachitá Maṇikaṇṭhêna praśastir=iyam=ujjvalá* II *Aṅkatô=pi* 1150 II *Âśvina-bahula-pañchamyám*,—"and when eleven centuries of years had passed by, and (in addition) fifty years, less by one, had gone, from (the time of) Vikrama; and in the fiftieth (year); in the month Âśvina; in the dark fortnight; by order of the king, this brilliant eulogy was composed by Maṇikaṇṭha; or, in figures, (in the year) 1150, on the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight of Âśvina."—Excluding special and capricious instances, the inscriptions disclose the following general and systematic constructions in the expression of dates.—(1) The use of the nominative singular or plural, unaccompanied by any verb or participle. Instances of this are somewhat rare. But I can quote (*a*) the Mathurâ image inscription (No. 70 below, Pl. xlD. l. 2), *saṁvatsaraḥ 200 30*; (*b*) the Goa grant of Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365, l. 17 ff.), *pravardhamána-vijaya-rájya-saṁvatsaraṁ viṁśatitamaṁ Śaka-kálaḥ=pañcha varsha-śatáni dvátriṁśáni*; (*c*) the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant of the *Mahárája* Mahêndrapâla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 113, l. 4), *samvatsrá* (i.e. *samvatsaráḥ*) *100 50 5 Mágha śu di 9*; (*d*) the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahárája* Vinâyakapâla (*id.* Vol. XV. p. 141, l. 17), *sanvatsró* (i.e *samvatsaró*, for either *samvatsaraḥ* or *samvatsaráḥ*) *100 80 8 Phálguna ba di 9*; and (*e*) the second date in the 'Deogarh' inscription of Bhôjadêva of Gwâlior, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 919 and Śaka-Saṁvat 784 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 101, and Pl. xxxiii. No. 2, l. 10), *Śaka-kál-âbda-sapta-śatáni chatur-aśîty-adhikáni 784*. And, for early times, we may compare, though they relate to years of government, instead of eras, (*f*) the nominative in the Banawâsi Prâkṛit inscription of Hârîtîputra-Śâtakarṇi (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 333, l. 1), *rañô Háritiputasa . . . . . . Sátákaṁṇisa . . . . . . savachharaṁ 10 2 Hêmaṁtána pakhô 7 divasa 1*; (*g*) the nominative in the Râjim grant of the *Rája* Tîvaradêva (No. 81 below, Pl. xlv. l. 35 f.) *pravardhamána-vijaya-rájya-saṁvatsaru 9 Kárttika divasu ashṭamu 8*; and the crude form in (*h*) the Âraṅg grant of the *Rája* Mahâ-Jayarâja (No. 40 below, Pl. xxvi. l. 24), *pravardhamána-vijaya-saṁvatsara 5 Márgaśira 20 5*, and (*i*) the Râypur grant of the *Rája* Mahâ-Sudêvarâja (No. 41 below, Pl. xxvii. l. 27), *pravardhamána-vijaya-saṁvatsara 10 Mágha 9*. Compare also, for later times, the crude form in (*j*) the 'Dewal' inscription of Lalla of the Chhinda family (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. Pl. li. l. 24), *saṁvatsara-sahasra 1049 Mágha ba di 3 Gurudinê*; in (*k*) a Kôlâpur inscription of Siṅghaṇa II. (*Indian Inscriptions,* No. 47, l. 1 f.), *Śrî-Śaka 1157 Manmatha-saṁvatsarê Śrávaṇa bahula 30 Gurau*; and in numerous other instances.—(2) The use of the nominative singular or plural, in apposition with an ordinal adjective, which, again, usually qualifies the nàme of the *saṁvatsara*, of the sixty-years cycle, in the genitive case. This is a Drâviḍian method, in constant use in Southern India. As typical and leading instances, I will quote, in respect of the nominative singular, (*a*) a Baḷagâṁve inscription of Bijjala (*Páli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 183, l. 62), *Śaka-varshaṁ 1080neya Bahudhánya-saṁvatsarada Pushyada puṇṇami Sômavárav=uttaráyaṇasaṁkránti-vyatîpáta-sômagrahaṇad-andu*; and, to illustrate a numerous class of instances in which the crude form is used to represent the nominative singular, (*b*) a Baḷagâṁve inscription of Sômêśvara II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 209, l. 30 ff.), *Śaka-varsha 997neya Rákshasa-saṁvatsarada Pushya śuddha 1 Sômavárad-andin=uttaráyaṇasaṁkránti-parva-nimittadiṁ*; and, in respect of the nominative plural, (*c*) the grant of Gôvinda III. (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 126, l. 1 ff.), *Saka-ṅṛipa-kál-átîta-saṁvatsara-śataṅgaḻ=êḻ-núṟ=irpatt-áṟaneyá Subhánu embá varshadá Vaiśá-khamása-kṛishṇapaksha-pañchami Bṛihaspativáram=ági*, and (*d*) the Adaraguñchi inscription of Koṭṭiga or Khoṭṭiga (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 256, l. 7 ff.), *Śaka-nṛipa-kál-átîta-saṁvatsara-śataṅgaḷ=eṇṭu núṟa tombhatta-múṟaneya Prajápati-saṁvatsaraṁ saluttam-ire tad-varsh-ábhyantarad=Âśrayujad=ama-váse Âdityavára súrya-grahaṇa*.—(3) The use of the locative singular or plural, with the corresponding locative, in apposition, of *atikrânta, atîta, gata, nivṛitta, prayáta, samatîta, vyatîta, yáta*, or any similar word, signifying 'elapsed, or gone by.' Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (*a*) the first date of the Mandasôr inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman (No. 18 below, Pl. xi. l. 19), *Malavánáṁ gaṇa-sthityá yátê śata-chatushṭayê* I *tri-navaty-adhikê=bdánáṁ=ṛitau sêvyo-ghana-svanê* II *Sahasya-mása-śuklasya praśastê=hni trayôdaśê*; and (*b*) the Sâmâṅgad grant of cation,—by a *Mahârâja* of the **Sanakânika**[1] tribe or family, who was a feudatory of Chandragupta II., but whose name, in line 2, is now illegible,—of, evidently, the two groups of sculptures above which it is engraved.

Dantidurga (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 112, l. 30 f.), *pañcha-saptaty-adhika-Śakakâla-saṁvatsara-śata-shaṭkê vyatîtê saṁvat 675 pai*(?*pô* or *pau*)*hachchhikâyâ Mâgha-mâsa-ratha-saptamyâṁ tulâ-purusha-sthitê.* And, in respect of the locative plural, (*c*) the Bâdâmi cave inscription of Maṅgalîśa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 363, ll. 6 f., 11), *Śaka-nṛipati-râjyâbhishêka-saṁvatsarêshv=atikrântêshu pañchasu śatêshu . . . . . . mahâ-Kârttika-paurṇamâsyâm*; (*d*) the Harihar grant of Vinayâditya (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 302, l. 23 ff.), *shôḍaś-ôttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu pravardhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê chaturdaśê vartamânê . . . . . . Kârttika-paurṇamâsyâṁ*; and (*e*) the Kauṭhêṁ grant of Vikramâditya V. (*id.* Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 61 f.), *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu navasu triṁśad-adhikêshu gatêshu 930 pravartamâna-Saumya-saṁvatsarê paurṇamâsyâṁ sômagrahaṇa-parvaṇi.*—(4) The use, as in the present instance, of the simple locative single or plural, without any participle signifying 'elapsed or gone by,' in apposition. Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (*a*) the Gûnda inscription of the *Kshatrapa* Rudrasiṁha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 157, l. 3), *varshê dvy-uttara-śatê saṁ 200 2 Vaiśâkha-śuddha-pañchamî-Dhanya-tithau Śravaṇa-nakshatra-muhûrtê*; (*b*) a Mathurâ inscription of Vâsudêva (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20, l. 1), *saṁvatsarê 90 8 Varshâ-mâsê 4 divasê 10*; (*c*) the Majhgawâṁ grant of the *Mahârâja* Hastin (No. 23 below, Pl. xiv. l. 1 f.), *êka-navaty-uttarê=bda-śatê Gupta-nṛipa-râjya-bhuktau śrîmati pravardhamâna-MahâChaitra-saṁvatsarê Mâghamâsa-bahulapaksha-tṛitîyâyâm*; and (*d*) the Alînâ grant of Śîlâditya VII. (No. 39 below, Plate xxv. l. 77 f.), *saṁvatsara-śata-chatushṭayê sapta-chatvâriṁśad-adhikê Jyêshṭha-śuddha-pañchamyâṁ aṅkataḥ saṁvat 400 40 7 Jyêshṭha śu 5.* And, in respect of the locative plural, (*e*) the Waṇi grant of Gôvinda III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 46 f.), *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu triṁśad-adhikêshu Vyaya-saṁvatsarê Vaiśâkha-sita-paurṇamâsî-sômagrahaṇa-mahâparvaṇi*; and (*f*) the Pâṭaṇ grant of Bhîma II. (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 71, l. 17 ff.), *śrîmad-Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu shaṭ-pañchâśad-uttarêshu Bhâdrapadamâsa-kṛishṇapaksh-âmâvâsyâyâṁ Bhaumavârê=tr=âṅkatô=pi saṁvat 1256 laukika Bhâdrapada ba di 15 Bhaumê.*—And (5) the use of the abbreviations *saṁ* and *saṁvat*, standing alone, and not explained by a full record in words as they are in instances (3, *b*) and (4, *a*, *d*, *f*) above. This method, however, throws no light on the question now under discussion; and the use of these abbreviations will form the subject of a separate note.—Now, in the cases illustrated by the examples given under (2) above, it can hardly be disputed that current years are intended; the very construction,—*e.g.* in (2, *a*) "Monday, the full-moon day of (the month) Pushya of the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara*, (which is) the 1080th Śaka year,"—prevents any other interpretation. And, in the examples given under (1), it is difficult to see how, without imagining an elliptical construction for which no actual example can be quoted as an authority, the nominative case could be used to denote any but the current year. With these examples, and the plain record of the Gwâlior inscription, before us, when we find that in a certain class of instances (3, *a* to *e*) the locative case is uniformly coupled with a word distinctly meaning 'expired or gone by' in apposition, whereas in another class of instances (4, *a* to *f*) any such word is as uniformly omitted, there is nothing to prevent our giving, but on the contrary every reason to induce us to give, to the simple locative, in the last class of instances, its natural and ordinary meaning of "*in* such and such a year," *i.e.* "while such and such a year is current." This is the meaning that is always given to the simple locative in a regnal date; thus, in a Nâsik inscription (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 108, l. 1, 109),—*siri-Puḷumâyisa saṁvachharê êkunavîsê 19*,—"in the nineteenth (19) year of the illustrious Puḷumâyi." It has never been attempted to maintain that, in such a record as this, the text means "the nineteenth year having expired." And there is no reason why any such forced interpretation should be put on the simple locative expressing the number of years of an era; especially when we bear in mind that almost every era owes its origin to only an extension of regnal dates, and that the system of expired years can only have been devised when a considerable advance had been made in astronomical science.

[1] In the fourth syllable, the vowel here is the short *i*; but in the same word in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, No. 1 above, line 22, page 8, it is long.

TEXT.[1]

1 Siddham II Saṁvatsarê 80 2 Âshâḍha-mâsa-śukl-ê(ai)kâdaśyâm I
paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhi[2]-śrî-**Chandra[g]upta**-pâd-ânuddhyâtasya I[3]
2 mahârâja-**Chhagalaga**-pautrasya mahârâja-**Vishṇudâsa**-putrasya **Sanakâ-**
nikasya mahâr[âja]-. . **ḍha(?)lasy**=âyaṁ dêya-dharmmaḥ II

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained![4] In the year 80 (*and*) 2, on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha,—this (*is*) the appropriate religious gift[5] of the **Sanakânika,**[6] the *Mahârâja* . . **ḍhala** (?),—the son's son of the *Mahârâja* **Chhagalaga**; (*and*) the son of the *Mahârâja* **Vishṇudâsa,**—who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**

No. 4; PLATE III A.

MATHURA STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously edited in full, was discovered in 1853 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in his first Archæological Report, which, originally printed in 1863 as a supplement to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXII. pp. iii. to cxix., was in 1871 reprinted, with the addition of Plates, as *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., in which the inscription is noticed on p. 237.—Subsequently, in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 37, and Plate xvi. No. 24, he published a reduced lithograph of it, shewing the completion of the lines as arranged by him.

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] Read *mahárájádhirája.*—With the reading of this inscription, which may perhaps be, not an omission by the engraver, but a conventional abbreviation of the full title, we may compare *maraja-Sha*, i. e. *mahârâjâdhi*, for *mahárájádhirája*, on one of the silver coins of Skandagupta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 66 f.)

[3] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[4] *siddham.*—On the analogy of an inscription (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. Plate xliH.), which commences *Siddhiḥ Śrîḥ Saṁvat, &c.*,—to which we may add another inscription (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXIX. p. 18, and Vol. XXX. p. 13) commencing *Siddhiḥ Saṁvat, &c.*,—Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 273) takes *siddham*, at the commencement of inscriptions, as a nominative case standing by itself, and translates it by 'success.' But it seems to me to be clearly the remnant of some such phrase as *siddhaṁ bhagavatá*, "perfection or success has been attained by the Divine One," analogous to the *jitaṁ bhagavatá*, "victory has been achieved by the Divine One," of, for instance, the Gaḍhwâ inscription of Kumâragupta, No. 8 below, Plate ivC., and the grant of the Pallava *Yuva-mahárája* Vishṇugôpavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51). We may also compare *jitaṁ* . . . . . . *Vishṇuná* in the Tuśâm inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xlA. And we have the remnant of another analogous expression, in *dṛishṭam*, "sight (*i.e.* clearness of perception in religious matters) has been attained (by the Divine One)," at the commencement of, for instance, the Chammak and Siwanî plates of the *Mahárája* Pravarasêna II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plates xxxiv. and xxxv.—In his remarks referred to above, Dr. Bühler tells us that, in the *Mahábhâshya* (Kielhorn's edition, pp. 5, 6) *siddham* is quoted as a *maṅgala* or 'auspicious invocation;' and refers us to some remarks, supporting this, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 346.—As helping to illustrate the meaning, 'perfection,' by which I render *siddham*, I would refer to the use of *siddha* by the Jains to denote their saints who have attained *siddhi* or 'perfection or final beatitude,' and who are invoked, under this epithet, in, for instance, the Udayagiri inscription of the year 106, No. 61 below, Plate xxxviiiA. line 1.

[5] *déya-dharma*; *lit.* '(a gift of) religion, which is proper to be given.'—Monier Williams, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, renders it by 'the duty of giving, charity, beneficence;' Dowson, by 'votive offering' (e.g. *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 184); and Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji, by 'meritorious gift, or benefaction' (e. g. *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 83).

[6] See page 8 above, note 1.

The inscription is on a red-sandstone fragment, about 10″ broad by 11½″ high, cracked across the lower proper right corner, which was found, with its face downwards, forming part of the pavement immediately outside the Katrâ[1] gateway at **Mathurâ,**[2] the chief town of the Mathurâ District in the North-West Provinces. The original stone is now in the Provincial Museum at Lâhôr.

The **writing,** which covers the entire front of the stone, about 10″ broad by 11½″ high, is in a state of very fair preservation. It is only a fragment; the first line has been almost entirely destroyed, and an indefinite number of lines have been entirely broken away and lost at the bottom of the stone; and, in addition to this, from one to nine *aksharas* have been broken away and lost at the commencement of the lines, and from one to five at the ends of the lines, except in lines 8 and 9.—The **size** of the letters varies from ⅜″ to ¾″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They are of radically the same stock with those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, but with several essential differences in details; the most noticeable of these are (1) the very marked curve in the left downward stroke of *m*, which I have noticed, at page 3 above, as belonging originally to an earlier form of this letter than that which occurs in the Allahâbâd inscription; (2) a slanting straight stroke, instead of a circular loop, at the bottom of the left downward stroke of *s*; and (3) the formation of the lower part of *h* entirely to the right, instead of its sloping downwards only slightly to the right and then turning up very markedly to the left.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the extant portion of the inscription is in prose throughout.—The **orthography** does not present anything calling for remark.

The **inscription** is one of the **Early Gupta** king **Chandragupta II.** His name does not occur in the portion that is extant. But the instrumental case *putrêṇa* in line 9, immediately after the mention, in the genitive case, of **Samudragupta,** shews that the genealogy was continued down to, and ended with, his son and chosen successor, whose name came in line 11 or 12, and who is known from the subsequent records to have been **Chandragupta II.;** and that the subject of the inscription was an act of the latter. The date of the inscription, if any was recorded, and the subject of it, were in the portion that has been broken away and lost.

TEXT.[3]

1 . . . . . . [Sarvva-râj-ôchhêttuḥ pṛithiv]y[âm=apratiratha]-
2 [sya chatur-udadhi-sali]l-âsvâdita-ya[śasô Dha]-
3 [nada-Varuṇ-Êndr-Ântaka-sa]masya Kṛitânta-[paraśôḥ]
4 [nyây-âgat-ânêka-gô]-hiraṇya-kôti-prada[sya chir-ô]-

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[1] *katrâ* is the common word used in that part of the country for 'an enclosed market-place.'

[2] The 'Matra, Muthra, and Muttra.' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 50. Lat. 27° 30′ N.; Long. 77° 43′ E.

[3] From the original stone.—The passages that have been broken away are supplied from the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from lines 1 to 4 of the Bhitarî pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.

5 [tsann - âśvamêdh - âharttur=mma]hârâja - śrî - **Gupta** - prapau[t]r[asya]
6 [mahârâja-śrî-**Ghaṭôtka]cha**-pautrasya mahârâjâdhir[âja]-
7 [śrî-**Chandragupta**-pu]trasya **Lichchhavi**-dauhitrasya mahâ[dê]-
8 [vyâṁ **Kumâra]d[ê]vyâm**=utpannasya mahârâjâdhirâ-
9 [ja-śrî-**Sa]mudraguptasya** putrêṇa tat-parigṛi-
10 [hî]t[ê]na mahâdêv[y]âṁ **Dat[t]adêv[y]âm**=ut[p]an[n]ê-
11 [na[1] paramabhâgavatêna mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî]-
12 **[Chandraguptêna]**. . . . .

(*The rest of the inscription is entirely*
broken away and lost.)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 8.)—By him who is the son,—accepted by him,[2] (*and*) begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Dattadêvî,**— of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, [the glorious] **Samudragupta,—**

(L. 1.)—[Who[3] was the exterminator of all kings;[4] who had no antagonist (*of equal power*)] in the world; [whose fame was] tasted [by the waters of the four oceans[5]];

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[1] I add these two lines in order to shew the continuation of the construction of this record.

[2] See page 12 above, note 1.

[3] *i.e.* Samudragupta.

[4] *sarva-râj-ôchchêttṛi.*—In the nominative case, *sarva-râj-ôchchêttâ*, this epithet occurs on the reverse of some gold coins, hitherto always classed in the Early Gupta series (see *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 169 f., and Pl. ii. No. 1; also *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 36, and Pl. vii. No. 1), which have on the obverse the name of Kâcha, in the place where the king's name usually stands on coins, with the marginal legend *kâchô gâm=avajitya karmabhir=uttamair=jayati*, "Kâcha, having conquered the earth, is victorious by (his) most excellent deeds," and which have always been attributed to the *Mahârâja* Ghaṭôtkacha, the grandfather of Samudragupta.—But, in the first place, the name on these coins is distinctly Kâcha, and nothing more; and *kâcha*, which means 'glass, crystal; the string of the scale of a balance; alkaline salt, black salt; wax; &c.,' is a totally different word from *utkacha*, 'having the hairs (of the body) standing erect (through pleasure),' which is the second component of the name of Ghaṭôtkacha. Secondly, Ghaṭôtkacha, being only a feudatory *Mahârâja*, was not entitled to issue a coinage in his own name. And thirdly, the epithet *sarva-râj-ôchchêttṛi* on the reverse, is, in the inscriptions, always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only.—There is nothing distinctive in this epithet, sufficient to shew that it belonged only to the Early Gupta dynasty (and, in that dynasty, to Samudragupta). Nor, I think, is it absolutely certain that these coins belong to the Early Gupta series. But the general appearance of them, with the legends on them, justifies such an opinion. And, if they are Early Gupta coins, then they must be attributed to Samudragupta, not to Ghaṭôtkacha; and Kâcha must, in that case, be a personal and less formal name of Samudragupta; and with it we may compare such instances as Śâba, 'cadaverous, of a dark yellowish colour, tawny; the young of any animal,' used as a second name of Vîrasêna, a minister of Chandragupta II. (No. 6 below, Plate ivA. line 4); Vyâghra, 'a tiger,' applied to a Jain named Rudrasôma (No. 15 below, Plate ixA.); and Permâḍi (also Parmâḍi, Parmâṇḍi and Paramardi), a name of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 225, l. 9, 253, l. 14; Bühler's *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, Introd. p. 30, note 2; and *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, vii. 1122, 1124).—The only other instances, known to me, in which the name Kâcha occurs, are in the case of two rulers or chieftains, Kâcha I. and Kâcha II., mentioned in one of the inscriptions in the Ajaṇṭâ caves (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 129, lines 4, 6), belonging to a period that is at any rate appreciably later than that of the Early Guptas.

[5] *i.e.* "whose fame extended up to the shores of the four oceans."—Jambudvîpa, or the central division of the known world, including India, was supposed to be surrounded on all sides by the ocean.

who was equal to (the gods) [Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka]; who was [the very axe] of (the god) Kṛitânta;[1] who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows] and gold; [who was the restorer of the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice,[2] that had been long in abeyance];—

(L. 5.)—Who[3] was the son of the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Gupta**; the son's son of [the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious] **Ghaṭôtkacha**; (*and*) the son of the *Mahârâjadhirâja* [the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**], (*and*) the daughter's son of **Lichchhavi**, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Kumâradêvî**;—

(L. 11.)—[By him,[4] the most devout worshipper of the Divine One,[5] the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**], ...

(*The rest of the inscription is entirely*
broken away and lost.)

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[1] *Kṛitânta-paraśu.*—This is another of the formal epithets which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. In the nominative case, *Kṛitânta-paraśuḥ*, it occurs on the reverse of some of his gold coins; see, for instance, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. III. Part I. p. 177 f., and Pl. ii. No. 11.

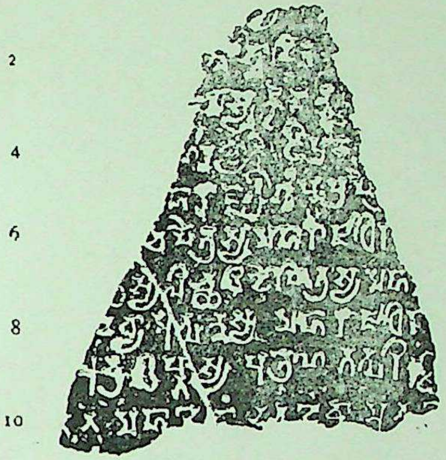
[2] A ceremony which centred in a horse, and was concluded after the selected steed had been turned loose for a year to roam about at will, guarded by armed men. The ceremony appears to have ended sometimes in the actual immolation of the horse, but sometimes only in keeping it bound during the celebration of the final rites. The successful celebration of a hundred *aśvamêdhas* was supposed to raise the sacrificer to a level with the god Indra.—The present epithet, *aśvamêdh-âhartṛi*, is another of those which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. With it we have to compare the legend *aśvamêdha-parâkramaḥ*, "he who has displayed prowess by a horse-sacrifice," on some of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudragupta; see, for instance, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 175 ff., and Pl. ii. No. 9; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 37 f., and Pl. vii. No. 4.

[3] *i.e.* Samudragupta.

[4] See page 27 above, note 1.

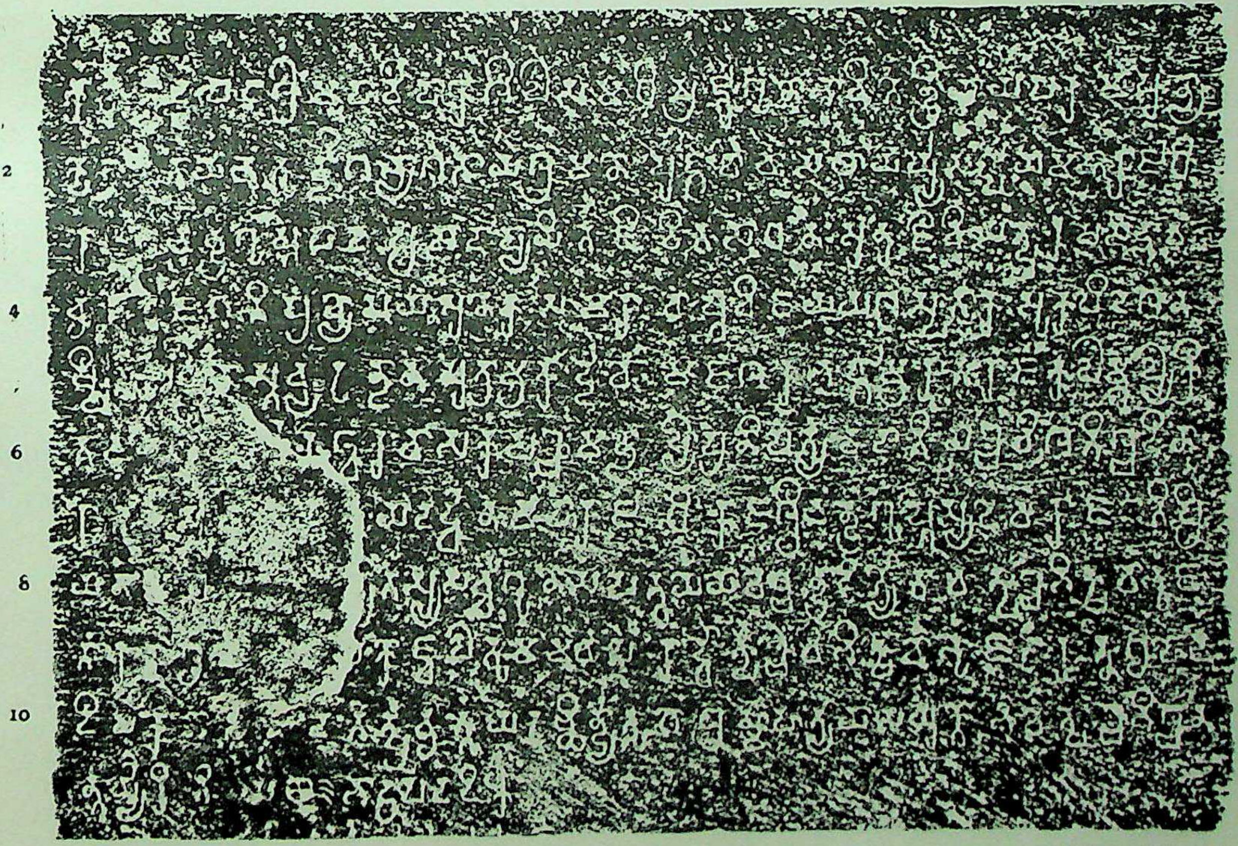
[5] *paramabhâgavata*; *lit.* 'a most devout worshipper of (the god) Bhagavat.'—This epithet is supplied from the subsequent inscriptions, and the coins of Chandragupta II. himself.—It is a technical sectarian title, analogous to *paramamâhêśvara* (*e.g.* No. 38 below, line 2), *paramasaugata* (*e.g.* No. 52 below, line 8), *paramavaishṇava* (*e.g.* lines *a* and 1 of the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant of the *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 112), *paramapâśupata* (*e.g.* line 8 of the Verâwal inscription of Arjunadêva; *id.* Vol. XI. p. 242), and *paramadaivata* (*e.g.* line 1 of the Nêpâl inscription of Vasantasêna; *id.* Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3). Other similar epithets, but not formed in quite the same way, are *paramabrahmaṇya* (*e.g.* line 39 of the grant of Amma II.; *id.* Vol. VII. p. 16); *paramâdityabhakta* (*e.g.* No. 38 below, line 10); and *paramabhagavatîbhakta* (*e.g.* lines *e*, *i*, *k*, 3, 6, and 7 of the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant referred to above); also *atyantamâhêśvara* and *atyantasvâmi- mahâbhairavabhakta*, *e.g.* No. 55 below, lines 9 and 4; and *atyantabhagavadbhakta*, in No. 19 below, line 6, and No. 36, line 4. — *Bhagavat*, 'venerable, revered, sacred, divine, holy,' was used as a title of priests, *e.g.* lines 5 and 6 of a Paṭṭadakal inscription of Vijayâditya and Vikramâditya II., where it is applied to two *Âchâryas* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 165, No. 101); and also of any saintly personage, *e.g.* line 12 of No. 23 below, where it is applied to Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas. And it was also used as an epithet of any god or object of worship; thus, it is applied to Buddha, in line 6 of No. 62 below; to Vishṇu, in line 6 of No. 32 below; to Śambhu (Śiva) in line 5 of No. 7 below; to Svâmi-Mahâsêna (Kârttikêya), in line 7 of No. 10 below; to Varuṇavâsin (the Sun), in line 13 of No. 46 below; and to Jinêndra, in line 1 of the Aihoḷe Mêguṭi inscription of Pulikêśin II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 241). But it seems to belong most particularly to the god Vishṇu (see, for instance, the *Vishṇu-Purana*, vi. 5; Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. V. p. 211 ff.), and to denote him whenever there is nothing in the context to give it any other application; and, as well- known instances of its use in this way, we may quote *Bhagavadgîtâ*, the name of an episode of the Mahâbhârata devoted entirely to the subject of devotion to Vishṇu as Kṛishṇa; *Bhâgavata-*

A.—Mathura Inscription of Chandragupta II.



SCALE ·27

B.—Sanchi Inscription of Chandragupta II.—The Year 93.



J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE ·26

No. 5; PLATE III B.

SANCHI STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 93.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 488 ff., where a lithograph of it was published (*id.* Plate xxviii.), reduced by Mr. James Prinsep from a copy by Mr. B. H. Hodgson. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it is a very imperfect one; especially in shewing no traces whatever of the first six or seven letters of each line, all the way down.—And in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., Mr. Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,[1] accompanied by a lithograph, reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers (*id.* Plate xxv.)

Sâñchi, or **Sâchi**,[2] is a village about twelve miles to the north-east of Diwâṇgañj, the chief town of the Diwâṇgañj Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Native State of Bhôpâl or Bhûpâl[3] in Central India. It is sometimes called Sâñchi-Kânâkhêḍâ, through its name being coupled with that of another small village immediately on the north of it.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2′ 6¼″ broad by 1′ 9″ high, is on the outer side of the top rail in the second row, outside and on the south side of the eastern

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Purâṇa, the title of one of the Purâṇas, dedicated especially to the glorification of Vishṇu; and *Bhâgavata*, which occurs in line 7 of the Khôh plates of the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha of the year 177, No. 27 below, Plate xvii., and is, to the present time, the name of one of the Vaishṇava sects. —It may be taken, therefore, that *Paramabhâgavata* is exclusively a Vaishṇava title.

[1] The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 246.

[2] Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 28′ N.; Long. 77° 48′ E.—The 'Sachi, Sacha Kana Kheyra, and Sachi Kanakera,' of maps, &c. — The name is pronounced both Sâñchi and Sâchi; but with a preference, as far as my observation went, for the nasalised form. The alternative forms have already been pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 181, where he suggests that the name is most probably only the spoken form of the Sanskṛit *śânti*, 'tranquillity, calmness,' &c.,—since the term *śânti-samgha*, 'the community of tranquillity,' occurs in the Aśôka inscription at Sâñchi (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 259 ff. and Plate xix. No. 177); and since the Chinese transcribed *śânti* by *sâ-chi*. But the ancient name of Sâñchi, at least from the Aśôka to the Gupta period, was Kâkanâda (see page 31 below, para. 5); and this seems to indicate that the name Sâñchi is of comparatively modern introduction. Also, though I could not find the places on the map, I was informed that there are at least two other villages in the neighbourhood, named Sâñchi or Sâchi, with no Buddhist remains at them. And this,—with the analogous names of Kâchi-Kânâkhêḍâ, a village about one and a half miles to the south-west of Sâñchi (in which *kâchi* is either an Urdu, or a Râṅgaḍî or local vernacular, word, meaning 'gardener'), and of Mâchi, a village somewhere in the same neighbourhood, which I noticed in a local topographical map, but cannot now find again in the Indian Atlas,—suggests that Sâñchi or Sâchi is probably a vernacular name, connected in no way with the Sanskṛit.

[3] This name is written and pronounced Bhôpâl by Musalmâns, and Bhûpâl by Hindus. It has been suggested that it is a corruption of *Bhôj-pâl*, 'the tank or embankment of king Bhoja.' But I think it is far more likely that the original and correct name is Bhûpâl, from the Sanskṛit *bhûpâla*, 'a king, or the king.' The State, however, is a Musalmân State; and Bhôpâl is the form of the name that has been established by long official usage.

gateway of the Great *Stûpa*.[1] The inscription is very well preserved, with the exception that two or three letters are destroyed and quite illegible near the commencement of each line as far as line 8.—The average **size** of the letters is $\frac{5}{8}''$. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and approximate most closely to, in the present volume, those of the Mandasôr inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xi., and, elsewhere, those of the Aihoḷe Mêguṭi inscription[2] of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II. of Śaka-Saṁvat 556 (A.D. 634-35). They include, in line 11, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 3, 4, and 90.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point that calls for notice is the use of the dental *s*, instead of the *visarga* or the *upadhmânîya*, in conjunction with *p*, in *yaśas-patâka*, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta** king **Chandragupta II.** Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year[3] ninety-three (A.D. 412-13), on the fourth day, without any specification of the lunar fortnight, of the month Bhâdrapada (August-

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[1] *Stûpa*, 'a heap or pile of earth; any heap or pile or mound,' is the technical name of a certain kind of Buddhist monument, consisting of a mound, more or less elaborate, and with or without masonry work, erected over sacred relics of Buddha and his followers.—The English corruption, *Tope*, is from the Prâkṛit form *thûpa*.—In the country round Sâñchi, I found the popular term for a *Stûpa* to be *biṭâ* (Hindî, *biṭaurâ*), which means literally 'a heap of dried cowdung-cakes to be used as fuel.' The great *Stûpa* at Sâñchi is known as *Sâs-bahû kâ biṭâ*, "the heap of dried cowdung-cakes of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law." And with this name we may compare *Sâs-bahû kâ dêhrâ*, "the temple of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law," which is the popular name of the temple at Gwâlior in which there is the long Sanskṛit inscription of the Kachchhapaghâta prince Mahîpâla, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 33 ff.)

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 241 ff., and the accompanying plate.

[3] The text has the abbreviation *saṁ*, which may stand either for the crude form *saṁvatsara*, 'a year,' or for any declensional case that can be used in expressing a date (see page 22 above, note 5). The same remark applies to the form *saṁvat*, which occurs, for instance, in *saṁvat 100 90 1 Śrâvaṇa ba di 7*, in line 2 of the Êraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gôparâja, No. 20 below, Plate xiiB.—It was formerly thought that the word *saṁvat* was used only in connection with the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 57. But fuller experience has shewn that both the forms are used freely in respect of the years of any era whatsoever.—They are used sometimes by themselves, as in the present passage, and in the instance quoted above for *saṁvat*; and sometimes in composition with the name of the era; as, for instance, in the Ambarnâth inscription of the chieftain Mâmvâṇi (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329, l. 1), *Śaka-saṁvat 782 Jyêshṭha śuddha 9 Śukrê*, and in the Sômnâth-Pâthaṇ inscription of Arjunadêva of Aṇhilvâḍ (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 242, l. 2 ff.), *Mahammada-saṁvat 662 tathâ śrî-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṁ 1320 tathâ śrî-mad-Valabhî-saṁ 945 tathâ śrî-Siṁha-saṁ 151 varshê Âshâḍha va di 13 Ravau.*—The form *saṁvat* represents the genitive plural, *saṁvatsarâṇâm*, in such passages as *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu chatur-navaty-adhikêshv=aṅkataḥ saṁvat 894 &c.*, in the Kardâ grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kakka III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, l. 47 f.), as contrasted with *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu pañcha-pañchâśad-adhikêshv=aṅkatô=pi saṁvatsarâṇâṁ 855 &c.*, in the Sâṅglî grant of Gôvinda V. of the same dynasty (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 251, l. 44 f.); the latter is the only passage that I know of, in which the full genitive case occurs in connection with the numerals. And it evidently stands for the full locative singular and plural respectively, in such passages as *Saṁvat pañcha-saptaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-śat-âṅkê 1275 &c.*, in the Chârwâ inscription of Dêvapâla of Dhârâ (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India, p. 111, l. 4), and in *Śaka-saṁvat êka-navaty-adhika-nava-śatêshu saṁvat 991 &c.*, in the Bassein grant of Sêuṇachandra II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 120, l. 24 f.)—Monier Williams, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, gives *saṁvat* as an indeclinable; and of course it properly is so. I am able, however, to quote two epigraphical instances, of modern date, in which it is used as a declinable; (1) in verse 30 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nêpâl Inscription, No. 19, of Pratâpamalla, dated Nêpâla-Saṁvat 778 (A.D. 1658-59); *Nêpâlê saṁvatê=smin=haya-giri-munibhiḥ*

September). It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the grant, by **Amrakârdava** or **Âmrakârdava,** the son of Undâna, and apparently an officer of Chandragupta II., of a village, or an allotment of land, called **Îśvaravâsaka,** and a sum of money, to the *Ârya-Saṁgha*, or community of the faithful, at the great *vihâra* or Buddhist convent of **Kâkanâdabôṭa,** for the purpose of feeding mendicants and maintaining lamps.

The **Kâkanâdabôṭa** convent is, of course, the Great *Stûpa* itself. The name is partially destroyed in the present inscription; but it is legible in full in line 2 of the other Sâñchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB. It is not quite certain what meaning is to be allotted to *bôṭa* in this name; but it is probably another form of *pôṭa*, 'the foundation of a house.'[1] The rest of the name, **Kâkanâda,** *lit.* 'the noise of the crow,' is the ancient name of Sâñchi itself. This is shewn by its occurring in at least two of the inscriptions of the Aśôka period in the neighbourhood, to which my attention was directed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji; thus, (1) an inscription on the outside of the east gate of the great *Stûpa* at Sâñchi (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 241, and Plate xvi. No. 39) should evidently be read *Kâkaṇâyê bhagavatô pamâṇa-laṭhi,* "the measuring-staff (?) of (Buddha), the Divine One, at **Kâkanâda;**" and (2) the inscription on the top of the lid of the steatite casket found in *Stûpa* No. 2 at 'Andher' (*id.* p. 347, and Plate xxix. No. 7) should plainly be read *Sapurisasa Gôtiputasa Kâkanâda-Pabhâsanasa Kôḍiña-gôtasa,* "(*the relics*) of the virtuous Prabhâsana of **Kâkanâda,** the Gôtîputra, of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra.*"

TEXT.[2]

1 Siddham[3] [||*] **Kâ[kanâ[4]]dabôṭa**-srî-mahâ-vihârê sîla-samâdhi-prajñâ-guṇa-bhâvit-êndriyâya parama-puṇya-

2 kṛi .... tâya chatur-ddig-abhyâgatâya śramaṇa-puṅgav-âvasathây=âryya-saṅghâya mahârâjâdhi-

3 râ[ja-ś]r[î]-**Chandragupta**-pâda-prasâd-âpyâyita-jîvita=sâdhanaḥ anujîvi-satpurusha-sadbhâva-

4 vṛi[ttiṁ(?)] jagati prakhyâpayan aneka-samar-âvâpta-vijaya-yaśas-patâkaḥ **Sukuli**-dêśa-**Na-**

5 **shṭî** ...... vâstavya Undâna-putr-**Amrakârddavô** Maja-Śarabhaṅg-Âmrarâta-râjakula-mûlya-krî-

6 tam(?) ..... ya ... **Îśvaravâsakaṁ** pañcha-maṇḍalyâ[ṁ*] praṇipatya dadâti pañcha-viṁśatiś(ñ)=cha dînâ-

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saṁyutê &c. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 191); and (2) in an unpublished Chambâ inscription which contains several dates in the Vikrama-Saṁvat and Lôkakâla, commencing with Vikrama-Saṁvat 1915 (A.D. 1858-59); in line 11 f. we have *Saṁvatê 34 Śrâvaṇa-pra° 17 laî saṁvatê 36 dâ Śrâvaṇa-śuddha ...... &c.*

[1] In the present series of inscriptions, *bôṭa* or *vôṭa* occurs again (1) as part of a proper name in Raṅkabôṭa, in line 8 of No. 27, Plate xvii. below; and (2) as a territorial name, in the Vôṭa *santika* in line 6 f. of No. 29, Plate xixA. below.—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *pôṭâ, bôṭâ,* and *vôṭâ,* in the sense of 'a woman with a beard; a hermaphrodite; a female servant or slave.'—And we have Bôṭaka, as a proper name, in line 25 of No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] In the original, this word, which is very much damaged and hardly recognisable, stands above the first two *aksharas* of line 1.

[4] These two *aksharas* are supplied from line 2 of the Sâñchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB., in which they are quite distinct.

29·A

7 rân [ll*] Ta[d-da]tta- . . . . yâd=arddhêna mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-
Chandraguptasya Dêvarâja iti pri-
8 ya-nâm . . . . y . tasya[1] sarvva-guṇa-saṁpattayê yâvach=chandr-âdityau
tâvat=pancha bhikshavô bhuṁja-
9 tâṁ ratna-gṛihê [cha dî]pakô jvalatu [l*] mama ch=âpar-ârddhât=pañch=
aiva bhikshavô bhuṁjatâṁ ratna-gṛihê cha
10 dîpaka iti [ll*] Tad=êtat-pravṛittaṁ ya uchchhindyât=sa gô-brahma-hatyayâ
saṁyuktô bhavêt=pañchabhiś=ch=âna-
11 ntaryyair=iti [ll*] Saṁ[2] 90 3 Bhâdrapada di[3] 4 [ll*]

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! To the community of the faithful[4] in the holy great *vihâra* of **Kâkanâdabôṭa,**—in which the organs of sense (*of the members of it*) have been subdued by the virtues of (*good*) character, religious meditation, and wisdom; which . . . . deeds of the very highest religious merit; which has come together from the four quarters of the world; (*and*) which is the abode of most excellent *Śramaṇas,*— having prostrated himself in an assembly of five persons,[5] **Amrakârdava,**[6] the son of Undâna,—whose means of subsistence have been made comfortable by the favour of the feet of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.);** who is publishing in the world the amiable behaviour of the virtuous people who are the dependents (*of the king*); who has acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles; (*and*) who is an inhabitant of (the town of) **Nashṭî** . . . . . in the **Sukuli** *dêśa,*[7]—gives (the village or allotment of) **Îśvaravâsaka,** .... purchased with the endowment[1] of Maja and Śarabhaṅga and Amrarâta[2] of the royal household,[3] and (*also gives*) twenty-five *dînâras.*

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[1] We might very suitably supply the lacunæ by reading *Dêvarâja iti priya-nâm=*[*âmâtyô bhavat*]*y=*[*ê*]*tasya.*

[2] See page 30 above, note 3.

[3] i.e. *dina*, *dinê*, *divasa*, or *divasê*. And the word properly denotes the solar day, from sunrise to sunrise, with which a week-day name would be coupled; not the lunar *tithi*, which may coincide with, or more or less may differ from, the solar day and week-day.

[4] *Ârya-Saṁgha.*

[5] *pañcha-maṇḍalî* is evidently the same as the *Pañchâît*, *Pañchâyat,* or *Pañch*, of modern times, the village-jury of five (or more) persons, convened to settle a dispute by arbitration, to witness and sanction any art of importance, &c.—Compare *pâñchâlî* (perhaps a mistake of the engraver for *pañchâlî*), which seems to be used in the same sense, in line 16 of Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nêpâl Inscriptions, No. 10 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 173).—So also *pâñchâlika*, in No. 4 of the same series, line 11 (*id.* p. 168), No. 7, lines 13 and 15 (p. 170), and No. 13, line 20 (p. 177), seems to mean the members of certain *Pañchâyats* which are in each instance specified by name.

[6] Or Âmrakârdava.

[7] *dêśa*, 'a region, country, province, &c.,' is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning and bearing of which have not yet been determined. So, also, *khaṇḍa,* 'a section;' *maṇḍala*, 'a circle, district, arrondissement, province, &c.;' *râshṭra*, 'a kingdom, district, country, region, &c.;' and *vishaya*, 'a country, region, district, province, &c.'—*Dêśa* is sometimes used as a synonym of *maṇḍala.* Thus, in line 7 of a grant of Amma II. of about Śaka-Saṁvat 867 or A.D. 945-46 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 16), and in line 6 of another grant of the same (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 74), the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas is called the Veṅgî *dêśa*. While, in line 17 of a grant of Amma I. (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 79), and in line 8 of another of Bhîma II. (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 213), it is called the Veṅgî *maṇḍala*. These charters record grants made in the Pennâtavâḍi, Gudrâvâra, and Pâgunavara *vishayas*; which would point to *vishaya* being a subdivision of a *dêśa* or *maṇḍala*. And this is in accordance with line 5 of the Kapâlêśwar grant of Mahâ-Bhavagupta (*id.* Vol. V. p. 55, where the correct reading is *vishayîya-Raṇḍâgrâmê*), recording a gift of the village of Raṇḍâgrâma belonging to the Pôvâ or Yôvâ *vishaya* in the Kôsala *dêśa*. On the other hand, in line 4 of the Têrdâḷ inscription of Śaka-

(Line 7.)—From [the interest of the *dînâras*[4]] given by him,—with half, as long as the moon and the sun (*endure*), let five *Bhikshus* be fed, and let a lamp burn in the jewel-house,[5] for the perfection of all the virtues of .... the familiar name of **Dêvarâja,**[6] .... of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**; and with the other

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Saṁvat 1046 or A.D. 1124-25 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 16), the terms *dêśa* and *vishaya* are both applied to the division of India that is best known as Bharatakhaṇḍa or Bharatakshêtra, and also to the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand District in the Kanarese country; which would point to *dêśa* and *vishaya* being synonymous.—*Khaṇḍa* occurs in another grant (unpublished) of Mahâ-Bhavagupta, recording a gift of the village of Arkigrâma belonging to the Tulumba *khaṇḍa* in the Kôśala *dêśa;* which points to *khaṇḍa* being a subdivision of a *dêśa*, and perhaps synonymous with *vishaya.*—*Maṇḍala* occurs also in line 8 of the grant of Mahêndrapâla of Harsha-Saṁvat 155 or A.D. 761-62 (*id.* Vol. XV. p. 112), recording the gift of a village belonging to the Vâlayikâ *vishaya*, which lay in the Śrâvasti *maṇḍala.* And this, again, points to a *maṇḍala* being subdivided into *vishayas.*—As regards *râshṭra* and *vishaya*, there were two classes of officials called *Râshṭrapati* and *Vishayapati*, *lit.* 'lords' or 'chiefs' of *râshṭras* and *vishayas.* And, on the one hand, such passages as those in line 8 f. of the Kaira grant of Vijayarâja of the year 394 (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 248), and in line 8 of the Kâvî grant of Jayabhaṭa of the year 486 (*id.* Vol. V. p. 114), which mention first the *Vishayapati*, then the *Râshṭrapati*, and then the *Grâmamahattara* or 'village-headman,' point, as indicated by Dr. Bühler in editing the Kâvî grant, to the *vishaya* being a larger division than the *râshṭra*; as also such expressions as "the cultivators, headed by the *Râshṭrakûṭa* ('headman of the *râshṭra*'), dwelling in the Pennâtavâḍi *vishaya*," in line 39 f. of the grant of Amma II. of about Śaka-Saṁvat 867, referred to above. But, on the other hand, exactly the opposite of this is indicated by such passages as those in line 28 f. of the Sâmâṅgaḍ grant of Dantidurga of Śaka-Saṁvat 675 or A.D. 753-54 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 112), in line 35 f. of the Waṇi grant of Gôvinda III. of Śaka-Saṁvat 730 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 159), and in line 60 of the Kauṭhêṁ grant of Vikramâditya V. of Śaka-Saṁvat 930 (*id.* Vol. XVI. p. 24), in which first the *Râshṭrapati* is mentioned, then the *Vishayapati*, and then the *Grâmakûṭa* or 'village-headman.' While finally, such expressions as "the Karmarâshṭra *vishaya*," in line 12 of the grant of the second year of Vishṇuvardhana II. (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 187), and "the Gôparâshṭra *vishaya*," in line 17 of the Nirpaṇ grant of Nâgavardhana (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 124), point to *râshṭra* and *vishaya* being synonymous terms.—The subject requires further elucidation. And, as in the case of regal and official titles, it is much better to use the original Sanskṛit words, than to render them by such terms as Zillâ, Tâlukâ, &c., which are of modern invention, and which cannot possibly be satisfactory equivalents, even if they should happen to approach to the relative meanings.

[1] *mûlya*, *lit.* 'an original sum,' is equivalent to *akshaya-nîvî*, *lit.* 'a capital sum that is not to be wasted,' which is of constant use in early inscriptions, and occurs for instance in No. 12, below, Plate viB., line 26, and No. 62, Plate xxxviiiB., lines 3 and 8.

[2] Or Âmrarâta.

râjakula.

[4] I supply these words, where the original has been effaced, on the analogy of line 3 f. of the Sâñchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB.

[5] This is the literal meaning of *ratna-gṛiha.* It seems to denote the *Stûpa* itself, as the abode of the three *ratnas* or 'jewels or precious things,' *viz.* (1) Buddha; (2) *Dharma*, the Law or Truth; and (3) *Saṁgha*, the community or congregation.

[6] Prinsep translated this passage so as to make Dêvarâja another name of Chandragupta II. This may be correct. But we have no other authority for giving him this second name. And the lacunæ in the line render it impossible to say with any certainty whether it denotes him, or some officer of his.—If the suggestion that I have made above (page 32, note 1) for filling up the lacunæ, should be accepted, the translation would be—"for the perfection of all the virtues of him who, having the familiar name of Dêvarâja, is a minister of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious Chandragupta."

half, which is mine,[1] let the same number of five *Bhikshus* be fed, and (*let*) a lamp (*burn*) in the jewel-house.

(L. 10.)—Whosoever shall interfere with this his arrangement,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the slaughter of a cow or of a Brâhmaṇ,[2] and with (*the guilt of*) the five sins that entail immediate retribution ![3]

(L. 11.)—The year 90 (*and*) 3; (the month) Bhâdrapada; the day 4.

No. 6; PLATE IV A

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 51 f., where he published his own version of the text, and a translation of it by Râjâ Siva Prasad, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xix.).—This rendering of the inscription has remained the standard version up to the present time, except that in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 312, Dr. E. Hultzsch pointed out some errors in the last line as published.

The inscription is on the back wall, a little to the left as one enters, inside a cave at **Udayagiri**,[4] in Scindia's Dominions in Central India, which is known as the "Tawâ Cave," from the resemblance of the large flat stone, on the top of the rock in which it is excavated, to a gigantic *tawâ*, or 'griddle for baking cakes.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 3′ 7″ by 1′ 2″, has suffered a good deal from the peeling off of the surface of the rock on which it is engraved; but the general purport of it remains complete, and nothing of a historical nature appears to have been lost.—The **size** of the letters varies from ¾″ to 1¼″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of radically the same type with those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include in the numbering of the verses, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, the inscription is in verse throughout, and the verses are numbered.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point that calls for notice is the use of the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya* in *jñaḥ=kaviḥ=pâṭali*, line 4.

The **inscription** refers itself to the time of the **Early Gupta** king **Chandragupta II.,** whose name is recorded in line 1. As no date is given, there might be some doubt as to whether the Chandragupta mentioned here is the first or the second of the name. But the standard of the characters, as compared with those of the Allahâbâd inscription, which was engraved in the time of Chandragupta II.,—and the fact that the inscription records that the Chandragupta mentioned in it came in person to Udayagiri, coupled with the existence at Udayagiri of the inscription of the year 82, No. 3, p. 21 ff. above, which is proved by its date to be one of Chandragupta II.,—shew that the king mentioned here is **Chandragupta II.**, not his grandfather, Chandragupta I. It is a Śaiva inscription; and the object of it is to record the excavation of the cave as a temple of the god Śiva, under the name of Śambhu, by the order of a certain **Vîrasêna**, otherwise called **Śâba**,[1] who was one of the ministers of Chandragupta II.

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[1] It is not quite apparent who is speaking here; but probably Amrakârdava is intended.

[2] *brahman*; see Childers' Pâli Dictionary, s.v. *brahmâ*.

[3] *viz.* matricide, parricide, killing an *Arhat*, shedding the blood of a Buddha, and causing division among the priesthood (see Childers' Pâli Dictionary, s.v. *pañchanantariyakammam* and *abhithânam*.)

[4] See page 22 above, and note 1.

TEXT.[2]

1 Siddham[3] [॥*] Yad[4]=a[ṁ]tarjjyôtir-arkk-âbham=urvvyâm [— — ◡ — ◡ —
— — — — ◡ —]vyâpi **Chandragupt**-âkhyam=adbhutam [॥*] 1
2 Vikram-âvakraya-krîtâ dâsya-nyagbhûta-pârtthiv[â] [— — —]mâna-saṁraktâ
dharmma[— — ◡ — ◡ —] [॥*] 2
3 Tasya râjâdhirâj-arshêr=achinty-ô[— ◡ —]rmmanaḥ anvaya-prâpta-sâchivyô
vyâ[pṛita-san]dh[i]-v[i]grahaḥ [॥*] 3
4 Kautsaś=**Śâba** iti khyâtô **Vîrasênaḥ** kul-âkhyayâ śabdârttha-nyâya-lôka-
jñaḥ=kaviḥ=**Pâṭaliputrakaḥ** [॥*] 4
5 Kṛitsna-pṛithvî-jay-artthêna râjñ=aiv=êha sah=âgataḥ bhaktyâ bhagavataś=
Śambhôr=gguhâm=êtâm=akârayat [॥*] 5

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! .... which shines[5] like the sun,[6] radiant with internal light, ... upon the earth ...., pervades .... (*and*) has the appellation of **Chandragupta (II.)**, (*and is*) wonderful;-

(Line 2.)—Bought by the purchase-money of [whose] prowess, [the earth], in which (*all other*) princes are humiliated by the slavery (*imposed on them by him*), ... gratified by .... religion.

(L. 3.)—He who holds the position, acquired by hereditary descent, of being a minister of that same saintly sovereign,[7] possessed of inconceivable ...., (*and*) [has been appointed to] (*the office of arranging*) peace and war; (*viz.*)—

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[1] See page 27 above, note 4, for some similar instances of second names.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] In the original this word stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

[4] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh) throughout.

[5] From the use, in line 5, of the imperfect past tense *akârayat*, 'he caused to be made,'—and from the natural length of time required for the completion of the cave, before the inscription could be engraved inside it,—a considerable time must have elapsed between the visit of the king and his minister, and the engraving of the inscription. But there seems no special reason for supposing that the work was not all finished during the lives of Chandragupta II. and Vîrasêna. Accordingly, in translating, I have given a present sense to the contents of lines 1 to 4.

[6] There seems to be intended a play on the words 'sun' and 'moon,' the latter of which (*chandra*) forms part of the king's name.

[7] *Râjâdhirâja*; *lit.* 'supreme king of *Râjas* or kings.'—This was, in earlier times, one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty. In its Pâli or Prâkṛit form of *Rajadhiraja*, it occurs as the representative of the Greek *basileus basileon*, sometimes by itself, *e.g.* on some of the coins of Maues (Gardner and Poole's *Catalogue* of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India in the British Museum, p. 68 ff., Nos. 4, 5, 9, 11, and 17); and sometimes in conjunction with *Maharaja* (*Mahârâja*), *e.g.* on some of the coins of Azes (*id.* p. 85 ff., Nos. 138, 140, and 157). And another almost identical title, viz. *Râjâtirâja*, *lit.* 'superior king of *Râjas* or kings,' occurs in the same

(L. 4.)—He who, belonging to the Kautsa (*gôtra*) is well-known under the name of **Śâba,** (*but is called*) **Vîrasêna** by (*his*) family-appellation;—who knows the meanings of words, and logic, and (*the ways of*) mankind;—who is a poet;—and who belongs to (*the city of*) **Pâṭaliputra,**—

(L. 5.)—He came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world; and, through devotion towards the divine (god) Śambhu, he caused this cave to be made.

No. 7; PLATE IV B.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 88.

THIS inscription, and the following two inscriptions of Kumâragupta, Nos. 8 and 9, are on a stone that was discovered in 1871-72 by Râjâ Siva Prasad, and were first brought to notice by General Cunningham in his Archæological Reports.

Gaḍhwâ,[1] which means literally 'a fort,' is the name of several villages in the Arail and Bârâ Pargaṇâs in the Karchhanâ Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District in the North-West Provinces. The particular **Gaḍhwâ,** where these inscriptions were found, is in the Bârâ[2] Pargaṇâ, eight miles to the west by south from Bârâ, and one and a half miles south of the village of Bhaṭgaḍh.[3] It is entered in the map simply as a "Fort."[4] The stone containing the inscriptions was found built into the wall of one of the rooms of a modern dwelling-house inside the enclosure of the fort; and is a rectangular sandstone fragment, measuring about 9½″ broad by 4″ thick and 2′ 6½″ high. It is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone is inscribed on three faces,—on the front, as it stands in the Museum, and on the two sides. It is entire towards the bottom; but the top of it, containing two or three lines of writing, has been broken away and lost. In addition to this, the sides now contain only about half of each line of the inscriptions engraved on them; and this, with the unfinished roughness of the present back of the stone, shews that about half of it has been pared away, in adapting it to some other purpose than that for which it was originally intended.

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sense of paramount sovereignty, but coupled also with *Mahârâja*; *e.g.* in the Mathurâ inscription of Hûvishka of the year 47 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 12, and Plate xiv.), and in the Mathurâ inscription of Vâsudêva of the year 87 (*id.* p. 35, No. 18, and Plate xv.). But, by the Early Gupta period, these two titles appear to have been permanently supplanted, for technical purposes, by the fuller form of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* (see page 10 above, note 3). The form *Râjâtirâja* cannot be traced at all. And *Râjâdhirâja* occurs only in metrical passages, where it was inconvenient or impossible to introduce the prefix *mahâ*; thus, in addition to the present passage, in line 6 of the Mandasôr inscription of Yasôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, No. 35 below; in line 62 of the Alînâ grant of Śîlâditya VII., No. 39 below; and, in the derivative *râjâdhirâjya*, in line 24 of the Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14 below, in line 2 of which we also have, again for metrical reasons, another variety of the title, viz. *Râjarâjâdhirâja*.

[1] The 'Garhwa' and 'Gurhwa' of maps, &c.

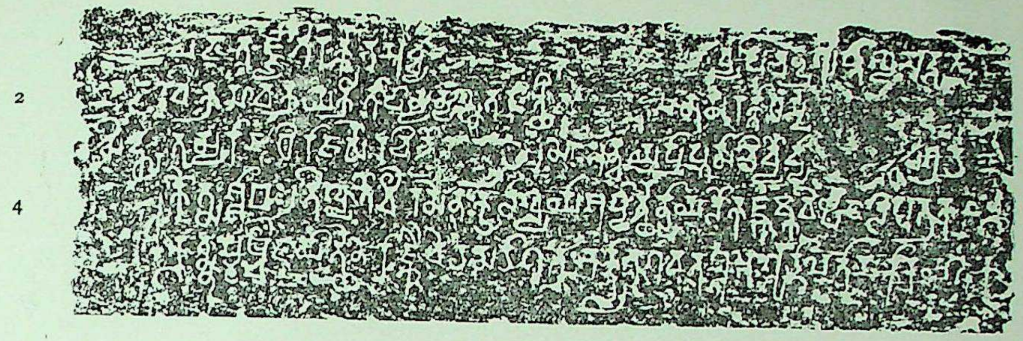
[2] The 'Barah' of maps.

[3] The 'Badgarh, Bhatgarh, and Budgudh' of maps, &c.

[4] Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 13′ N.; Long. 81° 38′ E.

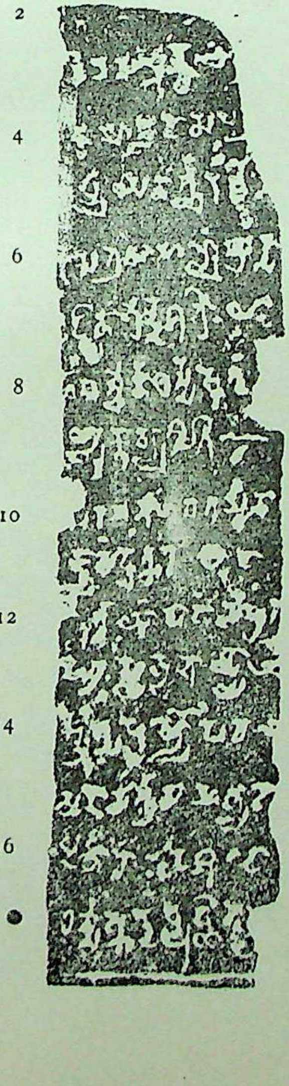
Plate iv

A.—Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II.

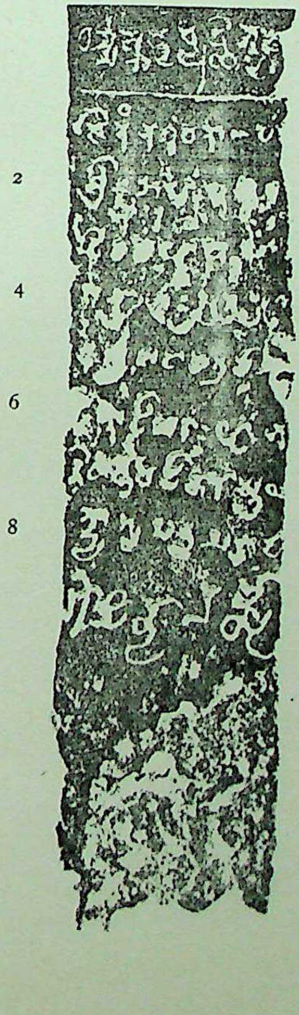


SCALE .14

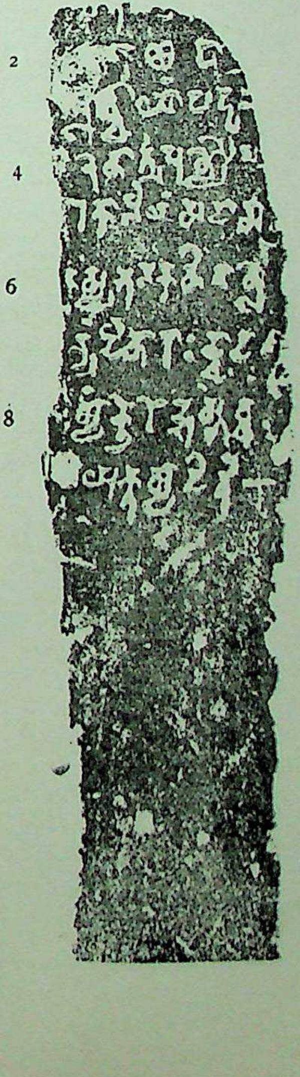
B.—Gadhwa Inscription
of Chandragupta II.
The Year 88.



C.—Gadhwa Inscription
of Kumaragupta.



D.—Gadhwa Inscription
of Kumaragupta.
The Year 98.



On the front of the stone, towards the top, traces are visible of eleven lines of writing, each of about thirteen letters, in characters of the same period with those of the inscriptions that I now publish. But no part of this inscription, which seems to have been quite distinct from those on the sides, can be read; and the traces of it that remain are not worth being lithographed.

The inscription of Chandragupta II. now published, is on the upper part of the present proper left side of the stone, and the **writing** covers a space of about 4″ broad by 1′ 4¼″ high. It was originally brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text of lines 10 to 17 in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 55, with a lithograph of the whole (*id.* Pl. xx. No. 1). The first two entire lines, and the last half of each of the remaining lines, have been broken away and lost. The remnant of the inscription, however, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The average **size** of the letters is $\frac{5}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include, in lines 7, 11, and 16, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8, 10, and 80.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point requiring notice is the doubling of *y* and *v* after the *anusvâra*, in *saṁyyukta*, line 9, and *saṁvvatsarê*, line 11.

In the first part of the **inscription,** lines 1 to 9, the date and the name of the king are entirely broken away and lost. So also the name in the second part. But, in the latter part, lines 10 to 17, we have the date, in numerical symbols, of the year eighty-eight (A.D. 407-8). And this, coupled with the epithet *paramabhâgavata* in line 10, followed by the beginning of the title *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, shews that the inscription, in this part, certainly belongs to the time of the **Early Gupta** king **Chandragupta II.** And the first part is so plainly engraved by the same hand,—and is, moreover, not separated by any dividing line,—that it must certainly be allotted to the same reign. So little remains of the two parts of this inscription, that the form of religion to which they belong cannot be determined; nor can the object of them; except that each part records a gift of ten *dînâras*, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *sattra*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

In line 12 we have a mention of the city of **Pâṭaliputra,** the modern **Paṭna** in Bihâr; but there is nothing to indicate, of necessity, that it is mentioned as a capital of Chandragupta II.

TEXT.[1]

First Part.

1 [Paramabhâgavata[2]-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Chandragupta**-râjya]-
2 [saṁvvatsarê][3] .... [asyâṁ]
3 divasa-pûrvvâyâṁ[4] ....

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] This first line is entirely broken away and lost; but, from the date in line 11, there can be no doubt that the name and titles of Chandragupta II. have to be filled in here, as also in line 10.—In the second line, remnants are visible of the first four or five *aksharas*, including one or two numerical symbols; but not enough of them remains to shew with any certainty what the latter are.

[3] To be corrected into *râjyê saṁvatsarê*; see page 38 below, note 5.

[4] Supply *tithau.*

4 ka-Mâtṛidâsa-pra[mukha] .... [puṇy-â]-
5 pyâyan-ârtthaṁ rachi[ta] .... [sa]-
6 dâ-sat[t*]ra-sâmâṇya(nya)-brâhma[ṇa] ....
7 dînârair=ddaśabhiḥ 10 .... [II]
8 Yas=ch=ainaṁ dharmma-skanda(ndha[1])ṁ [vyuchchhindyât=sa
pañcha-mahâpâtakaiḥ saṁ]-
9 yyukta[ḥ*] syâd-iti I(II)

Second Part.

10 Paramabhâgavata - mahâ[râjâdhirâja - śrî - **Chandragupta** - ra]-
11 jya-saṁvvatsarê[2] 80 8 .... [asyâṁ divasa]-
12 pûrvvâyâṁ[3] **Pâṭâ(ṭa)liput[t]ra** .... [gṛi]-
13 hasthasya bharyyâ y ....
14 . =âtma-puṇy-ôpachay-[ârtthaṁ] ....
15 sadâ-sattra-sâmânya-b[râhmaṇa] ....
16 dînârâḥ daśa 10 .... [II] [Yaś=ch=ainaṁ
17 dharmma-skanda(ndha)ṁ vyuchchhindyâ[t=sa pañcha
mahâpâtakaiḥ saṁyuktaḥ syâd=iti [II]

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

[In the reign of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**; in the year] ....; [on this] (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (*&c.*) :—

(Line 3.)—........... headed by Mâtṛidâsa .... for the purpose of increasing [the religious merit] .... fashioned .... the Brâhmaṇs of the community of a perpetual almshouse .... by ten *dînâras*, (*or in figures*) 10.

(L. 8.)—And whosoever [shall interfere with] this branch of religion,—[he] shall become invested [with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins[4]] !

Second Part.

(L. 10.)—In the reign[5] of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, [the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**]; in the year 80 (*and*) 8; .... [on this] (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above [by the day, (*&c.*)] :—

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[1] In line 17 below, the reading is again *skandam*. But this is undoubtedly a mistake for *skandhaṁ*, which we have distinctly in the same imprecation in line 12 of the Gaḍhwâ inscription, No. 64 below, Plate xxxixB.—We also have a similar expression, *puṇya-skandham*, in line 9 of the Kahâuṁ pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15 below, Plate ixA.

[2] Read *râjyê saṁvatsarê*; see note 5 below.

[3] Supply *tithau*.

[4] The *pañcha mahâpâtakâni*, or 'five great crimes,' are—slaying a Brâhmaṇ; drinking intoxicating liquor; theft (of the gold belonging to a Brâhmaṇ); adultery with the wife of a spiritual preceptor; and associating with any one guilty of these crimes; see the *Mânavadharmaśâstra*, ix. 235, and xi. 55 to 59; Burnell's Translation, pp. 287, 331.

[5] The original, if accepted as it stands, would have to be translated "in the year eighty-eight of the reign of Chandragupta." But the numerals, both here and in the still more pointed instances given below, shew that the expression cannot possibly refer to regnal years.—This method of expres-

(L. 12.)— ...... **Pâṭaliputra** .... the wife of the householder .... [for the purpose] of adding to (*her*) own religious merit .... the Brâhmaṇs of the community of a perpetual almshouse .... ten *dinâras*, (*or in figures*) 10.

(L. 16.)—[And whosoever] shall interfere with [this] branch of religion,—[he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins]!

No. 8; PLATE IVC.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THIS is another of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Râjâ Siva Prasad, in 1871-72, at **Gaḍhwâ**,[1] in the Allahâbâd District in the North-West Provinces. It was first brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 55, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xx. No. 1).

This inscription is on the lower part of the proper left side of the stone, immediately below the preceding inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 7 above, from which it is separated only by a line across the stone.

The last half of each line has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the **writing**, however, covering a space of about 4″ broad by 10″ high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The average **size** of the letters is about ¼″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding inscription, No. 8, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in lines 3 and 6, forms of the **numerical symbol** for 10.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta** king **Kumâragupta**. The date, however, except in respect of the day, is broken away and lost. So little remains of the inscription that the form of religion to which it belongs cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it seems to record two gifts,—one of ten *dînâras*, and

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sion was a very common one in early times; and is due, of course, to the fact that the early years of most eras were regnal years, and that, after the death of the founder of each era, the expression was continued mechanically in the case of his successors.—As similar instances, we have in the present series of inscriptions, (1) line 6 of the Bilsaḍ pillar inscription of Kumâragupta, No. 10 below, Plate v., "in the year ninety-six of the augmenting victorious reign of Kumâragupta;" (2) line 3 of the Indôr grant of Skandagupta, No. 16 below, Plate ixB., "while the year one hundred, increased by forty-six, of the augmenting victorious reign of Skandagupta, is current;" and (3) line 1 of the Gaḍhwâ inscription of the year 148, No. 66 below, Plate xxxixD., "in the year one hundred, increased by forty-eight, of the augmenting victorious reign of ....;" and in other series, (4) line 2 f. of the Gûnda inscription of Rudrasiṁha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 157), "in the year one hundred, increased by two, or in figures 100 and 2, of the *Mahâkshatrapa*, the *Svâmin* Rudrasîha;" and (5) line 1 of a Mathurâ inscription of Vâsudêva (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20), "in the year 90 and 8 of king Vâsudêva."—In every passage like those of this series, a suitable expression and translation are at once arrived at by the very simple emendation of reading *râjyê saṁvatsarê* instead of *râjya-saṁvatsarê*.

[1] See page 36 above, and note 1.

the other of an uncertain number,—as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *sattra*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

TEXT.[1]

1 Jitaṁ bhagavatâ | Pa[ramabhâgavata[2]-mahârâjâdhirâja]-
2 śrî-**Kumâragupta**-râjya-[saṁvatsarê[3]] . . . .
3 divasê 10 [asyâṁ divasa-pûrvvâyâṁ] . . . .
4 . . . .
5 . . . . sadâ-sat[t*]ra-sâ[mânya] . . . .
6 [da]ttâ dînârâḥ 10 ta(?) . . . .
7 ti sattrê cha dînârâs=tray[4] . . . . [||]
[Yaś=ch=ainaṁ dharmma-skandhaṁ vyuchchhi]-
8 ndyât=sa pañcha-mahâpâ[takaiḥ saṁyuktaḥ syâd=iti [||]
9 Gôyindâ Lakshmâ . . . .

TRANSLATION.

Victory has been achieved by the Divine One! In the reign[5] of [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*], the glorious **Kumâragupta**; [in the year] . . . . ; on the day 10; [on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (*&c.*)]:—

(Line 3.)— . . . . [the community of] a perpetual almshouse . . . . there were given ten *dînâras* . . . . and in the almshouse . . . . three *dînâras* . . . .

(L. 7.)—[And whosoever shall interfere with this branch of religion],—he [shall become invested] with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins!

(L. 9.)—Gôyindâ, Lakshmâ, ...

No. 9; PLATE IV D.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 98.

THIS is the last of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Râjâ Siva Prasad, in 1871-72, at **Gaḍhwâ**[6] in the Allahâbâd District in the North-West Provinces. It was not noticed when the stone was first discovered; but was afterwards found, on clearing away the lime under which it was hidden, by General Cunningham, who then, in 1880, published his reading of the text in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 9, with a lithograph (*id.* Plate v. No. 1.)

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] This epithet is completed from line 5 of the Bilsaḍ pillar inscription of Kumâragupta, No. 10 below, and line 5 f. of the Bhitarî pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below.

[3] Read *râjyê* [*saṁvatsarê*]; see page 38 above, note 5.

[4] This may be completed into either *trayaḥ*, *trayôdaśa*, *trayôviṁśati*, or any other numeral commencing with *trayas*.

[5] See page 38 above, note 5.

[6] See page 36 above, and note 1.

This inscription is on the upper part of the proper right side of the stone. Almost the whole of the first line, and the first half of each of the remaining lines, has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the **writing,** however, covering a space of about 4″ broad by 9″ high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The **size** of the letters varies from ¼″ to ½″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding two inscriptions, Nos. 7 and 8, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in the date, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8 and 90.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The name of the king is broken away and lost in the first half of line 2. But the **inscription** is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year ninety-eight (A.D. 417-18); and this shews that the record must belong to the time of the **Early Gupta** king **Kumâragupta.** So little remains of it, that the form of religion to which it belonged, cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it records a gift of twelve *dînâras*, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *sattra*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

TEXT.[1]

1 [Jitaṁ bhagavatâ || Para]mabh[â]gavata-[mahârâjâdhi]-
2 [râja-śrî-**Kumâragupta**-râjya-saṁvatsa]rê[2] 90 8 ......
3 ...... [asyâṁ divasa]-pûrvvâyâṁ[3] paṭṭa ....
4 .... nê(?)n=âtma-puṇy-ôpa[cha]-
5 [y-ârtthaṁ] .... kâlîyaṁ sadâ-sat[t]ra-
6 .... kasya talakanivansê(?) ..
7 .... tya(?)ṁ dînârâḥ dvâdaśa
8 .... sy=âṁkur-ôdbha(?)sta-chchha ....
9 ....[saṁ]yukta[ḥ*][4] syâd=iti |(||)

TRANSLATION.

[Victory has been achieved by the Divine One!] [In the reign[5]] of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Kumâragupta**]; in the year 90 (*and*) 8; ....; [on this] (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (*&c.*);—

(Line 3)— .... [for the purpose] of adding to (*his*) own religious merit .... (*to endure*) for the same time with .... a perpetual almshouse .... twelve *dînâras* ....

(L. 9.)— .... shall become invested with ....

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] To be corrected into *râjyê saṁvatsarê*; see page 38 above, note 5.

[3] Supply *tithau.*

[4] The measure of the lines of this inscription seems to shew that it did not contain here the full formula of the preceding two, Nos. 7 and 8.

[5] See page 38 above, note 5.

No. 10; PLATE V.

BILSAD STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 96.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1877-78 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in his reading of the text, and translation of it, published in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 19 f., accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate viii.)

Bilsaḍ or **Bilsaṇḍ**[1] is a village,—consisting of three parts, called respectively Bilsaḍ-Puvâyâṁ, or Eastern Bilsaḍ; Bilsaḍ-Pachhâyâṁ, or Western Bilsaḍ; and Bilsaḍ-Paṭṭî,[2] or Bilsaḍ Suburb,—about four miles towards the north-east of Alîgañj,[3] the chief town of the Alîgañg Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Êṭâ[4] District in the North-West Provinces. At the south-west corner of Bilsaḍ-Puvâyâṁ, or the eastern division of the town, there are four broken red-sandstone monolith columns,—two of them, towards the west, round; and two of them, towards the east, square. Each pair of columns stands almost due north and south; and the two western columns are both inscribed. The inscription now published is on the eastern side of the northern column of the west pair.

On the eastern side of the southern column of the west pair, there is also an inscription, which, as shewn by the remains of it, was a duplicate copy of that on the northern column; but it was arranged somewhat differently, being, as counted by General Cunningham, in sixteen somewhat shorter lines, instead of thirteen. From General Cunningham's ink-impression, hardly any appreciable portion of this second inscription remains, except the second and third lines, and lines 12 to 16; and these are not in sufficiently good order to be lithographed, though they are of use in supplying more clearly a few letters which are doubtful in the two verses at the end of the inscription on the northern column. In this second inscription, line 2 begins with the *svâdita-yaśasô* of line 1 of the one now published;—line 3, with the *gat-ânêka* of line 2;—line 12, with about the *parshadâ* of line 9;—line 13, with the *kaubêrachchhanda* of line 10;—line 14, with the [*sa*]*ttra* of line 11;—line 15, with the .... *śubhâ* of line 12;—and line 16, with the *yên=âpûrvva* of line 13.

With this pair of duplicate inscriptions, we may compare the duplicate inscriptions of Yaśôdharman on the two columns at Mandasôr, Nos. 33 and 34 below. But Yaśôdharman's pillars were *jayastambhas* or 'columns of victory,' not connected with any building; whereas the two inscribed Bilsaḍ pillars seem to have had a direct connection with a temple, now ruined, the remains of which must be hidden under the rubbish that has accumulated over the site,—*viz.* the temple of the god Svâmi-Mahâsêna, or Kârttikêya, referred to in the inscription.

The **writing** of the inscription now published covers a space of about 2′ 1¾″ broad by 1′ 10½″ high. The first four lines are almost entirely destroyed, and a good deal of damage has been done to the rest; but nothing of a historical nature seems to have been lost.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; but they present a very pointed difference from the characters of the same class in the preceding inscriptions, in respect of the very marked *mâtrâs* or prolonged horizontal top-strokes of the letters.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the end of line 9, and the rest in verse.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *puttrasya*, line 4.

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[1] The 'Beelsur and Bilsar' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 68 Lat 27° 33′ N.; Long. 79° 16′ E.—The name is written and pronounced optionally with or without a nasal in the second syllable; compare Aphsaḍ, and Aphsaṇḍ, in the case of the inscription of Âdityasêna, No 42 below.

[2] The 'Beelsurpowa, Beelsurpucha, and Beelsurputtee,' of maps.

[3] The 'Aliganj and Ulleegunje' of maps, &c.

[4] The 'Eeta, Etah, and Eytuh,' of maps, &c.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta** king **Kumâragupta.** It is dated, in words, in the year ninety-six (A.D. 415-16); but without any specification of the month and day. It belongs to the Saiva form of worship; and the object of it is to record the accomplishment by a certain **Dhruvaśarman,** at a temple of the god Kârttikêya under the name of Svâmi-Mahâsêna, of certain works, *viz.* (1) the building of a *pratôlî*, or 'gateway with a flight of steps;'[1] (2), the establishment, apparently, of a *sattra* or charitable hall or almshouse; and (3) the erection of the column with the inscription on it, to record the above acts.

TEXT.[2]

1. . . . . .[3] [Sarvva-râj-ôchchhêttuṇ pṛithivyâm=a-pratirathasya chatur-uda]dhi-salil-âsvâdita-yaśasô
2 [Dhanada-Varuṇ-Êndr-Ântaka-samasya Kṛitânta-paraśôḥ nyây-âgat-ânêka-gô-hi]raṇya-kôṭi-pradasya chir-ôtsann-âśvamêdh-âharttuḥ
3 [mahârâja-śrî-**Gupta**-prapauttrasya mahârâja-śrî-**Ghaṭôtkacha**-pauttrasya ma]hârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya
4 **Lichchhavi**-dauhi[tt]r[asya mahâdêvyâṁ **Kumâradêvyâm**=utpannasya mahârâ]jâdhirâja-śrî-**Samudragupta**-puttrasya[4]
5 mahâdêvyâṁ **Dattadevyâm**=utpannasya svaya[m=a-pratirathasya] [parama]-bhâgavatasya mahârâjadhirâja-śrî-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya[5]
6 mahâdêvyâm **Dhruvadêvyâm**=utpannasya mahârajadhirâja-śrî-**Kumâra-guptasy**=âbhivarddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê[6] shaṇ-navatê [1*]

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[1] As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham, *pratôlî*, according to the Dictionaries, means 'a broad way; a high-street; a principal road through a town.' But the meaning of 'gateway' was given to him by a Paṇḍit. And that the word has the meaning in the present inscription of 'a gateway with a flight of steps,' seems to be shewn by the comparison of the *pratôlî* with a *svarga-sôpânâ* or 'flight of steps, or ladder, leading to heaven,' and by its being described as "white with the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems (in the stones of which it was constructed)."

[2] From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression; so also the lithograph. The passages that are illegible in lines to 3 are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from the Bhitarî pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii., lines 1 to 3.

[3] Probably *siddham* stood here.

[4] Read *Samudraguptasya puttrasya*, the separate genitive *Samudraguptasya* being required in apposition with the genitives ending in *prapauttrasya*, *pauttrasya*, *puttrasya*, *dauhittrasya*, and *utpannasya*, in line 3 f.—Here, and in line 5, the drafter of the inscription seems to have been led into his mistake through following blindly the *Chandragupta-puttrasya*, which is quite correct, at the end of line 3.

[5] Read *Chandraguptasya puttrasya*, the separate genitive *Chandraguptasya* being required in apposition with the genitives *utpannasya*, *apratirathasya*, and *paramabhâgavatasya* in this line.—See the preceding note.

[6] Read *râjyê saṁvatsarê*, see page 38 above, note 5.

7 Asyân=divasa-pûrvvâyâṁ[1] bhagavatas=trailôkya-têjas-saṁbhâra-saṁtat-âdbhuta-
mûrttêr=Brahmaṇya-dêvasya

8 .... nivâsinaḥ Svâmi-Mahâsênasy=âyatanê=smin=Kârttayug-âchâra-
saddharmma-vartm-ânuyâyina ı

9 . âta .... [pa]rshadâ mânitêna **Dhruvaśarmmaṇa**
karmma mahat=kṛit=êdam[2] I(II)

10 Kṛit[v]â[3] [— — â]bhirâmâṁ muni-vasati[◡ —] svargga-sôpana-r[û]pâm I[4]
kaubêrachchhanda-bimbâṁ sphaṭika-maṇi-dal-âbhâsa-gaurâṁ[5] pratôlîm I

11 prâsâd-âgr-âbhirûpaṁ guṇa-vara-bhavanaṁ [dharmma-sa(?)]ttraṁ yathâvat I
puṇyêshv=êv=âbhirâmaṁ vrajati śubha-matis=tâta-**Śarmmâ** dhruvô=stu I(II)

12 [—]â[—]î[—]sya[6] [◡ —]śubh-âmṛita-vara-prakhyâta-labdhâ bhuvi I [—]ê[—]ê
bhaktir=ahîna-sat[t*]va-samatâ kas=taṁ na saṁpûjayêt I

13 yên=âpûrvva[7]-vibhûti-sañchaya-chayaiḥ [—]ai[—]i[◡ — — ◡ —]ḥ I tên=âyaṁ
Dhruvaśarmmaṇâ sthira-varas[8]=[st]aṁbh-ôch[chhr]ayaḥ kâritaḥ I(II)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 6.)—In the ninety-sixth year, (*and*) in the augmenting victorious reign[9] of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Kumâragupta,**—

(L. 5.)—Who is the son, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Dhruvadêvî,** of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.),** who was himself without an antagonist (*of equal power*); who was a most devout worshipper of the Divine One; (*and*)

(L. 4.)—Who[10] was the son, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Dattadêvî,** of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Samudragupta,**—

(L. 1.)—[Who[11] was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world]; whose fame was tasted by the waters [of the four oceans]; [who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka; who was the very axe of (the god) Kṛitânta]; who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows and] gold; who was the restorer of the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; (*and*)

(L. 3.)—[Who[12] was the son of the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Gupta;**—the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Ghaṭôtkacha**];—(*and*) the son of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (I.),** (*and*) the daughter's son of **Lichchhavi,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Kumâradêvî;**—

(L. 7.)—On this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (*&c.*),[13]—at this temple of the divine (god) Svâmi-Mahâsêna, whose wondrous form is covered over with the accu-

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[1] Supply *tithau*. [2] Read *kṛitam=idam*. [3] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[4] Here, and below, the marks of punctuation at the end of the first and third *pâdas* of each verse are unnecessary.

[5] The reading is *gaurâṁ*, instead of the usual form *gaurîṁ*, also in the original duplicate of this inscription on the other column.

[6] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[7] These four *aksharas* are supplied from the ink-impression of the duplicate inscription, in which they are quite distinct.

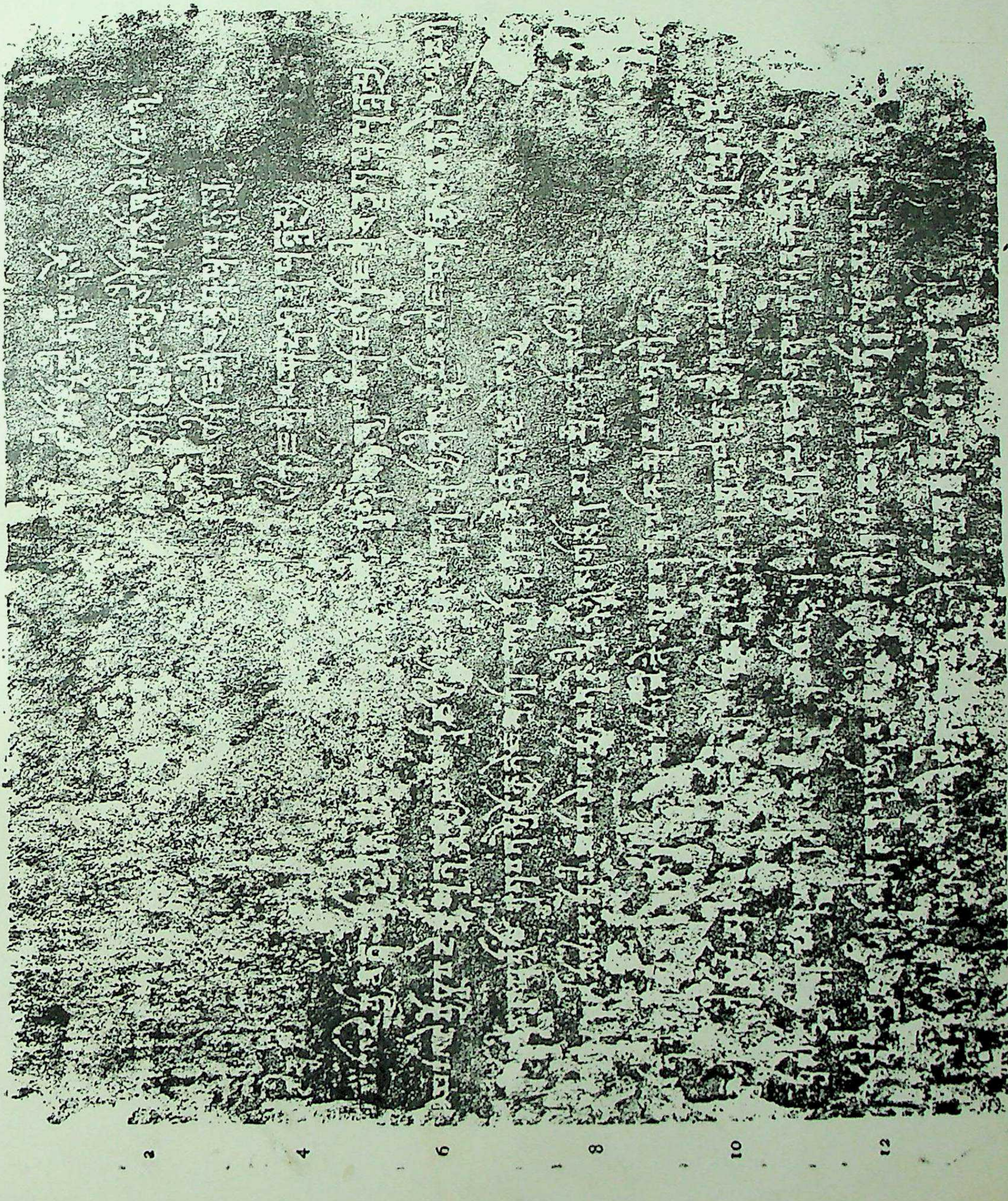
[8] We should expect *sthiratara*s; but the duplicate inscription also reads *sthira-varas*.

[9] See page 38 above, note 5.

[10] *i.e.* Chandragupta II. [11] *i.e.* Samudragupta. [12] *i.e.* Samudragupta.

[13] The day and other details, however, are not specified

Bilsad Pillar Inscription of Kumaragupta.—The Year 96.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE .32

J. F. FLEET BO. C.S.

mulation of the lustre of the three worlds; who is the god Brahmaṇya; (*and*) who resides at . . . .,—this great work has been accomplished by **Dhruvaśarman,** who follows the path of the customs of the Kṛita age, and of the true religion, (*and*) who is honoured by the assembly . . . .

(L. 10.)—Having made a gateway,[1] charming, (*and*) . . . . the abode of saints, (*and*) having the form of a staircase leading to heaven, (*and*) resembling a (*pearl*)-necklace of the kind called *kaubêrachchhanda*, (*and*) white with the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems;—(*and having made*), in a very proper manner, a [religious] almshouse(?), the abode of those who are eminent in respect of virtuous qualities; resembling in form the top part of a temple;—he, the virtuous-minded one, roams in a charming manner among the items of religious merit (*that he has thus accumulated*); may the venerable **Śarman** endure for a long time![2]

(L 12.)—This lofty pillar,[3] firm and excellent, has been caused to be made by that same **Dhruvaśarman,** whose piety, having acquired the excellent reputation of nectar . . . . on the earth, is so highly esteemed by all perfect beings that there is no one who would fail to worship him; (*and*) by whom . . . . by means of the abundance of (*his*) unprecedented accumulation of superhuman power.

No. II; PLATE VIA.

MANKUWAR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 129.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1870 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and appears to have been first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 7, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate IV. No. 2.).—And, in 1885, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 354.

Mankuwâr[4] is a small village near the right bank of the Jamnâ, about nine miles in a south-westerly direction from Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Parganâ in the Karchhanâ Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the front of the pedestal of a seated image of Buddha, which, when it came to the notice of General Cunningham, was in a garden at Mankuwâr, belonging to the Gôsâî of Dêôriyâ[5] or Dêwariyâ; and it appears to be still there. But it was said to have been originally discovered in a brick mound between the five rocky hillocks called Pañch-Pahâḍ, a short distance to the north-east of Mankuwâr. The image represents Buddha, seated; wearing a plain cap, fitting close to the head, with long lappets on each side; and naked to the waist, and clad below in a waist-cloth, reaching to the ankles. The first line of the inscription is at the top of the pedestal, immediately below the image. Then comes a compartment of sculptures, containing in the centre, a Buddhist wheel; on each side of the wheel, a man seated in meditation, and facing full-front; and, at each corner, a lion. Then follows the second line of the inscription, at the bottom of the pedestal.

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[1] *pratôlî*; see page 43 above, note 1.

[2] This is a play on the meaning of the first part of his name, *dhruva*, 'immovable, stable, enduring.'—For the use of the second part, to represent the whole name, see page 8 above, note 3.

[3] *lit.* "this loftiness of a pillar."

[4] The 'Mankûâr and Munhowar' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88 Lat. 25° 19′ N.; Long. 81° 52′ E

[5] The 'Deoriya and Deorya' of maps, &c.; about a mile to the north-west of Mankuwâr.—Bhagwanlal Indraji writes the name 'Devaliâ.'

The **writing,** each line of which covers a space of about 1′ 7″ broad, by $\frac{3}{4}''$ high in the first line, and 1″ in the second, is in a state of excellent preservation.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}''$ to $\frac{7}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate very closely to those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate 1 They include, in line 2, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8, 9, 10, 20, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta** king **Kumâragupta.** For some reason or other, it gives him the subordinate feudatory title of *Mahârâja*, instead of the paramount title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*. But we know of no feudatory chieftain of the name of Kumâragupta; and the date fits exactly into the period of **Kumâragupta,** of the **Early Gupta** dynasty; and there can be no doubt that he is the person referred to. The use of the subordinate title may perhaps be due to carelessness or ignorance on the part of the drafter of the inscription. Or possibly it may indicate an actual historical fact, the reduction of Kumâragupta, towards the end of his life, to feudal rank by the Pushyamitras and the Hûṇas, whose attacks on the Gupta power are so pointedly alluded to in the Bhitarî inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below.[1] The date of the inscription, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and twenty-nine (A.D. 448-49), and the eighteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Jyêshṭha (May-June). It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.[2]

1 Ôm[3] Namô Budhâna[4] [|*] Bhagavatô[5] samyak-sambuddhasya sva-mat-âviruddhasya iyaṁ pratimâ pratishṭhâpitâ bhikshu-**Buddhamitrêṇa**

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[1] We may compare the rather doubtful legend on one of Skandagupta's coins,—*Mahârâja-Kumâraputra-paramamâhâditya-mahârâja-Skanda*; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 67.

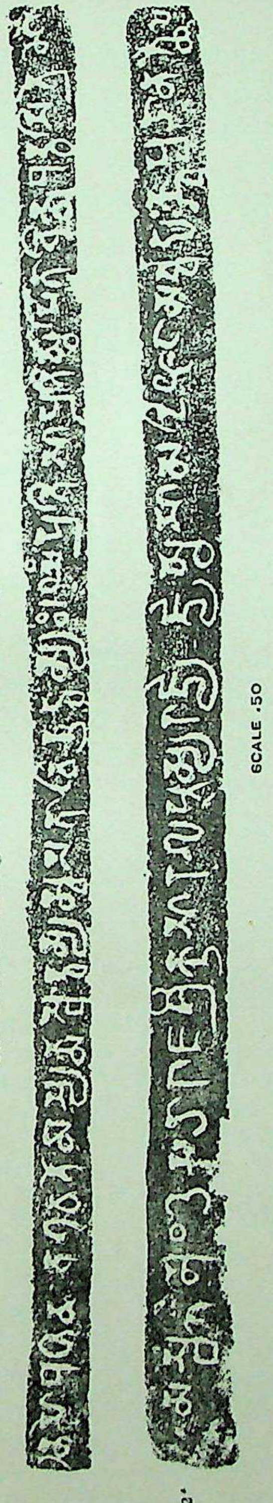
[2] From the ink-impression.

[3] As was usual throughout the whole of the period covered by this volume, this word is represented by a symbol, not by actual letters. — *Ôm* is not of very frequent occurrence at the commencement of Buddhist inscriptions. But another instance is afforded by line 1 of the Shêrgaḍh (Kôṭâ) inscription of the *Sâmanta* Dêvadatta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 45.)

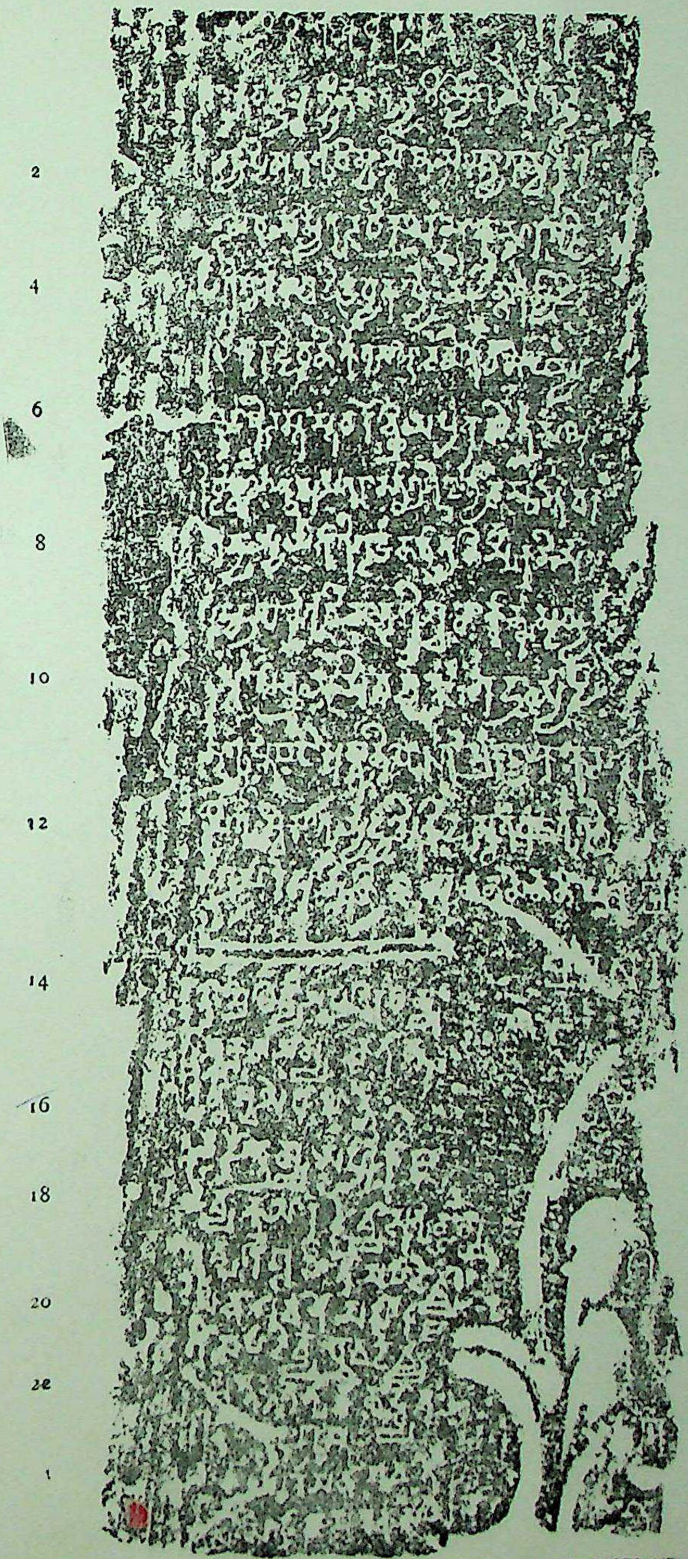
[4] Read *buddhânâṁ*; unless *budhâna*, as also the following *bhagavatô*, is to be regarded as a Prâkṛit form used through carelessness.—This use of the genitive after *namaḥ* is not usual. But we have other instances; *e.g.* in the Khandagiri rock inscription, which commences *Namô arahaṁtânam namô sava-sidhânaṁ* (*Corp. Inscr. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 98, and Pl. xvii.);—in the two early inscriptions quoted by Bühler in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 273, the first of which, from Amarâvatî (Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. xciv. No. 3), commences *Sidhaṁ Namô bhagavatô*; and the second, from Mathurâ (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20) *Siddhaṁ Namô arahatô Mahâvîrasya*;—and in the Amarâvatî *Stûpa* inscription, which commences *Sidhaṁ Namô bhagavatâ savasatutamasa Budhasa* (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. 3, p. 12, No. 12B., and Plate iii.; see also other instances on pp. 8, 18, 45, 47, 52, 53, 54, of the same volume).

[5] Read *bhagavataḥ*.

A.—Mankuwar Image Inscription of Kumaragupta.—The Year 129.



B.—Bihar Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta.


2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
1
SCALE .25

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

2 Samvat[1] 100 20 9 mahârâja-śrî-**Kumâraguptasya** râjyê Jyêshṭha-mâsa di 10 8 sarvva-duḥkkha[2]-prahân(ṇ)-ârttham [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm ![3] Reverence to the Buddhas ![4] This image of the Divine One, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge, (*and*) who was never refuted in respect of his tenets, has been installed by the *Bhikshu* **Buddhamitra**,—(*in*) the year 100 (*and*) 20 (*and*) 9; in the reign of the *Mahârâja*,[5] the glorious **Kumâragupta**; (*in*) the month Jyêshṭha; (*on*) the day 10 (*and*) 8,—with the object of averting all unhappiness.

No. 12; PLATE VI B.

BIHAR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Ravenshaw, and to have been first brought to notice by him in 1839, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p: 347 ff.; from his remarks it appears that the column was originally found in front of the northern gate of the old fort of Bihâr, but had been subsequently removed and set up "in a reversed position, with its base in the air, and its summit in the ground," a little to the west of the same gate, where it was afterwards found, fallen, by General Cunningham.—In 1866, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. pp. 269 ff. and 277 f., Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, with a lithograph, from a baked clay impression made by Major C. Hollings, and sent to the Society in 1861.—And in 1871, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 37 f. and Plate xvii., General Cunningham published his own lithograph of the inscription.

Bihâr[6] is the chief town of the Bihâr Sub-Division of the Paṭna District in the Bengal Presidency. The broken red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, was eventually removed by Mr. A. M. Broadley, Magistrate of Bihâr, and was set up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihâr Court-House,[7] where it still stands. Mr. Broadley perpetuated the inverted position of the column, upside down; and also disfigured it with an English inscription, printed in full by General Cunningham, a few letters of which appear in the lithograph now published. Also, the column, as placed by Mr. Broadley, stands now in the middle of a house, the roof of which is supported by it; and the last eight lines of the inscription, shewn in Dr. Rajendralala Mitra and General Cunningham's lithographs, are now completely hidden, and rendered quite inaccessible, by a wooden structure placed on the top, *i.e.* the proper bottom, of the pillar, in order to connect it with the roof.

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[1] See page 30 above, note 3.

[2] Read *duḥkha*.

[3] *Ôm* is an auspicious exclamation, used at the beginning of books, &c. It is made up of the three letters *a*, *u*, and *m*; and in later times it was looked upon as a mystic name for the Hindu triad, and as representing the union of the three gods, Vishṇu (*a*), Śiva (*u*), and Brahman (*m*).—The efficacy of the exclamation is detailed in the *Mânavadharmaśastra*, ii. 74-85 (Burnell's Translation, p. 25 ff.)

[4] With this plural, compare the mention of four Buddhas in the Sâñchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB.; and also *Bhagavatâṁ samyaksaṁbuddhânâṁ Buddhânâm*, "of the divine Buddhas, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge," in line 22 of the Walâ grant of Dhruvasêna I. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 105).

[5] See page 46 above, para. 4.

[6] The 'Behar and Bihar' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 11′ N.; Long 85° 33′ E.—The proper form of the name, which is by no means an uncommon one for villages i Northern and Central India, is of course Bihâr, with the vowel *i* in the first syllable, from the Sanskṛit *vihâra*, 'a Buddhist (and Jain) temple or convent;' and this is the form that is used by the people of the Paṭna District.—The Sanskṛit name, Vihâra, occurs in line 9-10 of the 'Pesserawa' inscription, now stored in the collection at Bihâr, where the place is called "Vihâra, the city of the glorious Yaśôvarman" (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XVII. p. 492 ff.)

[7] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 192 f.

The **writing** originally extended, in the First Part, lines 1 to 13, over four of the faces of the column, as is shewn by the metres of the extant portion; and in the Second Part, line 14 ff., over three faces, as is shewn by the number of letters lost in each line. The extant portion, now lithographed, covers a space of about 1′ 4″ broad by 3′ 5″ high, and is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{8}''$ to $\frac{5}{8}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate closely to those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include, in lines 3 and 11, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 3, 5, and 30.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 10, and the rest in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *anśa*, lines 11 and 13; (2) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e g.* in *chakkrê*, line 10 (but not in *vikramêṇa*, line 3), and *pauttrasya*, line 17; and (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, line 22.

The first part of the **inscription,** which is not dated, mentions the **Early Gupta** king **Kumâragupta,** and seems to have recorded the name of his wife, which is not given in any of the other inscriptions; her name, however, is lost in the part that has peeled off. But this part of the inscription seems to belong, like the second, to the time of his son and successor **Skandagupta,** from the mention of apparently a village named **Skandaguptabaṭa,** in line 11. This part of the inscription records the erection of the column, which in line 10 is called a *yûpa* or 'sacrificial post,' apparently by some minister whose sister had become Kumâragupta's wife. And the inscription further recorded certain shares in the village of **Skandaguptabaṭa** (?), and in another *agrahâra,* the name of which is lost. From the mention of Skanda, or Kârttikêya, and the divine Mothers, in line 9, this part of the inscription seems to have belonged to the Śaiva form of worship, in its Śâkta or Tântrika development.[1]

The second part, which also contains no date, is a record of **Skandagupta.** Not enough of it remains to shew the form of religion to which it belonged, or to indicate clearly its purport.

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[1] Compare the undoubted instance of this, in the same period, in the Gaṅgdhâr inscription of Visvavarman, No. 17 below.—The *mâtaraḥ* or *mâtṛigaṇa*, 'the divine Mothers,' are 'the personified energies (*śakti*) of the principal deities.' They are closely connected with the worship of the god Siva. Originally they were seven in number,—Brâhmî or Brahmâṇî, Vaishṇavî, Mâhêsvarî, Kaumârî Vârâhî, Aindrî or Indrâṇî or Mahêndrî, and Châmuṇḍâ,—as representing the Pleiades, the seven mothers or nurses of Kârttikêya, the son of Śiva. Afterwards the number was increased to eight, nine, sixteen, and various other figures. The chief object of the Śâkta or Tântrika worship now is Pârvatî, Durgâ, or Mâhêsvarî, the wife and female energy of Siva; especially under the name of Jagadambâ, 'the mother of the universe.'—Not long after this period, Svâmi-Mahâsêna, or Kârttikêya, and the divine Mothers, "the seven mothers of mankind," appear as special objects of worship, and tutelary deities, of the Early Kadambas (e. g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 27), and of the Early Chalukyas (e g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 162; Vol. VI. p. 74; and Vol. XIII. p. 137 f.)

TEXT.[1]

First Part.

1 [— —]ḥ[2] nṛi[3]-chandra Indrânuja-tulya-vîryyô guṇair=a-tulyaḥ [◡ ◡ — ◡ — —] [||]
2 [— —] [ta]sy[4]=âpi sûnur=bhuvi[5] svâmi-nêyaḥ khyâtaḥ sva-kîrttyâ [◡ ◡ — ◡ — —] [||]
3 [— —] [sva]s[6]=aiva yasy=âtula-vikramêṇa **Kumâragup[t]ê[na]** [◡ — ◡ — —] [||]
4 [— —] p[i]tri(tṛî)ṁś=cha dêvâṁś=cha hi havya-kavyaiḥ sadâ nṛiśaṁsy-âdi[◡ — ◡ — —] [||]
5 [— ◡ —] [a]chîkarad[7]=dêvanikêta-maṇḍalaṁ kshitâv=an-aupamya-[◡ — ◡ — ◡ —]
6 ...... **ba(?)ṭê(?)**[8] kila stambha-var-ôchchhri(chchhra)ya-prabhâsê tu maṇḍa .... [||]
7 ...... bhir=vṛikshâṇâṁ kusuma-bhar-ânat-âgra-śuṁ(?)ga(?)-vyâlamba-stavak ......
8 [— —] Bhadrâryyayâ[9] bhâti gṛihaṁ navâbhra-nirmmôka-nirmu[kta ◡ — ◡ — —] [||]
9 [— —] Skanda-pradhânair=bhuvi mâtṛibhiś=cha lôkân=sa su(?)shya(?)[◡ ◡ — ◡ — —] [||]
10 [— — ◡] yûp-ôchchhrayam=êva chakkrê [||*] Bhadrâryy-âdî-............
11 ...... **[Ska(?)]ndaguptabaṭê** anśâni 30 5 tâ(?)mrakaṭâku(?)ḥ kala ....
12 ...... pituḥ sva-mâtur=yyady=asti hi dushkṛitaṁ bhajatu tanê ....
13 .... k-âgrahârê anśâni 3 Anantasênên=ôpa ....

Second Part.

14 ...... [Sarvva-râj-ôchchhê]ttuḥ[10] pri(pṛi)thivyâm=a-pratirathasya
15 [chatur-udadhi-salil-âsvâdita-yaśasô Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ê]ndr-Antaka-samasya Kṛitânta-

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[1] As far as line 25, from the ink-impression; the rest, partly from Gen. Cunningham's lithograph, and partly from the lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's reading.

[2] The first two entire *pâdas*, and parts of the third *pâdas* of most of the verses, have peeled off and are lost all the way down.

[3] Metre, Upêndravajrâ.

[4] Metre, Indravajrâ

[5] The metre is faulty here: since the *vi* of *bhuvi*, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following *sv*.

[6] Metre, Upêndravajrâ; and in the next verse.

[7] Metre, Vaṁśastha.

[8] Metre, apparently Gîti; and in the next verse.

[9] Metre, Indravajrâ; and in the following two verses.

[10] The passages that are lost in lines 14 to 22, are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from the Bhitarî pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii, lines 1 to 6. The sectarian epithet of Skandagupta, in line 23, is supplied from line 24, and from his silver coins (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p 66 f.)

16 [paraśôḥ nyây-âgat-ânêka-gô-hiraṇya-kôṭi-pradasya chir-ô]tsann-
âśvamêdh-âharttuḥ

17 [mahârâja-śrî-**Gupta**-prapauttrasya mahârâja-śrî-**Ghaṭô]tkacha**-
pauttrasya mahârâjâ-

18 [dhirâja-śrî-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya **Lichchhavi**-dauhittrasya
ma]hâ-dêvyâṁ **Kumâradêvyâm**=utpannasya

19 [mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Samudraguptasya** puttra]s=tat-parigṛihîtô
mahâdêvyâṁ

20 [**Dattadêvyâm**=utpannaḥ svayam=a-pratirathaḥ para]mabhâgavatô
mahârâjâ-

21 [dhirâja-śrî-**Chandraguptas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâ]tô
mahâdêvyâṁ **Dhruvadêvyâm**=

22 [utpannaḥ paramabhâgavatô mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Kumâraguptas**=
tasya] puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtaḥ

23 [paramabhâgavatô mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Ska]ndaguptaḥ** [॥*]

24 ....
parama-bhâgavatô

25 [mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Skandaguptaḥ**] ....
[vai]shayik-**Âjapuraka**-sâ(?)mai(?)-

26 .... grâ . . . . ka . .
[ak]shaya-nîvî grâma-kshêttraṁ

27 .... kṛi . . . .
uparika-kumârâmâtya-

28 .... ṅgikula(?)ḥ(?)
vaṇi[ja*]ka-pâdit-ârika-

29 .... [â]grahârika-
śaulkika-gaulmik-âsanyâṁ śra(?)-

30 . . .. vâs[i]k-âdîn=asmat-prâsâd-
ôpajîvinaḥ

31 [samâjñâpayâmi] .... **varmmaṇâ** vijñâpitô=smi mama
pitâmahêna

32 .... namê bhaṭṭa-Guhilasvâminâ
Bhadrâ[r]yyakâ

33 .... m . g . p[r]ati . . . . . â . âgrôkaya . . . .
nâkaya-

(The rest of the inscription had been broken away and lost, before the time when it was discovered.)

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

.... a very moon of a man; equal in prowess to (the god Vishṇu) the younger brother of Indra; unequalled in respect of virtuous qualities; ....

(Line 2.)—............ moreover, his son, docile towards (*his*) master on the earth; renowned; .... by his own fame.

(L. 3.)—............ whose sister, indeed, [was espoused] by **Kumâragupta**, of unequalled prowess.

(L. 4.)— .... both the deceased ancestors and the gods, with the oblations proper for each of them;[1] .... always .... things that are injurious to man, &c.

(L. 5.)— .... caused to be made a group of temples, not [rivalled by] anything else that could be compared with it in the world.

(L. 6.)— .... assuredly in .... which is beautiful with the erection of (*this*) best of columns.

(L. 7.)— .... of the trees .... the groups of fig-trees and castor-oil plants, the tops of which are bent down by the weight of (*their*) flowers.

(L. 8.)— .... by (*the presence of*) Bhadrâryâ, the house shines .... the sky laden with fresh clouds.

(L. 9.)— .... headed by (the god) Skanda, and by the divine Mothers, on the earth, ... mankind ....

(L. 10.)— .... [he] made, indeed, the erection of (*this*) sacrificial post .... Bhadrâryâ and others .... in (the village (?) called) **Skandaguptabaṭa** (?), 30 (*and*) 5 shares ....

(L. 12.)— .... if there be any misdeed on the part of (*his*) father (*or*) his mother, let him share ....

(L. 13.)— .... in the *agrahâra* of .... 3 shares .... by Anantasêna ....

Second Part.

(L. 14.)— .... The son of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Samudragupta,**—who was the exterminator [of all kings]; who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world; [whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans]; who was equal to (the gods) [Dhanada and Varuṇa] and Indra and Antaka; [who was the very axe] of (the god) Kṛitânta; [who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold]; who was the restorer of the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, that had been [long] in abeyance; [who was the son of the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Gupta]**; who was the son's son of [the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious] **Ghaṭôtkacha**; (*and*) who was [the son] of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, [the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**, (*and*) the daughter's son of **Lichchhavi]**, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Kumâradêvî,**—

(L. 19.)—(*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, [the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)]**,—who was accepted by him;[2] [who was begotten on] the *Mahâdêvî* **[Dattadêvî]**; (*and*) [who was himself without an antagonist (*of equal power.*)]

(L. 21.)—[His son], who meditated on [his feet], (*and*) [who was begotten] on the *Mahâdêvî* **Dhruvadêvî**, (*was*) [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One], [the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Kumâragupta]**.

(L. 22.)—[His] son, who meditated on his feet, (*is*) [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious] **Skandagupta.**

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[1] *lit.* "with the *havya* (the oblation to the gods) and the *kavya* (the oblation to deceased ancestors)."

[2] *i.e.* by Samudragupta; see page 12 above, note 1.

(L. 24.)—[I], the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Skandagupta,** issue a command] .... of the town of **Ajapura** in the ...... *vishaya* .... a perpetual endowment .... a village-field .... the *Uparika*,[1] the *Kumârâmâtya* .... acquired by the merchant .... in the seat (*of office*) (?) of the *Âgrahârika*,[2] the *Śaulkika*,[3] and the *Gaulmika*[4] .... and others who subsist on Our favour :—

(L. 31.)—"I have been requested by ...... **varman,**—'By my father's father, ... by the *Bhaṭṭa* Guhilasvâmin. .... belonging to Bhadrâryâ ....'"

No. 13; PLATE VII.

BHITARI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE column containing this inscription appears to have been discovered in 1834 by Mr. Tregear; but the inscription itself was not observed till a short time afterwards, when General Cunningham found it, on clearing away the earth from the lower part of the shaft. The discovery was announced in 1836, by Mr. James Prinsep, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 661. And the inscription was first brought to notice in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 1 ff., where the Rev. W. H. Mill published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (marked *id.* Vol. V. Plate xxxii.), reduced by Mr. Prinsep from a copy made by General Cunningham.[5]—In 1871, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 98 and Plate xxx., General Cunningham published another lithograph of the inscription.—In 1875, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 59 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published a revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, from a hand-copy made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.[6]—And finally, in 1885, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 349 ff., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has given his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, with another lithograph reduced from his hand-copy.

Bhitarî[7] is a village about five miles to the north-east of Sayyidpur,[8] the chief town of the Sayyidpur Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Ghâzîpur[9] District in the North-West Provinces. The red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands just outside the village, on the south side. The inscription is on the eastern face of the square base of the column; and the bottom line is only a few inches above the level of the ground.

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[1] *Uparika* is a technical official title, the exact purport of which is not known, and a suitable rendering of which cannot be offered at present.

[2] *Âgrahârika* is a technical official title, denoting probably 'an officer in special charge of an *agrahâra*.'

[3] *Śaulkika* is a technical official title, which might be rendered by some such term as 'superintendent of tolls or customs (*śulka*).'

[4] *Gaulmika* is a technical official title, which might be rendered by 'superintendent of woods and forests (*gulma*).'

[5] The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 242 f.

[6] This paper was not published till 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 13th April 1871.

[7] The 'Bhítari, Bhitree, Bhitrî, and Bihtarí,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 35′ N.; Long. 83° 17′ E.

[8] The 'Saidpur and Sydpoor' of maps, &c.

[9] The 'Ghazeepoor' of maps.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 2′ 4¼″ high by 2′ 2¼″ broad, has suffered very much from the effects of the weather; also the stone has peeled off in a few places; and there is a crack running vertically down the inscription, near the left side. With care, however, nearly the whole of the inscription is legible, on the original stone, with certainty; and nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost.—The **size** of the letters varies from ¼″ to $\frac{7}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though more squarely cut, are of the same type with those of the Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iiiA.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the middle of line 6, and the rest in verse.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vaṅśa*, lines 7, 13, and 14; (2) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkramêṇa* and *kkramêṇa*, line 9; (3) the doubling of *t*, under the same circumstances, in *pauttrasya*, line 3 (but not in *prapautrasya*, line 2; *putras*, line 4; and other places); and (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, line 5

The **inscription** is one of the **Early Gupta** king **Skandagupta.** It is not dated. It belongs to the Vaishṇava form of religion; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Vishṇu, under the name of Śârṅgin or "the wielder of the bow of horn named Sârṅga," and the allotment, to the idol, of the village, not mentioned by name, in which the column stands.

TEXT.[1]

1 [Siddham[2]] [॥*] [Sar]vva-râj[ô]chchh[ê]ttuḥ pṛithivyâm=a-pratirathasya chatur-
udadhi-salil-[â]svâdita-yaśasô Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endr-[Â]ntaka-sa[masya]
2 Kṛitânta-paraśôḥ nyây-âgat-[â]nêka-gô-hiraṇya-k[ô]ṭi-pradasya chir-ô[t]sann-
âśvamêdh-âharttur=mahârâja-śrî-**Gupta**-prapautra[sya]
3 mahârâja-śrî-**Ghaṭôtkacha**-pauttrasya mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Chandragupta**-
putrasya **Lichchhivi**-dauhitrasya mahâdêvyâṁ **Kum[â]rad[ê]vyâ-**
4 **m**=utpannasya mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Samudraguptasya** putras=tat-parigṛihîtô
mahâdêvyân=**Dattadêvyâm**=utpannaḥ svayam=a-pratirathaḥ
5 paramabhâgavato mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Chandraguptas**=tasya putras=tat-pâd-
ânuddhyâtô mahâdêvyâṁ **Dhruvadêvyâm**=utpannaḥ parama-
6 bhâgavatô mahârâjâdhir[â]ja-śrî-**Kumâraguptas**=Tasya [।*] Prathita[3]-pṛithu-
mati-svabhâva-śaktêḥ pṛithu-yaśasaḥ pṛithivîpatêḥ pṛithu-śrîḥ
7 pi[tṛi]-pa[r]igata-pâdapadma-varttî prathita-yaśâḥ pṛithivîpatiḥ sutô=yam [॥*]
Jagati[4] bhu[ja]-bal-âḍyô(ḍhyô) **Gupta**-vaṅś-aika-vîraḥ prathita-vipula-
8 dhâmâ nâmataḥ **Skandaguptaḥ** sucharita-charitânâṁ yêna vṛittêna vṛittaṁ
na vihatam=amal-âtmâ tâna-dhîdâ(?)-vinîtaḥ [॥*] Vinaya-
9 bala-sunîtair=vvikkramêṇa kkramêṇa pratidinam=abhiyôgâd=îpsitaṁ yêna
la[b]dhvâ svabhimata-vijigîshâ-prôdyatânâṁ parêshâṁ praṇi-
10 hita iva lê[bhê sa]ṁvidhân-ôpadêśaḥ [॥*] Vichalita-kula-lakshmî-stambhanây=
ôdyatêna kshititala-śayanîyê yêna nîtâ triyâmâ samu-

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[1] From the original column.

[2] There are some faint marks above the *sarvva*, which seem to be remnants of this word; but it is not quite certain.

[3] Metre, Pushpitâgrâ.

[4] Metre, Mâlinî; and in the next four verses.

11 dita-ba[la]-kôshân=**Pushyamitrâṁś**=cha [j]itvâ kshitipa-charaṇa-pîṭhê sthâpitô
vâma-pâdaḥ [II*] Prasabham-anupam[ai]r=vvidhvasta-śastra-pratâpai[r]=
vina[◡ ◡]mu-

12 [◡ — —]kshânti-śaury[ai]r=nnirûḍham charitam=amala-kîrttêr=ggîyatê yasya
śubhraṁ diśi-diśi paritushṭair=â-kumâraṁ manushyaiḥ [II*] Pitari
divam=upê[tê]

13 viplutâṁ vaṅśa-lakshmîṁ bhuja-bala-vijit-ârir=yyaḥ pratishṭhâpya bhûyaḥ
jitam=iti paritôshân=mâtaraṁ sâsra-nêttrâṁ hata-ripur=iva Kṛishṇô
Dêvakîm=abhyupê-

14 [ta]ḥ [II*] Sv[ai]r[1]=ddaṇḍ[aiḥ] [◡ ◡] ra(?)tyu[—]t-prachalitaṁ vaṅśaṁ prati-
shṭhâpya yô bâhubhyâm=avaniṁ vijitya hi jitêshv=ârttêshu kṛitvâ dayâm
n=ôtsiktô [na] cha vismitah pratidinaṁ

15 saṁvarddhamâna-dyutiḥ gîtaiś=cha stutibhiś=cha vandaka-ja(?)nô(?) yaṁ
prâ(?)payaty=âryyatâm [II*] **Hûṇair**=yyasya samâgatasya samarê
dôrbhyâṁ dharâ kaṁpitâ bhîm-âvartta-karasya

16 śatrushu śarâ[— — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ —] vira(?)chi(?)taṁ
prakhyâpitô [—]î[◡]i[—] na dyô(?)ti[◡]nabhî(?)shu lakshyata iva
śrôtrêshu Gâṅga-dhvaniḥ [II*]

17 S[v]a[2]-pituḥ kîrtti[— — — — — — — ◡ — ◡ — — — — — ◡ — — —
— — — — ◡ — ◡ —] [II*] [Karttavyâ] pratimâ kâchit=pratimâṁ
tasya Śârṅgiṇaḥ

18 s[u]-pratîtaś=chakâr=êmâṁ y[âvad=â-chandra-târakam] [II*] Iha ch=ainaṁ
pratishṭhâpya su-pratishṭhita-śâsanaḥ grâmam=ênaṁ sa vidadh[ê] pituḥ
pu[ṇ]y-âbhivṛiddhayê [II*]

19 Atô bhagavatô mûrttir=iyaṁ yaś=ch=âtra saṁsthi(?)ta(?)ḥ ubhayam
nirddidêś=âsau pituḥ puṇyâya puṇya-dhîr=it. [II*]

TRANSLATION.

[Perfection has been attained]! The son of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Samudragupta,**—who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka: who was the very axe of (the god) Kṛitânta; who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who was the restorer of the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; who was the son of the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Gupta**; who was the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Ghaṭôtkacha**; (*and*) who was the son of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**, (*and*) the daughter's son of **Lichchhivi,**[3] begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Kumâradêvî,**—

(Line 4.)—(*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.),** who was accepted by him;[4] who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Dattadêvî**; (*and*) who was himself without an antagonist (*of equal power*).

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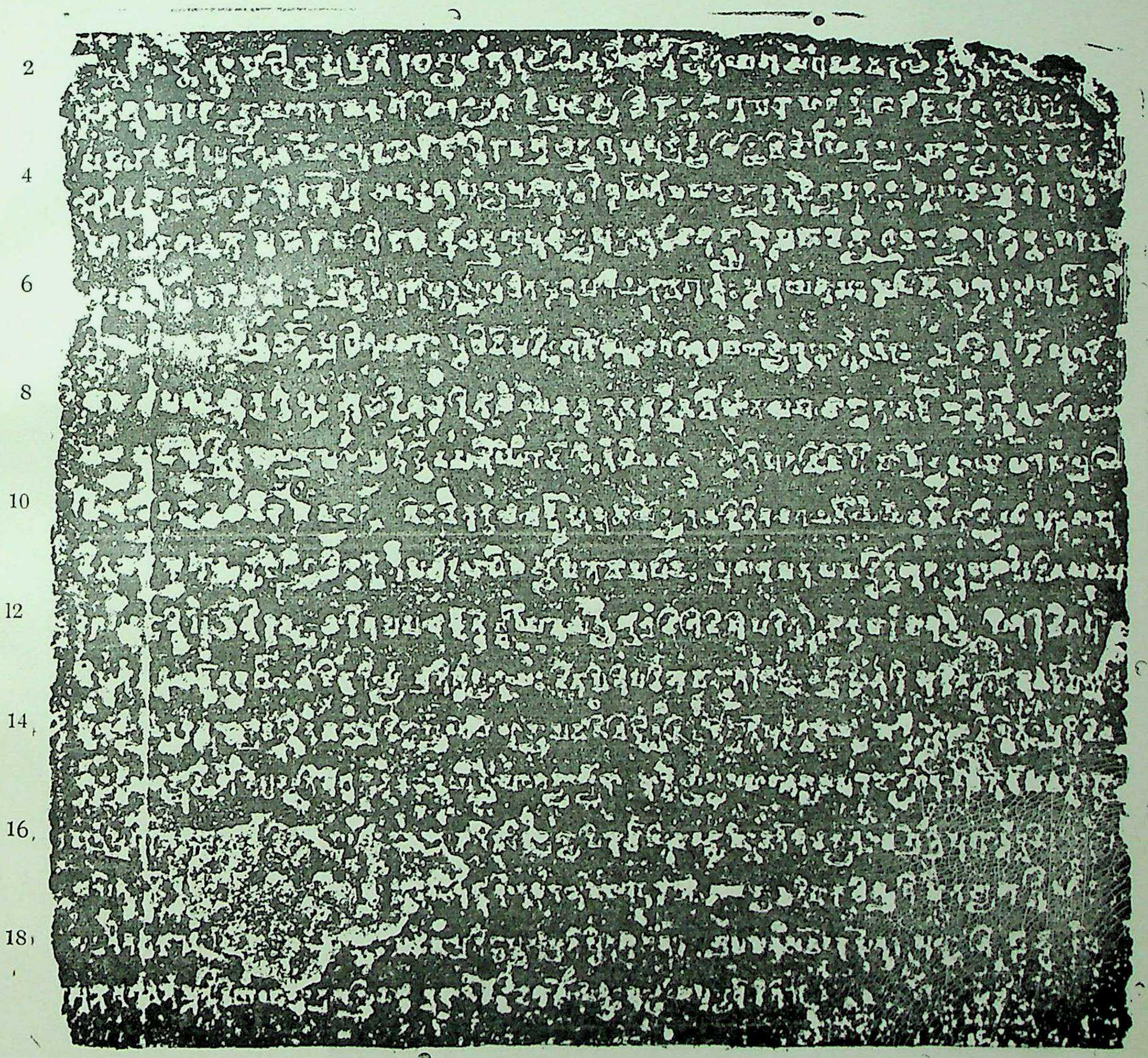
[1] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

[2] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following three verses.

[3] The usual form of this name is Lichchhavi, with the vowel *a* in the second syllable. As regards the present variant, see page 16 above, note 1.

[4] *i.e.* by Samudragupta; see page 12 above, note 1.

Bhitari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta.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18

(L. 5.)—His son (*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Kumâragupta,** who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Dhruvadêvî.**

(L. 6.)—The son of him, the king, who was renowned for the innate power of (*his*) mighty intellect (*and*) whose fame was great, (*is*) this (*present*) king, by name **Skandagupta,** who possesses great glory; who subsisted (*like a bee*) on the wide-spreading waterlilies which were the feet of (*his*) father;[1] whose fame is spread far and wide;—who is amply endowed with strength of arm in the world; who is the most eminent hero in the lineage of the **Guptas;** whose great splendour is spread far and wide; by whom, practising (*good*) behaviour, the conduct of those who perform good actions is not obstructed; who is of spotless soul; (*and*) who is well disciplined in the understanding of musical keys(?) :—

(L. 8.)—By whom,—having, with daily intense application, step by step attained his object by means of good behaviour and strength and politic conduct,—instruction in the art of disposition (*of resources*) was acquired, (*and*) was employed as the means of (*subduing his*) enemies who had put themselves forward in the desire for conquest that was so highly welcome (*to them*) :—

(L. 10.)—By whom, when he prepared himself to restore the fallen fortunes of (*his*) family, a (*whole*) night was spent on a couch that was the bare earth; and then, having conquered the **Pushyamitras,**[2] who had developed great power and wealth, he placed (*his*) left foot on a foot-stool which was the king (*of that tribe himself*) :—

(L. 11.)—The resplendent behaviour of whom, possessed of spotless fame,—inherent, [but increased] by . . . . and patience and heroism which are emphatically unequalled, (*and*) which destroy the efficacy of the weapons (*of his enemies*),—is sung in every region by happy men, even down to the children :—

(L. 12.)—Who, when (*his*) father had attained the skies, conquered (*his*) enemies by the strength of (*his*) arm, and established again the ruined fortunes of (*his*) lineage; and then, crying "the victory has been achieved," betook himself to (*his*) mother, whose eyes were full of tears from joy, just as Kṛishṇa, when he had slain (*his*) enemies, betook himself to (*his mother*) Dêvakî ;—

(L. 14.)—Who, with his own armies, established (*again*) (*his*) lineage that had been made to totter . . . ., (*and*) with his two arms subjugated the earth, (*and*) shewed mercy to the conquered peoples in distress, (*but*) has become neither proud nor arrogant, though his glory is increasing day by day; (*and*) whom the bards raise to distinction with (*their*) songs and praises:—

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[1] This expression is very analogous in its purport to the *tat-pâd-ânudhyâta* of line 5 above. Compare *Amôghavarshadêva-pâdapaṅkaja-bhramara,* "a bee at the waterlilies which are the feet of Amôghavarshadêva," in line 17 f. of the Śirûr inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 788 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 219.)

[2] The second syllable of this name, like the rest of the inscription, is damaged. But, as regards the lower component,—comparing it with the subscript *y* of this inscription, *e.g.* in *pradasya,* line 2, and *dauhitrasya,* line 3; and contrasting it with the subscript *p, e.g.* in *tat-parigrihîtô,* line 4, and *tat-pâdâ,* line 5,—it is plainly *y.* This passage, therefore, shews that the correct form of the first part of this name is *pushya,* not *pushpa*; a point which Dêvanâgarî manuscripts have not sufficed, and cannot suffice, to settle. And it bears out the Prâkṛit form, *Pûsamitta,* of the name of the early king Pushyamitra, the contemporary of Patañjali, in the passages given by Dr. Bühler from the Prâkṛit *Gâthâs* according to Mêrutuṅga, Dharmasâgara, and Jayavijayagaṇi (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 362 f.)—Pushyamitra is the correct form according to Prof. Weber also (*Sanskṛit Literature,* p. 223, note 237).

(L. 15.)—By whose two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator (*of a disturbance like that*) of a terrible whirlpool, joined in close conflict with the **Hûṇas**; ...... among enemies ...... arrows .... proclaimed .... just as if it were the roaring of (the river) Gaṅgâ, making itself noticed in (*their*) ears.

(L. 17.)— ... . the fame of his father .... (*Saying to himself that*) an image of some kind or other [should be made], he, the very celebrated one, made this image of that (*famous*) (god) Śârṅgin, [to endure as long as the moon and stars may last]. And, having here installed this (*god*),[1] he, whose commands are well-established, has allotted this village (*to the idol*), in order to increase the religious merit of (*his*) father.[2]

(L. 19.)—Accordingly, this image of the Divine One, and (*this village*) which has been here agreed to,[3]—both of these, he, the pious-minded one, has assigned for (*the increase of*) the religious merit of (*his*) father.

No. 14; PLATE VIII.

JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEARS 136, 137, AND 138.

THE discovery of this inscription appears to have been first announced in 1838, by Mr. James Prinsep, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 347 f.—In 1844, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 148, there was published a lithograph of it, reduced from a copy, made by General Sir George LeGrand Jacob, Mr. N. L. Westergaard, and a Brâhmaṇ assistant, which had been submitted to the Society two years previously.—In 1862, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 121 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph reduced from a cloth tracing made in 1861 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.—And in 1876, Dr. Bhau Daji's text and translation, the latter revised by Professor Eggeling, were reprinted in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 134 ff., accompanied by a slightly reduced reproduction of the original lithograph from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's copy (*id.* Plate xv.)

Junâgaḍh[4] is the chief town of the Junâgaḍh Native State in the Kâṭhiâwâḍ[5] Peninsula in the Bombay Presidency. The city itself, or its ancient representative, is spoken of in this inscription; but its ancient name is not given. The name occurs, however, in line 1 of Rudradâman's inscription,[1] as **Girinagara,** or 'the city of, or on, the hill.' This name subsequently passed over to the mountain itself, **Girnâr,** which in the inscriptions is called **Ûrjayat;** and this fact rather tends to indicate that the ancient city stood, not where the modern town stands, but closer up to the mountain, and perhaps on the rising ground at the foot of it. The inscription is on the north-west face of a large granite boulder, containing also fourteen Aśôka edicts and a long inscription of the *Mahâkshatrapa* Rudradâman, now under a shed specially built to protect it, about a mile to the east of the town, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Girnâr.

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[1] Or, perhaps, "having here set up this (pillar)."

[2] It was through reading *mahêsa-prîta-gupta,* "the Gupta attached to, or beloved of, Śiva," instead of *ênaṁ sa vidadhê pituḥ*, line 18,—and through failing to see that *pitari divam=upêtê*, "when (his) father had attained the skies," line 12, refers to the death of Kumâragupta,—that Dr. Mill came to speak of "a young prince, a minor at the date of this inscription," and to suggest that he was probably the Mahêndragupta (*sic.*; but in reality Mahêndrâditya, a title of Kumâragupta), whose name occurs on some of the coins of the dynasty. This double mistake in Dr. Mill's genealogy was repeated by Mr. Thomas in his Gupta genealogy (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 19). And Mahêndragupta's name is also given in Mr. Fergusson's last list (*Cave-Temples of Western India*, p. 191).

[3] Or perhaps, "and (this column) which stands here"

[4] The 'Joonaghur, Junagad, Junagarh, and Junagurh,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 13. Lat. 21° 31′ N.; Long. 70° 36′ E.

[5] The 'Kathiawar and Kattywar' of maps, &c.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 10′ 0″ broad by 7′ 3″ high is in a state of fairly good preservation; and it is only in line 22 ff., where the rock has actually peeled off, that there are any extensive lacunæ in the inscription. It is, however, not very easy to read; owing partly to the irregular, and occasionally rather shallow, nature of the engraving; partly to the roughness of the rock, and the way in which the natural marks of it mix themselves up a good deal with the letters; and partly to the fact that at several places the engraver, in consequence of unusual irregularities of the surface, passed over considerable portions of the rock and left them blank.[2]—The **size** of the letters varies from about $\frac{9}{16}$″ to 1$\frac{1}{8}$″. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; but the type is a later development of that which was used in the inscription of the *Mahâkshatrapa* Rudradâman on the same rock;[3] it may be called the Saurâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâḍ alphabet of the fifth century A.D. One of its most marked characteristics is the way in which the subscript *y* is represented by the full form of the letter, not, as in other alphabets, by a curtailment of it; *e.g.* in *buddhyâ*, line 5; *vyasanî*, line 6; and *nyâyâ*, line 8.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, and a few words in line 23, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of **orthography** we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vaṅśa*, line 24; (2) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y*, in *buddhyâ*, line 5; and (3) the indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r*; *e.g.* the consonant is doubled in *ârttham*, line 1, *ârttir*, line 2, and *darppô*, line 3; but not in *vîryô*, line 2, *paryanta*, line 3, *sarvân*, line 5, *ârjavau*, line 7, and *ârjanê=rthasya*, line 8.

The first part of the inscription refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta** king **Skandagupta;** and, after an invocation of the god Vishṇu and five verses in praise of the reigning king, it narrates how he appointed a certain **Parṇadatta** to govern his territories in the **Surâshṭras** or the **Kâṭhiâwâḍ country.** In his turn, Parṇadatta appointed his son, **Chakrapâlita,** to govern the city at which the inscription is. The inscription then proceeds to its real object; *viz.* to record that, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the **Guptas,**"[4] in the year one hundred and thirty-six (A.D. 455-56), at night, on the sixth day of the month Praushṭhapada (August-September), the lake **Sudarśana** (formed in the valley round the foot of Girnâr, by an ancient embankment across the gorge, near where the inscription is) burst in consequence of excessive rain. The date, here, and in the two passages further on, is expressed fully in words, not in numerical symbols. The restoration of the breach, by renewing the embankment, was effected under the orders of **Chakrapâlita**, after two months' work, in the year one hundred and thirty-seven (A.D. 456-57).

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[1] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128.

[2] These blank spaces lie especially on each side of the large natural fissure running almost down the centre of the inscription.

[3] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128, Pl. xiv.

[4] As is quite clear even in the lithograph with which Bhau Daji worked, the correct reading here (line 15) is *Gupta-prakâlê gaṇanâṁ vidhâya*; not *Guptasya kâlâ[d]=gaṇanâṁ vidhâya*, "counting from the era of Gupta," as it was taken to be by Bhau Daji and was afterwards specifically confirmed

The second part, line 24 to the end, seems to have mentioned **Skandagupta** and **Parṇadatta** again, in passages in line 24 that are now illegible. And then, in accordance with the general Vaishṇava tendency indicated by the opening invocation of the whole inscription, it goes on to record that, in the one hundred and thirty-eighth year, in the time or reckoning of the **Guptas** (A.D. 457-58), **Chakrapâlita** caused to be built a temple of the god Vishṇu under the name of Chakrabhṛit or the 'bearer of the discus.' After this, the inscription ends with two verses, of which not enough now remains to shew their purport.

TEXT.[1]

First Part.

1 Siddham [II*] Śriyam[2]=abhimata-bhôgyâṁ naika-kâl-âpanîtâṁ tridaśapati-sukh-ârtthaṁ yô Balêr=âjahâra I kamala-nilayanâyâḥ śâśvataṁ dhâma Lakshmyâh

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by Thomas (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 538).—In the present series of inscriptions, this passage, and the genitive plural *Guptânâṁ*, governed apparently by *kâla*, in line 27 below, are the only ones that tend in any way to connect the name of the Guptas with the era used by them. But not either of them suffices to shew that the era was established by the Guptas themselves; or even that it had, at this time, received the accepted name of "the Gupta era." And, what the wording of the first of them really shews, is simply that the date was being recorded in an era which was not the one in customary use in that part of the country.—The only other passage of a similar tendency is the date in line 16 f. of the Môrbî copper-plate grant of Jâiṅka, as it has always been accepted up to now in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's reading and translation,—*Paṁch-âśîtyâ yutê=tîtê samânâṁ śata-paṁchakê* I *Gauptê dadâv=adô nṛipaḥ s-ôparâgê=rkka-maṁḍalê* II;—"five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed, the king granted this, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 258.)—But this rendering takes no notice of the fact that the real reading, in line 17, is not *gauptê* at all, but *gôptê*. It is only by the correction of *ô* into *au* that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into this passage. But we may with just as much reason correct *gôptê* into *gôptrê*, 'to the protector, *i.e.* the local governor' (compare this word in line 6 of the present inscription); and this is even more sustainable; for the word is entirely separated from the date in the preceding half of the verse, and it stands immediately before the word *dadau*, 'he gave,' in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative (or some other) case Or, again, without any correction at all, we may translate "the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gôpta;" and thus obtain a village-name that may quite reasonably be taken as the ancient form of the modern Gôp, which occurs, for instance, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, about seventy-five miles south-west of Môrbî, twenty-five miles south of Nawânagar or Jâmnagar, and fifty miles east of Dhiniki, where there was found the copper-plate grant (genuine or spurious, as may be settled hereafter) of a king Jâikadêva, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 151 ff.).—I must not be understood as disputing in this note, that the Môrbî date is recorded in the era that had been used by the Guptas. My object is only to shew that there is nothing in the passage containing the date, that compels us to connect the name of the Guptas with it. The difficulty in disposing finally of the whole bearing of the Môrbî inscription, is, that the first plate was lost sight of before it was procured for examination at all; and now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid and is not forthcoming.

[1] From the original stone.

[2] Metre, Mâlinî; and in the next two verses.

2 sa jayati vijit-ârttir=Vvishṇur=atyanta-jishṇuḥ II Tad=anu jayati śaśvat śrî-parikshipta-vakshâḥ sva-bhuja-janita-vîryô râjarâjâdhirâjaḥ I narapati-

3 bhujagânâṁ mâna-darpp-ôtphaṇânâṁ pratikṛiti-Garuḍ-âjñâ[ṁ] nirvvishî[ṁ] ch=âvakarttâ II Nṛipati-guṇa-nikêtaḥ **Skandaguptaḥ** pṛithu-śrîḥ chatur-udadhi-ja(?)l(?)-ântâṁ sphîta-paryanta-dêśâm I

4 avanim=avanat-ârir=yaḥ chakâr=âtma-saṁsthâṁ. pitari sura-sakhitvaṁ prâptavaty=âtma-śaktyâ II Âpi[1] cha jitam=[ê]va têna prathayaṁti yaśâṁsi yasya ripavô=pi âmûla-bhagna-darpâ niva . . . . .[2] **Mlêçhchha**-dêśêshu II

5 Kramêṇa[3] buddhyâ nipuṇaṁ pradhârya dhyâtvâ cha kṛitsnân=guṇa-dôsha-hêtûn I vyapêtya sarvân=manujêndra-putrâṁ=llakshmîḥ svayaṁ yaṁ varayâṁ-chakâra II Tasmin[4]=nṛipê śâsati n=aiva kaśchid=dharmmâd=apêtô manujaḥ prajâsu I

6 ârttô daridrô vyasanî kadaryô daṇḍ[yô*] na vâ yô bhṛiśa-pîḍitaḥ syât II Êvaṁ sa jitvâ pṛithivîṁ samagrâṁ bhagn-âgra-darpâ[n] dvishataś=cha kṛitvâ I sarvvêshu dêśêshu vidhâya gôptṛi(ptṛî)n saṁchintayâ[m-â]sa bahu-prakâram II Syât=kô=nurûpô

7 matimân=vini(nî)tô mêdhâ-smṛitibhyâm=anapêta-bhâvaḥ I saty-ârjav-audârya-nay-ôpapannô mâdhurya-dâkshiṇya-yaśô-nvitaś=cha II Bhaktô=nuraktô nṛi-v[i]ś[ê]sha-yuktaḥ sarvv-ôpadhâbhiś=cha viśuddha-buddhiḥ I ânṛṇya=bhâv-ôpagat-ântarâtmâḥ[5] sarvvasya lôkasya hitê pravṛittaḥ II

8 Nyây-ârjanê=rthasya cha kaḥ samarthaḥ syâd=arjitasy=âpy=atha rakshaṇê cha I gôpâyitasy=âpi [cha] vṛiddhi-hêtau vṛiddhasya pâtra-pratipâdanâya II Sarvvêshu bhṛityêshv=api saṁhatêshu yô mê praśishyân=nikhilân=**Surâshṭrân** I âṁ jñâtam=êkaḥ khalu **Parṇadattô** bhârasya tasy=ôdvahanê samarthaḥ II

9 Êvaṁ viniśchitya nṛip-âdhipêna naikân=ahô-râtra-gaṇân=sva-matyâ I yaḥ saṁniyuktô=rthanayâ kathaṁchit samyak-**Surâshṭr**-âvani-pâlanâya II Niyujya[6] dêvâ Varuṇaṁ pratîchyâṁ svasthâ yathâ n=ônmanasô babhûvu[ḥ] [I] pûrvvêtarasyâṁ diśi **Parṇadattaṁ** niyujya râjâ dhṛitimâṁs=tath=âbhût I(II)

10 Tasy=âtmajô hy=âtmaja-bhâva-yuktô dvidh=êva ch=âtm=âtma-vaśêna nîtaḥ I sarvvâtman=âtm=êva cha rakshaṇîyô nity-âtmavân=âtmaja-kânta-rûpaḥ I(II) Rûp-ânurûpair=lalitair=vichitraiḥ nitya-pramôd-ânvita-sarva-bhâvaḥ I prabuddha-padmâkara-padmavaktrô nṛiṇâṁ śaraṇyaḥ śaraṇ-âgatânâm I(II)

11 Abhavad[7]=bhuvi **Chakrapâlitô**=sâv=iti nâmnâ prathitaḥ priyô janasya I sva-guṇair=an-upaskritair=udâtt[ai]ḥ pitaraṁ yaś=cha viśêshayâṁ-chakâra I(II) Kshamâ[8] prabhutvaṁ vinayô nayaś=cha śauryaṁ vinâ śaurya-mah-[â ?]rchchanaṁ cha I vâ(?)kya(?)m damô dânam=adînatâ cha

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[1] Metre, Âryâ.

[2] ? *nirvachanâ.*

[3] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[4] Metre, Indravajrâ; and in the next six verses.

[5] Read *âtmâ.*

[6] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ; and in the next two verses.

[7] Metre, Vaitâlîya-Aupachchhandasika.

[8] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ; and in the next three verses.

dâkshiṇyam=ânṛiṇyam=aś[û]nyatâ cha I(II) Sauṁdaryam=âryêtara-
nigrahaś=cha a-vismayô dhairyam=udîrṇatâ cha I
12 ity=êvam=êtê=tiśayêna yasminn=a-vipravâsêna guṇâ vasanti I(II) Na vidyatê=sau
sakalê=pi lôkê yatr=ôpamâ tasya guṇaiḥ kriyêta I sa êva
kârtsnyêna guṇ-ânvitânâṁ babhûva nṛi(ṇrî)ṇâm=upamâna-bhûtaḥ I(II)
Ity=êvam=êtân=adhikân=atô=nyân=guṇân=par[î]kshya svayam=êva pitrâ I
yaḥ saṁniyuktô nagarasya rakshâṁ viśishya pûrvân=prachakâra
samyak I(II)
13 Âśritya[1] vi(vî)ryaṁ su(?)-bhu(?)ja(?)-dvayasya svasy=aiva n=ânyasya narasya
darpaṁ I n=ôdvêjayâm-âsa cha kaṁchid=êvam=asmin=purê ch=aiva śaśâsa
dushṭâḥ(n) I(II) Visraṁbham=alpê na śaśâma yô=smin kâlê na lôkêshu
sa-nâgarêshu I yô lâlayâm-âsa cha paura-vargân [— — ◡]putrân=su-
parîkshya dôshân I(II) Saṁraṁjayâṁ cha prakṛitîr=babhûva
pûrvasmitâbhâshaṇa-mâna-dânaiḥ I
14 niryantraṇ-ânyônya-gṛiha-pravêśai[ḥ*] saṁvarddhita-prîti-gṛih-ôpachâraiḥ I(II)
Brahmaṇya-bhâvêna parêṇa yuktaḥ śaklaḥ śuchir=dâna-parô yathâvat I
prâpyân=sa kâlê vishayân=sishêvê dharm-ârthayôś=ch=â[py=a*]-
virôdhanêna I(II) Yô [— ◡ — — ◡ ◡] **Parṇadattât**=sa nyâyavân=atra
kim=asti chitraṁ I muktâkalâp-âmbuja-padma-śîtâch=chandrât=kim=ushṇaṁ
bhavitâ kadâchit I(II)
15 Athâ[2] kramêṇ=âmbuda-kâla âgat[ê] n[i]dâgha-kâlaṁ pravidârya tôyadaiḥ I
vavarsha tôyaṁ bahu saṁtataṁ chiraṁ **Sudarśanaṁ** yêna
bibhêda ch=âtvarât I(II) Saṁvatsarâṇâm[3]=adhikê śatê tu
triṁśadbhir=anyair=api shaḍbhir=êva I râtrau dinê Praushṭhapadasya
shashṭhê **Gupta**-prakâlê gaṇanâṁ vidhâya[4] I(II)
16 Imâś[5]=cha yâ **Raivatakâd**=vinirgatâ[ḥ*] **Palâśin**=îyaṁ sikatâ-vilâsinî I samudra-
kântâḥ chira-bandhan-ôshitâḥ punaḥ patiṁ śâstra-yathôchitaṁ yayuḥ I(II)
Avêkshya varsh-âgama-jaṁ mah-ôdbhramaṁ mah-ôdadhêr=
Ûrjayatâ priy-êpsunâ I anêka-tîrântaja-pushpa-śôbhitô
17 nadîmayô hasta iva prasâritaḥ I(II) Vishâdya[mânâḥ khalu sarvatô ja]nâḥ
kathaṁ-kathaṁ kâryam=iti pravâdinaḥ I mithô hi pûrv-âpara-
râtram=utthitâ vichintayâṁ ch=âpi babhûvur=utsukâḥ I(II) Ap=îha
lôkê sakalê **Sudarśanaṁ** pumâṁ(n) hi durdarśanatâṁ gataṁ
kshaṇât I
18 bhavên=nu s-âmbhô nidhi-tulya-darśanaṁ su-darśanaṁ [— ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —] [II]
[◡ — ◡[6] — — ◡]vaṇê sa bhûtvâ pituḥ parâṁ bhaktim=api pradarśya I
dharmaṁ purô-dhâya śubh-ânubandhaṁ râjñô hit-ârthaṁ
nagarasya ch=aiva I(II) Saṁvatsarâṇâm=adhikê śatê tu
19 triṁśadbhir=anyair=api saptabhiś=cha I pra [— ◡ — — ◡ ◡]śâstra-chêttâ
vi(?)śvâ(?)=py=anu jñâta-mahâ-prabhâvaḥ I(II) Âjya-praṇâmaiḥ vibudhân=
ath=êshṭvâ dhanair=dvijâtîn=api tarpayitvâ I paurâṁs=tath=âbhyarchya
yathârha-mânaiḥ bhṛityâṁś=cha pûjyân=suhṛidaś=cha dânaiḥ I(II)

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[1] Metre, Indravajrâ; and in the next four verses.

[2] Metre, Vaṁśastha.

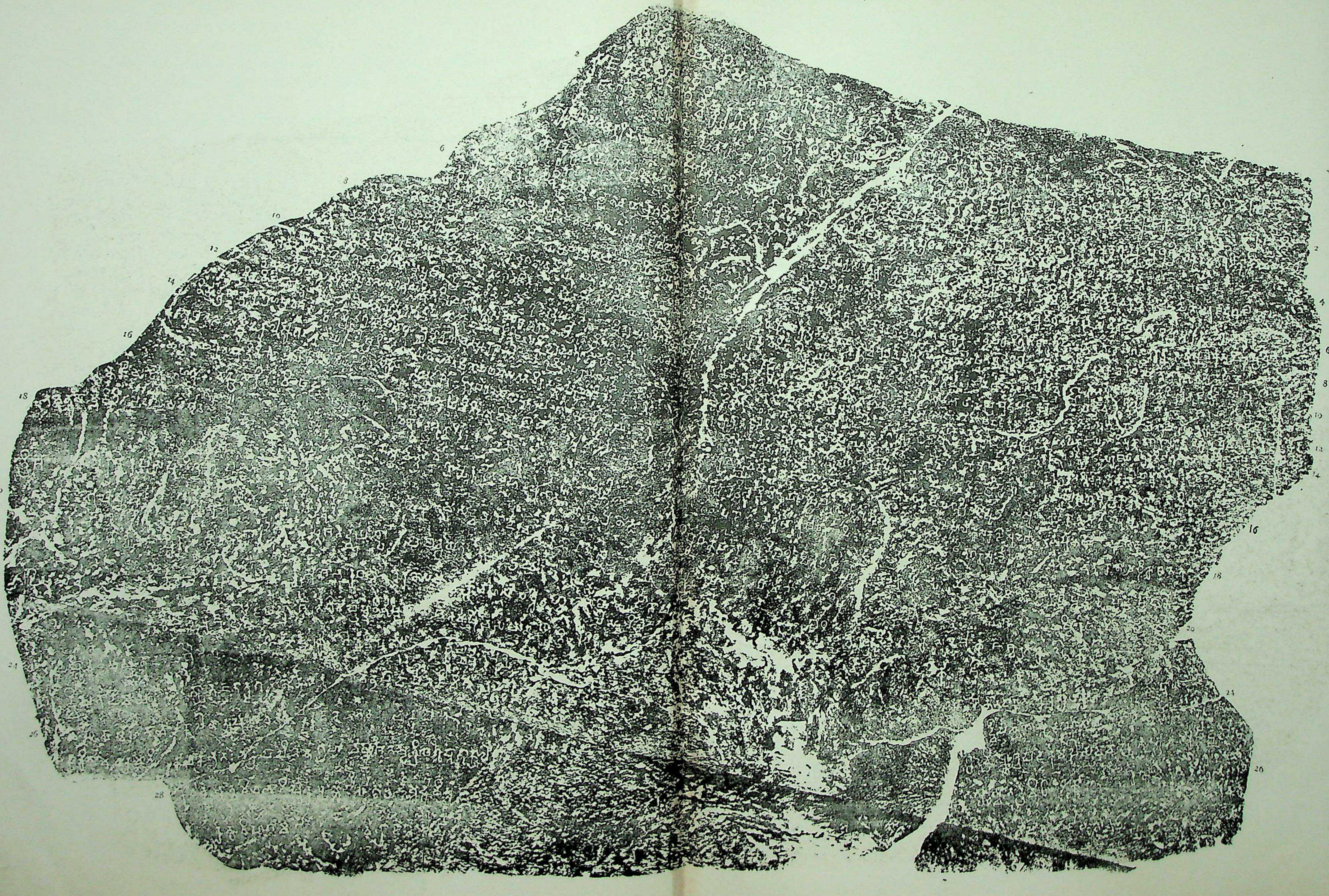
[3] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[4] As regards the reading here, see page 57 above, note 4.

[5] Metre, Vaṁśastha; and in the next three verses.

[6] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ; and in the next five verses.

Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta.—The Years 136, 137 and 138.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20 Graishmasya mâsasya tu pûrva-pa[kshê] [◡ — ◡ — — pra]thamê=hni
samyak I mâsa-dvayên=âdaravân=sa bhûtvâ dhanasya kṛitvâ
vyayam=a-pramêyam I(II) Âyâmatô hasta-śataṁ samagraṁ vistârataḥ
shashṭir=ath=âpi ch=âshṭau I
21 utsêdhatô=nyat purushâṇi sa(?)pta(?) [◡ — ◡ — ha]sta-śata-dvayasya I(II
Babandha yatnân=mahatâ nṛidêvân=[abhyarchya(?)] samyag-ghaṭit-
ôpalêna I a-jâti-dushṭam=prathitaṁ taṭâkaṁ **Sudarśanaṁ**
śâśvata-kalpa-kâlam I(II)
22 Api[1] cha sudṛiḍha-sêtu-prânta(?)-vinyasta-śôbha-rathacharaṇa-samâhva-krauṁcha-
haṁs-âsa-dhûtam I vimala-salila[— — — ◡ — — ◡ — —] bhuvi ta-
[◡ ◡ ◡ — — —]da[— a]rkaḥ śaśî cha I(II)
23 Nagaram=api cha bhûyâd=vṛiddhimat=paura-jushṭaṁ dvija-bahu-śata-gîta-
brahma-nirnashṭa-pâpaṁ I śatam=api cha samânâm=îti-durbhiksha[— —
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — —] [II] [Iti **Suda]rśana**-taṭâka-
saṁskâra-graṁtha-rachanâ [sa]mâptâ II

Second Part.

24 Dṛipt[2]-âri-darpa-praṇudaḥ pṛithu-śriyaḥ sva-vaṅśa-kêtôḥ sakal-âvanî-patêḥ I
râjâdhirâjy-âdbhuta-puṇya-[karmaṇaḥ] [◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡] [II]
[— — ◡[3] — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — -] [I] dvîpasya
gôptâ mahatâṁ cha nêtâ daṇḍa-dvi(?)[—]nâṁ
25 dvishatâṁ damâya I(II) Tasy=âtmajên=âtma-guṇ-ânvitêna Gôvinda-pâd-ârpita-
jîvitêna I [— — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —] [II]
[— — ◡[4] — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ —]gdhaṁ Vishṇôś=cha pâda-kamalê
samavâpya tatra I artha-vyayêna
26 mahatâ mahatâ cha kâlên=âtma-prabhâva-nata-paurajanêna têna I(II)
Chakraṁ bibharti ripu[— ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ —
◡ — —] [I] [— — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —] tasya sva-taṁtra-vidhi-
kâraṇa-mânushashya I(II)
27 Kâritam[5]=avakra-matinâ Chakrabhṛitaḥ **Chakrapâlitêna** gṛihaṁ I varsha-
śatê=shṭâ-triṁśê Guptânâṁ kâla .... [II] [— — ◡[6] — ◡ ◡
◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — —
â]rtham=utthitam=iv=**Ôrjayatô**=chalasya
28 kurvat=prabhutvam=iva bhâti purasya mûrdhni II Anyach=cha mûrddhani
su [— ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ —
◡ ◡ ◡]
29 ruddha-vihaṁga-mârgaṁ vibhrâjatê [◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ - ◡ — —] [II]

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

Perfection has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Vishṇu,—the perpetual abode of the (goddess) Lakshmî, whose dwelling is the waterlily; the conqueror of distress;

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[1] Metre, Mâlinî; and in the next verse.

[2] Metre, Vaṁśastha.—The metre is faulty in the first *akshara* of the first and third *pâdas*, which should be short, not long.

[3] Metre, Indravajrâ; and in the next verse. [4] Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.

[5] Metre, Âryâ; or of this class. [6] Metre, Vasantatilaka: and in the following verse.

the completely victorious one,—who, for the sake of the happiness of (Indra) the lord of the gods, seized back from (the demon) Bali the goddess of wealth and splendour, who is admitted to be worthy of enjoyment, (*and*) who had been kept away from him for a very long time![1]

(Line 2.)—And next, victorious for ever is the supreme king of kings over kings, whose breast is embraced by the goddess of wealth and splendour; who has developed heroism by (*the strength of his*) arms; and who plucked (*and utilised*) the authority of (*his local*) representatives, who were so many Garuḍas, (*and used it as*) an antidote against the (*hostile*) kings, who were so many serpents, lifting up their hoods in pride and arrogance;[2]—**Skandagupta,** of great glory, the abode of kingly qualities, who, when (*his*) father by his own power had attained the position of being a friend of the gods,[3] bowed down his enemies, and made subject to himself the (*whole*) earth, bounded by the waters of the four oceans, (*and*) full of thriving countries round the borders of it;—whose fame, moreover, even (*his*) enemies, in the countries of the **Mlêchchhas** .... having (*their*) pride broken down to the very root, announce with the words—"verily the victory has been achieved by him;"—(*and*) whom the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord selected as her husband, having in succession (*and*) with judgment skilfully taken into consideration and thought over all the causes of virtues and faults, (*and*) having discarded all (*the other*) sons of kings (*as not coming up to her standard.*)

(L. 5.)—While he, the king, is reigning, verily no man among his subjects falls away from religion; (*and*) there is no one who is distressed, (*or*) in poverty, (*or*) in misery, (*or*) avaricious, or who, worthy of punishment, is over-much put to torture.

(L. 6.)—Thus having conquered the whole earth, (*and*) having destroyed the height of the pride of (*his*) enemies, (*and*) having appointed protectors in all the countries, he cogitated in many ways,—"Among all my servants put together, who is there, who—suitable; endowed with intellect; modest; possessed of a disposition that is not destitute of wisdom and memory; endowed with truth, straightforwardness, nobility, and prudent behaviour; and possessed of sweetness, civility, and fame;—loyal; affectionate; endowed with manly characteristics; and possessed of a mind that (*has been tried and*) is (*found to be*) pure by all the tests of honesty; possessed of an inner soul pervaded by (*the inclination for*) the acquittance of debts and obligations; occupied with the welfare of all mankind;—capable both in the lawful acquisition of wealth, and also in the preservation of it, when acquired, and further in causing the increase of it, when protected, (*and able*) to dispense it on worthy objects, when it has been increased,—shall govern all my (countries of the) **Surâshṭras?** I have it; (*there is*) just one man, **Parṇadatta,** competent to bear this burden."

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[1] The legend is that the demon Bali, or Mahâbali, by his austerities acquired the dominion over the three worlds, and caused annoyance and anxiety to the gods. Vishṇu then became incarnate as a dwarf, appeared before Bali, and asked for as much land as he could cover with three strides. Bali assented to his request, and Vishṇu with two strides recovered the heavens and the earth, but, in commiseration for Bali, who then humbled himself, left him the dominion over the lower regions below the earth.

[2] Garuḍa, the servant and vehicle of Vishṇu, half man and half bird, was the special enemy and destroyer of the serpent-race.—There is possibly a secondary allusion to Skandagupta having overthrown some kings of the well-known Nâga or serpent-lineage.

[3] *i.e.* "had died."

(L. 9.)—(*And it was this same Parṇadatta*) who, with pressing (*and*) with difficulty, was appointed by the lord of kings, who had thus deliberated in his mind for many days and nights, to protect in a proper manner the land of the **Surâshṭras.** (*And*) just as the gods became comfortable, (*and*) not disturbed in mind, when they had appointed Varuṇa to the western point of the compass, so the king was easy at heart, when he had appointed **Parṇadatta** over the region of the west.

(L. 10.)—His son,—possessed of a filial disposition; his own self, as it were, reduplicated; well trained by self-control; worthy to be protected, as if it were his own self, by the all-pervading spirit; always self-possessed; endowed with a naturally beautiful form; having a disposition the whole of which was always pervaded with joy through a variety of charming actions that were in accordance with (*his*) beauty; having a waterlily of a face that resembled a bed of waterlilies in full bloom; the refuge of men who came to him for protection,—was this same one who is renowned on the earth under the name of **Chakrapâlita;** who is beloved of the people; and who confers distinction upon (*his*) father by his own noble qualities which are everything except unpolished:—

(L. 11.)—In whom all these qualities dwell to a marked degree, (*and*) without ever wandering away (*from him*),—*viz.* patience; lordship; modesty; and good behaviour; and heroism without (*too*) great an estimation of prowess; eloquence (?); self-control; liberality; and high-spiritedness; civility; the acquittance of debts and obligations; and freedom from empty-headedness; beauty; and reprobation of things that are not right; absence of astonishment; firmness; and generosity. Even in the whole world there is no one to be found, in whom a comparison with his virtues may be made; verily he has become, in all entireness, the standard of comparison for men who are endowed with virtuous qualities.

(L. 12.)—(*And it was he*) who was appointed by (*his*) father, after testing in person (*the existence in him of*) these same qualities mentioned above, and higher ones even than them; and who then accomplished the protection of (*this*) city in a way that quite distinguished him above his predecessors. Relying upon the process of his own two excellent arms (?), not on the pride of any other man, he subjected no one in this city to any anxiety; and he punished wicked people. Even in this time which is a mean one, he failed not to maintain confidence in the people, together with the inhabitants of the city; and, by carefully inquiring into faults, he has charmed all the citizens, together with .... and children. And he has made (*his*) subjects happy by conversations addressed with smiles, and marks of honour, and presents; by free and reciprocal entering into (*each other's*) houses; (*and*) by carefully nourishing the family ceremonies of affection. Endowed with the highest piety, affable, pure, (*and*) in a suitable manner devoted to charity, he has, even without any conflict between religion and wealth, applied himself to such pleasures as may be attained at the proper time. What wonder is there in the fact that he, [born] from **Parṇadatta,** is possessed of such proper behaviour?; can heat ever be produced from the moon, which is cold like a string of pearls or like a waterlily?

(L. 15.)—Then, in due course of time, there came the season of clouds, bursting asunder with (*its*) clouds the season of heat, when much water rained down unceasingly for a long time; by reason of which (the lake) **Sudarśana** suddenly burst,—making the calculation in the reckoning of the **Guptas,**[1] in a century of years, increased by thirty and also six more, at night, on the sixth day of (the month) Praushṭhapada. And these (*other rivers*) which take their source from (the mountain) **Raivataka**,[1] (*and also*) this **Palâśinî**, beautiful with (*its*) sandy stretches,—(*all of them*) the mistresses of the ocean,—having dwelt so long in captivity, went again, in due accordance with the scriptures, to their lord (*the sea*). (*And*) having noticed the great bewilderment, caused by the excess of rain, (the mountain) **Ûrjayat**, desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, stretched forth as it were a hand, consisting of the river **(Palâśinî)**, decorated with the numerous flowers that grew on the edges of (*its*) banks.

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[1] See page 57 above, note 4.

(L. 17.)—[Then on all sides] the people fell into despair, discussing how they should act; and, spending the whole night awake in vain, in great anxiety they reflected,—"Here in a moment, (the lake) **Sudarśana** has (*by the overflowing of its waters*) assumed an unpleasing appearance[2] towards all the people, (*as if it were*) a man (?); having the appearance of the ocean, quite full of water, can it ever (*again*) become pleasing of aspect, ...?"

(L. 18.)— .... he[3] having become .... and displaying the height of devotion towards his father, (*and*) holding in full view, for the welfare of the king and of the city also, religion, which has such auspicious results,—in a century of years, increased by thirty and seven others also, ... attentive to the sacred writings .... whose majesty is well known. Then, having sacrificed to the gods with oblations of clarified butter and with obeisances; and having gratified the twice-born with (*presents of*) riches; and having paid respect to the citizens with such honours as they deserved, and to such of (*his*) servants as were worthy of notice, and to (*his*) friends with presents,—in the first fortnight of the month ...... belonging to the hot season,[4] on the first day, he, having practised (*all the above*) respectful observances for two months, made an immeasurable expenditure of wealth, and, [built an embankment] a hundred cubits in all in length, and sixty and eight in breadth, and seven (?) men's height in elevation, ... of two hundred cubits. (*Thus*), having done honour to the kings, he laboriously built up, with a great masonry work, properly constructed, the lake **Sudarśana**, which is renowned as not being evil by nature, so that it should last for all eternity,—agitated by the defiances of the ruddy-geese which display (*their*) beauty along the edges of the firmly-built embankment, and by the settling down (*in its waters*) of the herons and the swans .... pure waters; on the earth .... the sun and the moon.

(L. 23.)—And may the city become prosperous; full of inhabitants; cleansed from sin by prayers sung by many hundreds of Brâhmaṇs; [and free from] drought and famine for a hundred years .... [Thus] ends the composition of the description of the restoration of (the lake) **Sudarśana**.

Second Part.

(L. 24.)— .... of him **(Skandagupta)**, who destroyed the pride of (*his*) haughty enemies; who is of great glory; who is the banner of his lineage; who is the lord of the whole earth; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings; ....

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[1] Raivataka is the hill opposite to Ûrjayat or Girnâr.

[2] There is a play on the words *su-darśana* 'having a good appearance,' and *dur-darśana* 'having a bad appearance.'

[3] *i.e.* Chakrapâlita.

[4] Grîshma, the hot season, consists of the two months Jyêshṭha (May-June) and Âshâḍha (June-July). The name of one or the other of them is now illegible in this line.

(L. 24.)— .... **(Parṇadatta),** the protector of the island, and the leader of great .... of armies for the subjugation of (*his*) enemies.

(L. 25.)—By his son, who is endowed with his own good qualities, (*and*) whose life is devoted to (*the worship of*) the feet of (the god) Gôvinda, ...; —by him, who causes the citizens to bow down by his own prowess, having there attained .... and the feet, which are like waterlilies, of (the god) Vishṇu, with a great expenditure of wealth and time [there was built a temple] of that famous (god Vishṇu) who carries the discus, ... enemies, (*and*) who became (*incarnate and*) human by the exercise of his own free will. (*Thus*) by **Chakrapâlita,** who is of a straightforward mind, there has been caused to be built a temple of (the god) Chakrabhṛit, in a century of years, together with the thirty-eighth (*year*), ... the time of the **Guptas.**[1]

(L. 27.)— .... uprisen, as it were, of the mountain **Ûrjayat,** shines as if displaying (*its*) lordship on the forehead of the city.

(L. 28.)—And another .... on the forehead .... obstructing the path of the birds, is resplendent ....

No. 15; PLATE IX A.

KAHAUM STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 141.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton),—whose Survey of the Provinces, subject to the Presidency of Bengal, was commenced in 1807 and was continued during seven years, and whose manuscript results were transmitted in 1816 to the Court of Directors of the East India Company,—and to have been first brought to notice in his reports, from which Mr. Montgomery Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled *Eastern India*, in which the inscription is noticed in Vol. II. p. 366 f., with a reduced lithograph (*id.* Plate v. No. 2).—In the same year, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 37 f., Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,[2] accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate i.) reduced from a copy made by Mr. D. Liston.—In 1860, in the *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 530, Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his reading of the first verse of the inscription, and a translation, which was subsequently revised and reprinted in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p 3, note.—In 1871, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 93 f. and Plate xxx., General Cunningham published another lithograph, reduced from his own ink-impression.—And finally, in 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 125 f., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji published his revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph reduced from an impression made by him when he visited Kahâuṁ in 1873.

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[1] See page 57 above, note 4.

[2] The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 250.

Kahâuṁ or **Kahâwaṁ**,[1] the ancient **Kakubha** or **Kakubhagrâma** of this inscription, is a village about five miles to the west by south of Salampur-Majhaulî,[2] the chief town of the Salampur-Majhaulî Parganâ in the Dêôriyâ or Dêwariyâ[3] Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Gôrakhpur District in the North-West Provinces. The grey-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands a short distance on the north of the village.[4]

Of the **sculptures** on the column, the most important are five standing naked figures,—one in a niche on the western face of the square base; and one in a niche on each side of the square block immediately below the circular stone with an iron spike in it, which, the original pinnacle having been lost, now forms the top of the column. As appears to have been first fully recognised by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, these are distinctly Jain images. He suggested that they represent the five favourite *Tîrthaṁkaras,*—Âdinâtha, Śântinâtha, Nêminâtha, Pârśva, and Mahâvîra. And they are in all probability the five images of *Âdikartṛis*, or Jain *Tîrthaṁkaras*, referred to in the inscription itself.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2′ 2½″ broad by 1′ 8″ high, is on the three northern faces of the octagonal portion of the column; and the bottom line appears to be about 7′ 6″ above the level of the ground. It is evidently in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The **size** of the letters varies from ⅝″ to ⅞″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 2, and *ttrinśat*, line 4; and (2) the usual doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *chakkrê*, line 9 (but not in *śakrô*, line 3), and *puttrô*, line 6.—My lithograph has been prepared from a lithograph of the same kind, handed to me by Dr. Burgess, from which was prepared the opposite lithograph, with the letters in black on a white ground, published with Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's paper. One or two letters, imperfect in that lithograph, have been cleared out on the authority of General Cunningham's ink-impressions, which, though not adapted for complete reproduction, sufficed for this purpose.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta** king **Skandagupta.** It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-one (A.D. 460-61); and in the month Jyêshṭha (May-June); but without any specification of the day of the month or fortnight. As is shewn by the images in the niches of the column, as well as by the tenour of the record itself, this is distinctly a Jain inscription. And the object of it is, to record that a certain **Madra** set up five stone images of *Âdikartṛis* or *Tîrthaṁkaras*,—*i.e.* apparently the five images in the niches of the column,—and the column itself, at the village of **Kakubha** or **Kakubhagrâma**, *i.e.* **Kahâuṁ.**

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[1] The 'Kahaon, Kahong, Kangho, and Kuhaon, of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 26° 16′ N.; Long. 83°. 55′ E.

[2] The 'Sullempoor-Mujhowlee' of maps.

[3] The 'Deorya' of maps.

[4] For a full description, with drawings, of the column and other remains at Kahâuṁ, see *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 91 ff. and Plate xxix., and *id.* Vol. XVI. p. 129 f. and Plate xxix.

TEXT.[1]

1 Siddham[2] [||*] Yasy[3]=ôpasthâna - bhûmir=nṛipati - śata - śiraḥ[4] - pâta - vât - âvadhûtâ
2 **Guptânâṁ** vanśa-jasya pravisṛita - yaśasas=tasya sarvv - ôttam - arddhêḥ
3 râjyê Śakr-ôpamasya kshitipa-śata-patêḥ **Skandaguptasya** śântê
4 varshê ttrinśad-daś-aik-ôttaraka-śatatamê Jyêshṭha - mâsi prapannê |(||)
5 Khyâtê=smin=grâma-ratnê **Kakubha** iti janais=sâdhu-saṁsarga-pûtê |[5]
6 puttrô yas=Sômilasya prachura-guṇa-nidhêr=Bhaṭṭisômô mahât[m]â
7 tat-sûnû Rudrasôma[ḥ*] pṛithula-mati-yaśâ Vyâghra ity=anya-saṁjñô |[6]
8 **Madras**=tasy=âtmajô=bhûd=dvija-guru-yatishu prâyaśaḥ prîtimân=yaḥ |(||)
9 Puṇya-skandhaṁ sa chakkrê jagad=idam=akhilaṁ saṁsarad=vîkshya bhîtô
10 śrêyô-rtthaṁ bhûta-bhûtyai pathi niyamavatâm=arhatâm=âdikarttṛîn
11 pañch=êndrâṁ(n) sthâpayitvâ dharaṇidharamayân=sannikhâtas=tatô=yam
12 śaila-stambhaḥ su-chârur=giri-vara-śikhar-âgr-ôpamaḥ kîrtti-karttâ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! In the tranquil[7] reign of **Skandagupta,** whose hall of audience is shaken by the wind caused by the falling down (*in the act of performing obeisance*) of the heads of a hundred kings; who is born in the lineage of the **Guptas;** whose fame is spread far and wide; who excels all others in prosperity; who resembles (the god) Śakra; (*and*) who is the lord of a hundred kings;—in the one hundredth year, increased by thirty and ten and one; the month Jyêshṭha having arrived;—

(Line 5.)—In this jewel of a village, which is known by people under the name of **Kakubha,** (*and*) which is pure from association with holy men,[8]—(*there was*) the high-minded Bhaṭṭisôma, who (*was*) the son of Sômila, that receptacle of many good qualities. His son (*was*) Rudrasôma, of great intellect and fame, who had the other appellation of Vyâghra.[9] His son was **Madra,** who (*was*) especially full of affection for Brâhmaṇs and religious preceptors and ascetics.

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[1] From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression, together with the lithograph from which my lithograph is reduced.

[2] In the original, this word is in the margin; the *si* opposite the commencement of line 2, and the *ddham* opposite, and partly above, the commencement of line 3.

[3] Metre, Sragdharâ, throughout.

[4] The mark in the original after this *visarga* would seem to be an accidental slip of the engraver's tool, rather than intended for a mark of punctuation, which is not required here.

[5] and [6]. In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[7] *śântê.* — It is unnecessary to explain in detail the interpretation of this word. The difficulty is,—not the correct rendering of it, which is perfectly obvious,—but to comprehend how it ever came to be read *śântêḥ*, and to be interpreted by "of the repose, *i.e.* death," *i.e.* "after the decease (of Skandagupta);" or, being read *śântê* correctly, to comprehend how it ever came to be interpreted as meaning "(the empire of Skandagupta) being quiescent," or "(the empire of Skandagupta) being extinct (for the hundred and forty-first year)."—The correct interpretation appears to have been first pointed out by Bhau Daji; "in the year one hundred and forty-one, in the peaceful reign of Skandagupta" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 246.)

[8] The proper context is—"(there was) Madra;" who is mentioned in line 8. The intervening genealogical matter is by way of a parenthesis.

[9] For some similar instances of second names, see page 27 above, note 4.

(L. 9.)—He, being alarmed when he observed the whole of this world (*to be ever*) passing through a succession of changes, acquired for himself a large mass of religious merit. (*And by him*),—having set up, for the sake of final beatitude (*and*) for the welfare of (*all*) existing beings, five excellent[1] (*images*), made of stone,[2] (*of*) those who led the way[3] in the path of the *Arhats* who practise religious observances,—there was then planted in the ground this most beautiful pillar of stone, which resembles the tip of the summit of the best of mountains, (*and*) which confers fame (*upon him*).

No. 16; PLATE IX B.

INDOR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 146.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, First Assistant to the Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India; and was first brought to notice, in the same year, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 363 ff., where a lithograph of it was published, prepared by General Cunningham (*id.* Plate xix.), accompanied by a version of the text, and a translation of it, by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra.

The inscription is on a copper-plate which was found in a small stream at **Indor,** the ancient **Indrapura** and **Indrâpura** of the inscription, a large and lofty mound about five miles to the north-west of Dibhâî,[4] the chief town of the Dibhâî Parganâ in the Anupshahar[5] Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Bulandshahar District in the North-West Provinces. Until recent years, Indôr was a small inhabited village; but it is now only a *khêḍâ*, or deserted mound, and is not shewn in maps. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The **plate** is a single one, inscribed on one side only, measuring about 8⅛″ by 5½″ at the ends and 5⅞″ in the middle. The edges of it are here and there slightly thicker than the surface of the plate, with small depressions inside them at the same places; but there does not seem to have been any intention of purposely fashioning the edges thicker all round, so as to serve as a rim to protect the writing.[6] The surface of the plate is in some places

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[1] *indrân.*—Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his published version, first pointed out the kind of meaning to be given to this word here.

[2] *lit.* 'made of (the substance of) mountains.'

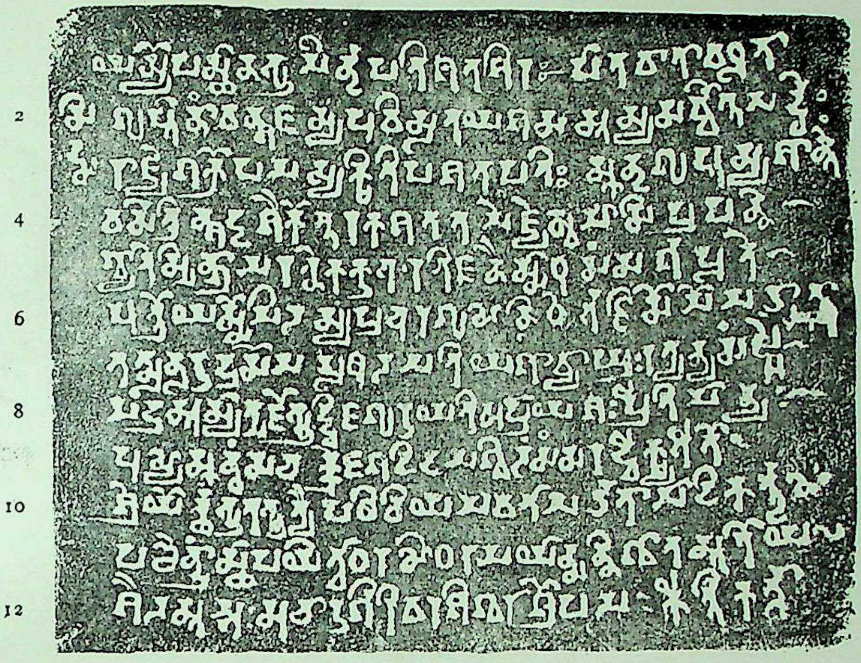
[3] *âdikartṛîn*; *lit.* 'originators.'—Bhagwanlal Indraji first pointed out the correct meaning of this word, as referring here to five of the *Tîrthaṁkaras* or sanctified teachers of the Jains.

[4] The 'Dabhai, Dhubhai, Dibai, and Dubhaee,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 67. Lat. 28° 12′ N.; Long. 78° 18′ E.—The position of Indôr, with reference to Dibhâî, is shewn in the sketch map given in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XII. Plate i.

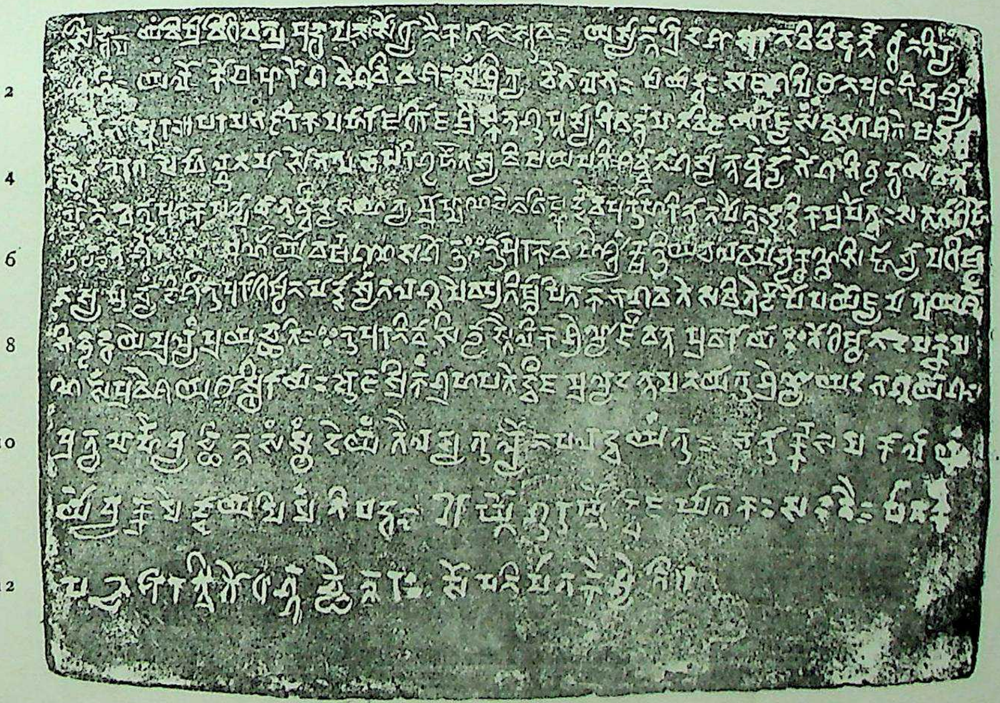
[5] The 'Anoopshuhur and Anupshahr' of maps, &c.

[6] Dr. Burnell allotted the earliest instances of arranging for the preservation of the writing on copper-plates, by beating up the margins round the plates and then flattening the edges, to the ninth or tenth century A.D. (*South-Indian Palæography,* p. 92). But there are plenty of earlier instances, in the south, as well as in the north of India. These raised rims were obtained, at first, by thickening the plates at the edges, in the process of fashioning them. Afterwards, it became customary to beat the plates out quite smooth, and then to turn them up at the edges and fuse them together at the corners; and some of the Eastern Chalukya plates, made in this way, have raised rims a good quarter of an inch high.

—Kahaum Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta.—The Year 141.



B.—Indor Plate of Skandagupta.—The Year 146.



a good deal corroded by rust; the inscription, however, with care, is legible with certainty throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters, being rather deeply engraved, shew through distinctly on a great part of the back of it. The engraving is clean and well executed; the majority of the letters, however, shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is no hole in the plate for a **ring** with a seal on it; nor are there any indications of a **seal** having been soldered on to it, as,—from the instance of the spurious Gayâ grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; illustrated also, in the present series by the Aśîrgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA., and the Sônpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxiiB.; and, elsewhere, by the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant of the *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla[1] and the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahârâja* Vinâyakapâla,[2]—seems to have been the early custom in the north of India.—The **weight** of the plate is 1 lb. 2 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is between $\frac{1}{8}''$ and $\frac{3}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and in essential details are of the same type with those of the Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iiiA. The initial *i* has an entirely different form from that of the other northern type; contrast it in *indrapura* and *itô*, line 8, with *iva* in Plate i. page 9 above, line 30, and *iti* in Plate ixA. page 67, line 7. In line 10, we have a form of the **numerical symbol** for 2.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and all the formal part of the inscription, from *paramabhaṭṭâraka*, line 3, to *samakâlîyaṁ*, line 10, is in prose. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice the affix *ka*, in *chandrâpuraka*, line 5, *indrâpuraka*,[3] line 6, and especially *pratishṭhâpitaka*, line 7. It is a weaker form, without *vṛiddhi* of the vowel in the first syllable, of the *ka* with which the adjectives of locality, used in lines 19 and 20 of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, page 7 above, are formed; and it is the origin of the modern Hindî genitive terminations *kâ*, *kê*, and *kî*, and of similar declensional forms. Other instances of it are given by No. 25 below, Plate xvB. line 13, *kâritaka*; No. 26, Plate xvi. line 10, *utpadyamânaka*; No. 27, Plate xvii. line 9, *pratishṭhâpitaka*, and line 12, *utpadyamânaka*; No. 28, Plate xviii. line 13, *anumôditaka*, line 14, *uparilikhitaka* and *pratishṭhâpitaka*, and line 18, *utpadyamânaka*; No. 29, Plate xixA. line 10, *uparilikhitaka* and line 15, *utpadyamânaka*; No. 31, Plate xx. line 9, *utpannaka*, lines 9 and 16 *utpadyamânaka*, and line 11, *kâritaka*; No. 41, Plate xxvii. line 11, *atisṛishṭaka*; and No. 62, Plate xxxviiiB. line 4, *pravishṭaka*.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś* and *h*, in *chatvâriṅśad*, line 3 f., and *siṅha*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *k*, and usually of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *apakkramaṇa*, line 8 f., and *pauttraḥ*, line 5, (but not in *putrô* in the same line); and (3) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvâra*, in *saṁvvatsara*, line 3.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta** king **Skandagupta**, whose feudatory, the *Vishayapati*[4] **Śarvanâga**, was governing **Antarvêdî**[5] or the country lying between the Ganges and the Jamnâ. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-six (A.D. 465-66); and in the month Phâlguna (February-March), but without any specification of the day of the month or fortnight. It is an inscription of solar worship; and the object of it is to record a perpetual endowment, by a Brâhmaṇ named **Dêvavishṇu,** for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the Sun at **Indrapura** or **Indrâpura,** *i.e.* the modern **Indôr.** This mention of the place, under its ancient name, connects the record satisfactorily with the locality in which the plate was found.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 105 ff.

[2] *id.* p. 138 ff.

[3] As regards these two words, Monier Williams, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, gives *puraka* as another form of *pura*, 'a city;' but refers only to 'Arghâshṭapuraka' as an authority for the word. This city, however, only owes its existence to one of the early misreadings of *Mantarâja-Paishṭapuraka* in line 19 of the Allahâbâd inscription, No. 1, page 7 above.

[4] *Vishayapati* is a technical official title, meaning 'the lord, or governor, of a *vishaya*.'—See p. 32 above, note 7.

[5] Antarvêdî may perhaps also denote any Doab or region between two rivers of repute and sanctity.—It also means, as an adjective, 'belonging to the inside of the sacrificial ground.'—It occurs,

TEXT.[1]

Sole Plate.

1 Siddham [II*] Yaṁ[2] viprâ vidhi-vat=prabuddha-manasô dhyân-aika-tânâ(na)-
stuvaḥ[3] yasy=ântaṁ tridaś-âsurâ ·na vividur=nn=ôrdhvaṁ na tirya-
2 g-gatiḥ(ṁ) yaṁ lôkô bahu-rôga-vêga-vivaśaḥ saṁśritya chêtô-labhaḥ
pâyâd=vaḥ sa jagat-pidhâ[4]na-puṭa-bhid-raśmy-â-
3 karô bhâskaraḥ II Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Skandaguptasy**=âbhi-
varddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvvatsara-śatê[5] shach(ṭ)-chatvâ-
4 [ri*]ṅśad-uttaratamê Phâlguna-mâsê . tat-p[â*]da-parigṛihîtasya vishayapati-
Śarvvanâgasy=**Ântarvvêdyâṁ** bhôg-âbhivṛiddhayê vartta-
5 mânê [I*] **Chandrâpuraka**-Padmâ-châturvvidya-sâmânya-brâhmaṇa-**Dêva-
vishṇur**=Ddêva-putrô Haritrâta-pauttraḥ Ḍuḍika-prapauttraḥ satat-âgnihô-
6 tra-[ch*]chhandôgô Râṇâyaṇî(nî)yô Varshagaṇa-sagôttra **Indrâpuraka**-vaṇig-
bhyâṁ kshattriy-Âchalavarma-Bhṛi(bhru)kuṇṭhasiṅhâbhyâm=adhishṭâ(shṭhâ)-
7 nasya prâchyâṁ diś=**Îndrapur**-âdhishṭhâna-mâḍâsyâta-lagnam=êva prati-
shṭhâpitaka-bhagavatê savitrê dîp-ôpayôjyam=âtma-yaśô-
8 bhivṛiddhayê mûlyaṁ prayachchhatiḥ[6] [II*] **Indrapura**-nivâsinyâs=
tailika-śrêṇyâ Jîvanta-pravarâyâ itô=dhishṭhânâd=apakkrama·
9 ṇa-saṁpravêśa-yathâsthirâyâḥ âjasrikaṁ grahapatêr=dvija-mûlya-dattam=Anayâ
tu śrêṇyâ yad=abhagna-yôgam
10 prattha(tha)m-ârh-âvya[va*]chchhinna-saṁsthaṁ dêyaṁ tailasya tulyêna[7] pala-
dvayaṁ tu[8] 2 chandr-ârkka-samakâlîyaṁ [II*]

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as the name of a village, in 'Anterbed,' about thirty miles west of Uchaharâ, in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70; Lat. 24° 25′ N.; Long. 80° 13′ E. And we also have it in Antarvêdî, Antaravêdî, or Antravêdî, the name of a shrine at the mouth of the Vasishṭha branch of the river Gôdâvarî, seven miles south of Narsâpur, in the Narsâpur Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Gôdâvarî District.

[1] From the original plate.

[2] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[3] The form *stû* is rather unusual; the customary form being *stut*. But Dr. Bühler has given me the analogous instance of *âyata-stû*, which is mentioned by Kâtyâyana in his comments on Pâṇini, iii. 2, 76. The meaning of *âyata-stû* is not given in the *Mahâbhâshya*; but Monier Williams explains it by 'panegyrist.'

[4] This is rather an anomalous *akshara*; but it can mean nothing but *dhâ*.

[5] Read *râjyê saṁvvatsara-śatê*; see p. 38 above, note 5.—Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XII. p. 40) considered that there is a faint trace of the vowel *ê* of *râjyê*; but the vowel was not engraved.

[6] Read *prayachchhati.*—That the marks after *ti* are the *visarga*, and not marks of punctuation, is shewn by the form of the *visarga* throughout this inscription, and, contrasted with it, the marks of punctuation after *bhâskaraḥ*, l. 3, and at the end of the inscription.

[7] *tulyêna* seems to be a mistake for *taulyêna*.

[8] i.e. *tulyêna* (*taulyêna*).

11 Yô[1] vyakkramêd[2]=dâyam=imaṁ nibaddhaṁ gô-ghnô guru-ghnô dvija-ghâtakaḥ saḥ[3] taiḥ pâtakai[ḥ*]
12 pañchabhir=anvitô=dhar=gachchhên[4]=naraḥ s-ôpanipâtakaiś=ch=êti ||

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! May that Sun, the rich source of rays that pierce (*the darkness which is*) the envelope of the earth, protect you,—whom Brâhmaṇs, of enlightened minds, (*have recourse to*)[5] according to due rite, (*and thus become*) the utterers of praises in meditation, which are directed solely to him; whose limit, either vertically or from side to side, neither the gods nor the demons could ascertain; (*and*) by having recourse to whom, mankind, when they have lost control of themselves through much disease and agitation of the mind, acquire consciousness (*again*)!

(Line 3.)—In the augmenting victorious reign[6] of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Skandagupta**; in the year one hundred, increased by forty-six; (*and*) while the month Phâlguna is current for the increase of the enjoyment, in (*the land of*) **Antarvêdî**, of the *Vishayapati* **Śarvanâga,** who has been accepted (*with favour*) by his[7] feet;—

(L. 5.)—The Brâhmaṇ **Dêvavishṇu,** who belongs to the community of *Chaturvêdins* of Padmâ of the town of **Chandrâpura,**—who is the son of Dêva, (*and*) the son's son of Haritrâta, (*and*) the son of the son's son of Ḍuḍika; who always recites the hymns of the *agnihôtra*-sacrifice;[8] who belongs to the Râṇâyanîya (*śâkhâ*); (*and*) who is of the Varshagana *gôtra*,—for the increase of his own fame gives an endowment, (*of which the interest is*) to be applied to (*the maintenance of*) a lamp for the divine Sun, which has been established (*in a temple*) by the Kshatriyas Achalavarman and Bhrukuṇṭhasiṁha, merchants of the town of **Indrâpura,**[9] on the east of the settlement, (*and*) actually touching ....[10] of the settlement of the town of **Indrapura.**

(L. 8.)—This gift of a Brâhmaṇ's endowment of (*the temple of*) the Sun, (*is*) the perpetual property of the guild of oil-men, of which Jîvanta is the head, residing at the town of **Indrapura,** as long as it continues in complete unity, (*even*) in moving away from this settlement. But there should be given by this guild, for the same time as the moon and the sun endure, two *palas*[11] of oil by weight, (*or in figures*) by weight 2, uninterrupted in use, (*and*) continuing without any diminution from the original value.

(L. 11.)—Whosoever shall transgress this grant that has been assigned,—that man, (*becoming as guilty as*) the slayer of a cow, (*or*) the slayer of a spiritual preceptor, (*or*) the slayer of a Brâhmaṇ, shall go down (*into hell*), invested with (*the guilt of*) those (*well-known*) five sins,[1] together with the minor sins.[2]

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[1] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[2] Read *yô vikkramêd*; or, better, *yô=tikkramêd*.

[3] Read *sa*.

[4] Read *dhô gachchhên*.

[5] Supply *saṁśritya*, from the third *pâda* of the verse.

[6] See page 38 above, note 5.

[7] *i.e.* Skandagupta's.

[8] *agnihôtra*, 'an oblation to the god Agni, consisting chiefly of milk, oil, and sour gruel, offered every morning and evening; the maintenance of the sacred fire.'

[9] Here, line 6, the vowel of the second syllable is long; in lines 7 and 8 below, it is short.

[10] The meaning of *mâdâsyâta* is not apparent.

[11] *pala*, a particular weight, = 4 *suvarṇas* (gold-pieces), or 64 *mâshas* (beans); see the *Mânavadharmaśâstra*, viii. 135, Burnell's Translation, p. 200.

No. 17; PLATE X.

GANGDHAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF VISVAVARMAN.

THE YEAR 480.

THIS inscription, which is now published for the first time, was brought to my notice in 1883, through a photograph sent to me by Colonel W. Muir, then Political Agent at Kôṭâ in Central India.

Gaṅgdhâr[3] is a village about fifty-two miles south-west of Jhâlrâpâṭaṇ, the chief town of the Jhâlâwâḍ[4] State in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India. The inscription is on a stone-tablet standing under a tamarind-tree about a mile to the north of the village; evidently on the site of an old ruined temple.

At the top of the stone there is some **sculpture,** which I cannot quite make out in the rough drawing of it that was brought to me with the ink-impression; but it is probably a sixteen-leaved waterlily.—The **writing** covers the entire front of the stone, about $2' \, 0\frac{3}{4}''$ high by $3' \, 8''$ broad. Twelve letters are broken away and lost in the first part of line 1; eleven in line 2; three in line 3; and two or three all the way down from there as far as line 36. In lines 4 to 36, however, it is in most cases easy to supply what has been lost. In lines 37 to 40, again, from three to six letters are broken away at the beginning, and from two to four at the end of each line. The inscription was thus of a somewhat irregular shape, lines 1 to 6 and 37 to 41 being rather longer than lines 7 to 36; which looks as if the stone on which it was engraved was a panel in the wall of a temple.—The **size** of the letters varies from about $\frac{3}{8}''$ to $\frac{9}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; and give a specimen of what may be called the Western Mâlwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D. They include, however, in *khaḍga*, line 5, and in several other places, not merely a separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, in accordance with the custom of the northern alphabets, but a quite unique form of it, which does not occur in any other early inscription that I know of, and which is the clear prototype of the modern Dêvanâgarî form of this letter. They also include the very rare initial *au*, in *aupamya*, line 6.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and except for the words *siddhir=astu* at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvâmûlîya*, *e.g.* in *chakitaiḥ=kriyatê*, line 11, and *subhujah=khadga*, line 26; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before ś, in *vaṅśa*, line 29, and *aṅśumân*, line 35; but not in *vaṁśa* in line 2; (3) the frequent doubling of *k*, *g*, *t*, and *p*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *vikkramêṇa*, line 8; *samaggram*, line 4; *vittrasta*, line 13; and *appratimêṇa*, line 4; and of *bh*, in *vyabbhra*, line 9; and (4) the same in respect of *kh*, *t*, *bh*, and *s*, in conjunction with a following *y*, *e.g.* in *prakkhyâta*, line 2, and *vikkhyâpayan*, line 26; *bhṛittya*, line 4, and *prattyasta*, line 14; *abbhyudyata*, line 15; and *yassya*, lines 11, 12, 14, 16, and 31.

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[1] *i.e.* the *pañcha mahâpâtakâni*; see page 38 above, note 4.

[2] The *upanipâtakâni*,—or more usually *upapâtakâni*; the longer form being used in this verse for the sake of the metre,—are sins of the second degree, such as killing a cow, sacrificing for those for whom sacrifices ought not to be made, &c.. &c.: see the *Mânavadharmaśâstra*, xi. 60 to 67, Burnell's Translation, p. 332 f.

[3] The 'Gangrar, Gungra, and Gungurar,' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 23° 56′ N.; Long. 75° 41′ E.—The modern name must be connected with Gargarâ, the ancient name, according to line 23 of this inscription, of the small river, now called 'Kalisind,' on which it stands. But it is not apparent how the dental *dh* came to be introduced into it; nor why it appears as *r* in the corrupt English forms.

[4] The 'Jhalawar, Jhallawar, and Jhallowar,' of maps, &c.

The **inscription** is of the time of a prince named **Viśvavarman.** It is dated, in words, when four hundred and eighty years had expired, *i.e.* in the four hundred and eighty-first year, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November.)[1] The era is not specified in this record; but of course the date has to be referred to the era, dating from the tribal constitution of the **Mâlavas,** that is mentioned specifically in the next inscription, which gives us the year four hundred and ninety-three for **Viśvavarman's** son, **Bandhuvarman,** the feudatory of **Kumâragupta.** This **Mâlava era** is the **Vikrama era,**[1] commencing B.C. 57; and the result for the present inscription is A.D. 423-24 expired, or 424-25 current; which shews that **Viśvavarman,** also, was a contemporary of **Kumâragupta.** The inscription belongs partly to the Vaishṇava, and partly to the Śâkta or Tântrika form of religion; the object of it being to record how a certain **Mayûrâkshaka,** a minister of Viśvavarman, built a temple of Vishṇu,—also a temple of the divine Mothers,—and also a large drinking-well.

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[1] The passage containing the date, line 19 f., is not an easy one to deal with. — The date of four hundred and ninety-three, given in the next inscription, for Viśvavarman's son Bandhuvarman, shews that the number of the centuries in the present passage must be four. And the reading that I give is exactly in accordance with the appearance of the original. But there are the objections, (1) that it is a violation of the metre, since it gives us, in *chaturshu*, an amphibrach where a dactyl is required; and (2) that it leaves *kṛitêshu*, 'made, done, performed,' as a superfluous and rather unmeaning word, unless we somewhat strain its meaning by giving it the sense of 'fully completed (years).'—In the sense of '(years) accomplished, *i. e.* expired,' *kṛitêshu* occurs in line 1 of the Byânâ inscription of Vishṇuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59 below, Plate xxxviC. But, though this use of it is unusual, it is justifiable there, as it is not accompanied by *yâtêshu*, 'having gone by,' or any similar word.—My first inclination about the present passage was, that *kṛitêshu* was used in the sense of 'made, effected, established by;' and that the three *aksharas* preceding it contained the name of the founder of the era. But Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with whom I discussed the passage, was of opinion that *kṛita* could not be used in such a sense; and I am not able to quote anything opposed to his opinion. Moreover, that interpretation would have left us without any word to specify the centuries of the date.—My next inclination was to read *cha tsapu-kṛitêshu*, which would satisfy the metrical requirements, and may be justified by the appearance of the original; and to look upon *tsapu* as intended for a vocalisation of the numerical symbol for four hundred; "made by (the utterance of) *tsapu*." The very peculiar expression, *sôttarapadêshu*, which follows, seemed to point to something of this kind being intended. And Dr. Bühler has given an instance of a pronunciative value being certainly allotted to the symbol for four (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 47 f.) But to this interpretation there are the objections, (1) that the word *cha* would be rather superfluous and unmeaning; and (2) that the symbol for four hundred does not resemble the syllables *tsapu*. — Dr. Bhandarkar also suggested that the word 'four' is expressed by *kṛita* (in *kṛitêshu*). But this would leave the preceding two or three *aksharas* altogether unexplained. And, though Kṛita, as the name of the first of the four ages, is capable, on the numerical-word system, of being used to represent the number four, this system was not in use in inscriptions in India at this early time. The period of the invention of the system in question still remains to be determined. That the use of it was known to Varâhamihira (died A.D. 587; *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. I. p. 407), is shewn by his employing, in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, viii. 20, 21, the words Rudra for 'eleven,' Râma for 'three,' *aga* (mountain) for 'seven,' and *śara* (arrow) and *vishaya* (object of sense) for 'five.' And it has been supposed that it was used by Âryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476; *id.* p. 405); but Dr. Bhau Daji (*id.* p. 404) has pointed out, from his own MS., that the half-verse in question, the only apparent instance, giving the number of the revolutions of the planet Jupiter in numerical words, is not really Âryabhaṭa's (a point that is supported also by the metre; for the two lines together make up a verse in the Upagîti metre; whereas Âryabhaṭa used the Âryâ metre, and the first line is the second half of a verse in that metre), but is an addition, in all probability by Utpala or Bhaṭṭôtpala (about A.D. 966; *id.* p. 410). The earliest epigraphical instances, at present available, are, in Cambodia, the Bayang inscription, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 526 (A.D. 604-5) and 546 (Barth's *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 36, line 11), where the dates are expressed by the (five) arrows (of Kâmadêva), Dasra (one of the two Aśvinau), and the (six) flavours, and by the (five) senses, the (four) oceans, and the (six) seasons; and, in India

TEXT.[2]

1 [— — ⏑[3] — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑]masya Vishṇôr=bbhujas=surapati-dvipa-hasta-[sa]rppa[— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑]

2 [— ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —] [II] Prakkhyâta-vîryya-yaśas[âṁ] ksh[i]tip-âdhipânâṁ vaṁś-ôdbhavô [⏑]gativi[⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑]

3 [⏑ — ⏑] kântaś=śrîmân=babhûva **Naravarmma**-nṛipaḥ prakâśaḥ II Yajñais=surân=muni-gaṇâ[n]=[n]i[ya]mair=udârai[ḥ] [— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —]

4 [mânê]na bhṛittya-janam=a-ppratimêna lôkê yô=tôshayat=su-charitaiś=cha jagat=samaggraṁ II Hasty-aśva-sâdhana[⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑]

5 [⏑]khaḍga-marîch[i*]matsu II(I) saṅgrâma-mûrddhasu mukhaṁ samudîkshya yasya nâśam=prayânty=ari-gaṇâ bhaya-nashṭa-chêshṭâḥ [II*] [Tasy=âtmajaḥ][4] [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑]

6 [⏑ —]au mahâtmâ buddhyâ Bṛihaspati-samas=sakalêndu-vaktraḥ II(I) aupamyabhûta iva Râma-Bhagîrathâbhyâṁ râ[— ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑]

7 [⏑ —] [bhu]vi **Viśvavarmmâ** II Dhairyyêṇa Mêrum=abhijâti-guṇêna Vaiṇyam=induṁ prabhâ-samudayêna balêna Vishṇuṁ [I] [saṁ]-

8 [va]rttak-ânalam=a-sahyatamâñ=cha dîptyâ yô vikkramêṇa cha sur-âdhipatiṁ vijigyê II Vyâvṛitta-mârgga iva bhâ-

9 [nur=asa]hya-mûrttir=vyabbhr-ôday-âdhikatar-ôj[j*]vala-ghôra-dîptiḥ II(I) yaś=śakyatê na ripubhir=bbhaya-vihval-âkshair=udvî-

10 [kshituṁ ksha]ṇam=api ppragṛihîta-śastraḥ II Nirbbhûshaṇair=avigat-âsra-jal-ârdra-gaṇḍair=vvichchhinna-maṇḍanatay=ôj[j*]vala-nashṭa-

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itself, the record of Śaka-Saṁvat 867 (A.D. 945-46) for the accession of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 16, line 31), in which the date is expressed by the (eight) demi-gods called Vasu, the (six) flavours, and the (seven) mountains.—The supposition that the present passage contains one of these numerical words, is certainly not tenable. And, after full consideration, I can see nothing to be done, save to take the reading *chaturshu*; to accept the violation of the metre; and, as we also have *yâtêshu*, to translate *kṛitêshu* by 'fully-complete.'—In the same verse, there is also a violation of the metre (or some other mistake) in the words *saumyêshv=aśîta*; and, in line 11, the final long *î* of *kâminî* is shortened for metrical purposes.

[1] See the Preface.

[2] From the ink-impression and a paper estampage.

[3] Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next seventeen verses.

[4] Also *tasy=ânujaḥ*, "his younger brother," will suit the metre.

11 [śôbhai]ḥ II(I) yassy=âri-kâmini[1]-mukhâmburuhair=bbalasya pûrvvaṁ pratâpa-chakitaiḥ=kriyatê praṇâmaḥ II Ratn-ôdgama-dyuti-

12 [vira]ñjita-kûla-tâlair=uttrasta-nakkra-makara-kshata-ph[ê]na-mâlaiḥ II(I) chaṇḍ-ânil-ôddhata-taraṅga-samasta-hastair=yyassy=â-

13 [rṇṇavai]r=api balâni namaṁkriyantê II Bhûr=uddhri(ddhṛi)ta-druma-vikampita-śaila-kîla-vittrasta-vidruta-mṛiga-dvija-śûṇya(nya)-gu-

14 [lmâ] [I] yassy=ônnata-pravisham[î]kri(kṛi)ta-râjamârggâ ssaiṇya[2]-prayâṇa-samayê vinimajjat=îva II Prattyasta-mauli-

15 [ma]ṇi-raśmi-nakha-prabh-ândhair=abbhyudyat-âñjalitayâ śabal-âgragaṇḍaiḥ II(I) vidyâdharaiḥ ppriyatamâ-bhuja-pâśa-ba-

16 [ddhair=yya]ssy=âdarâd=divi yaśâ[ṁ]si namaṁkriyantê II Agrê=pi yâ(yô) vayasi samparivarttamânaś=śâstr-ânusâra-pari-

17 [varddhita]-śuddha-buddhiḥ II(I) sad-dharmma-mârggam=iva râjasu darśa-yishyan=rakshâ-vidhiṁ Bharata-vaj=jagataṁ=karôti II Tasmin=pra-

18 [śâsa]ti mahîn=nṛipati-pravîrê svarggaṁ yathâ surapatâv=amita-prabhâvê II(I) n=âbhûd=adharmma-niratô vyasan-ânvitô

19 [vâ lôkê] kadâchana janas=sukha-varjjitô vâ II Yâtêshu chatu[r]shu[3] kri(kṛi)têshu śatêshu sausyaishvâ(? śhṭhâ)śîta-[4]sôttarapaḍêshv=iha vatsa-

20 [rêshu] II(I) śuklê trayôdaśa-dinê bhuvi Kârttikasya mâsasya sarvva-jana-chitta-sukh-âvahasya II Ṇîl-ôtpala-pra-

21 [sṛita-rê]ṇv-aruṇ-âmbu-kîrṇṇê bandhûka-bâṇa-kusum-ôj[j*]vala-kânan-ântê II(I) nidrâ-vyapâya-samayê Madhusûdanasya kâ-

22 [lê prabu]ddha-kumud-âgara-śuddha-târê II Vâpî-taḍâga-surasadmasabh-ôdupâna[5]-nânâvidh-ôpavana-saṅkrama-dîrghik[â]-

23 [bhiḥ] II(I) sê(i)shṭâm=iv=âbharaṇa-jâtibhir=aṅganâṁ svâṁ yô **Garggarâ**-taṭa-puraṁ sakka(ma)lañ-chakâra II Râjñas=tritîyam=iva chakshur=udâ-

24 [ra-vṛitti]r=ddêva-dvijâti-guru-b[â]ndhava-sâdhu(?)-bhaktaḥ II(I) śâstrai[ḥ*] stutê cha vinay[ê*] vyavahâra-hînê yô=pakshapâta-rahitô nidadh[au]

25 [sva-chint]âm II Sarvvasya jîvitam=a-nityam=a-sâravach=cha dôlâ-chalâm=anu-vichintya tathâ vibhûtim II(I) nyây-âga[tê]-

26 [na vi]bhavêna parâñ=cha bhaktiṁ vikkhyâpayann=upari chakkra-gadâ-dharasya II Pîna[6]-vyâyata-vṛitta-lambi-subhujaṁ=khaḍga-vraṇ[ai]-

27 [r=aṅki]taḥ II(I) karṇṇ-ânta-pratisarppamâna(ṇa)-nayana[ḥ*] gyâ(śyâ)m-âvadâta-chchhaviḥ II(I) darpp-âvishkri(shkṛi)ta-sô(sâ)ra-śattru-mathanô dushṭh(shṭ)-âśva-

28 [— —] balî II(I) bhaktyâ ch=âsuhṛidâñ=cha bândhava-samô dharmm-ârttha-kâm-ôditah II Prajñâ-śauryya-kul-ôdgatô diśi-

29 [diśi] prakkhyâta-vîryyô vaśî (I) puttrê Vishṇubhatê tathâ Haribhaṭê sambaddha-vaṅśa-kriyaḥ II(I) êta-

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[1] The final long *î* of *kâminî* is shortened for the sake of the metre.

[2] Read *sainya*.

[3] See page 73 above, note 1.

[4] Read *saumyêshv=aśîta*; which, however, entails another violation of the metre, since *asîta*, 'the eightieth,' gives us an amphibrach where an antibacch is required.—We might satisfy the requirements of the metre by reading *saumyê=shṭ-âśîta*, which would give the 'eighty-eighth (*year*).' But this would also give us a locative singular, *saumyê*, where the locative plural, *saumyêshu*, is required in apposition with *śatêshu*.

[5] Read *ôdapana*, or *ôḍupâna*.

[6] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita; and in the next verse.

30 [t=pâpa]-path-âvarôdhi vipula-śrî-vallabhê(bhai)r=âtmajaiḥ ॥(।) Vishṇô[ḥ*] sthânam=akârayad=bhagava-

31 [taś=śrî]mân=**Mayûrâkshakaḥ** ॥ Kailâsa[1]-tuṅga-śikhara-ppratimasya yassya dṛishṭv=âkri(kṛi)tiṁ pra-

32 [muditai]r=vvadan-âravindi(ndai)ḥ ॥(।) vidyâdharâḥ ppriyatamâ-sahitâḥ su-śôbham=âdarśi(rśa)-bimba-

33 [m=iva] yânty=avalôkayantaḥ ॥ Yân[2]=dṛishṭvâ sura-sundarî-kara-tala-vyâghṛishṭa-pṛishṭha-kshaṇam ॥(।) prattyâ

34 [vartta]na-śaṅkinô, ratha-hayân=âkri(kṛi)shya chañchat-saṭân ॥(।) puṇy-ôdarka-mati-prabhâva-munibhis=saṁ

35 [stû]yamânô=mbarê (॥) saṁrajy=âñjali-kûṭṭalan[3]=nata-śirâ bhîtaḥ prayâtty=aṅśumân ॥ Mâtṛi(tṛî)ṇâñ[4]=cha

36 [pramu]dita-ghan-âtyarttha-nihrâdinînâm ॥(।) tântr-ôdbhûta-prabala-pavan-ôd-varttit-âmbhônidhînâm ॥(।)

37 [— — — — ◡ ◡]gatam=idaṁ ḍâkinî-saṁprakîrṇṇam ॥(।) vêśm=âtyuggraṁ nṛipati-sachivô=kârayat=puṇya-hêtôḥ ॥ Pâtâlê[5] [◡ ◡ —]

38 [◡ — ◡]ratibhir=gguptaṁ bhujaṅg-ô[pa*]maiḥ ॥(।) śîta-svâdu-viśuddha-bhûri-salilaṁ sôpâni(na)-mâl-ôj[j*]valam ॥(।) da(?)[— — ◡ ◡]

39 [— ◡ — ◡]gahanaṁ kshîrôdadhi-sparddhinam ॥(।) kûpañ=ch=ainam=akârayad=guṇa-nidhiḥ śrimân=**Mayûrâkshakaḥ** ॥ Yâvach[6]=ch[— — ◡ ◡ ◡]

40 [◡ ◡ —] sâgarâ ratnavantô nânâ-gulma-druma-vanavatî yâvad=urvvî sa-śai(?)lâ ॥(।) yâvach=ch=êndur=ggraha-gaṇa-chitaṁ vyôma bhâ[sîka]-

41 [rôti tâ]vat=kîrttir=bbhavatu vipulâ śrî-**Mayûrâkshakasy**=êditi[7] Siddhir=astu [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

.... the arm of (the god) Vishṇu; .... the serpentine movements of the trunk of (Airâvata) the elephant of (Indra) the lord of the gods ....!

(Line 2.)—Born in a lineage of rulers of the earth who were possessed of renowned prowess and fame .... beautiful .... there was the illustrious king **Naravarman,** the famous one;—who pleased the gods with sacrifices, the saints with observances of a noble nature .... (*his*) servants with honourable treatment that was unequalled in the world, and the whole earth with excellent achievements;—[who] .... the appliances of elephants and horses .... in [battle-fields] which were full of the rays of (*his*) sword; (*and whose*) enemies, losing the power of motion through fear, are destroyed (*by simply*) seeing his face in the van of war.

(L. 5.)—[His son[8]] .... magnanimous; equal to Bṛihaspati in intellect; possessed of a countenance like the full-moon; the standard of comparison, as it

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[1] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[2] Metre, Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

[3] Read *saṁkuchy=âñjali-kuṭmalan*

[4] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

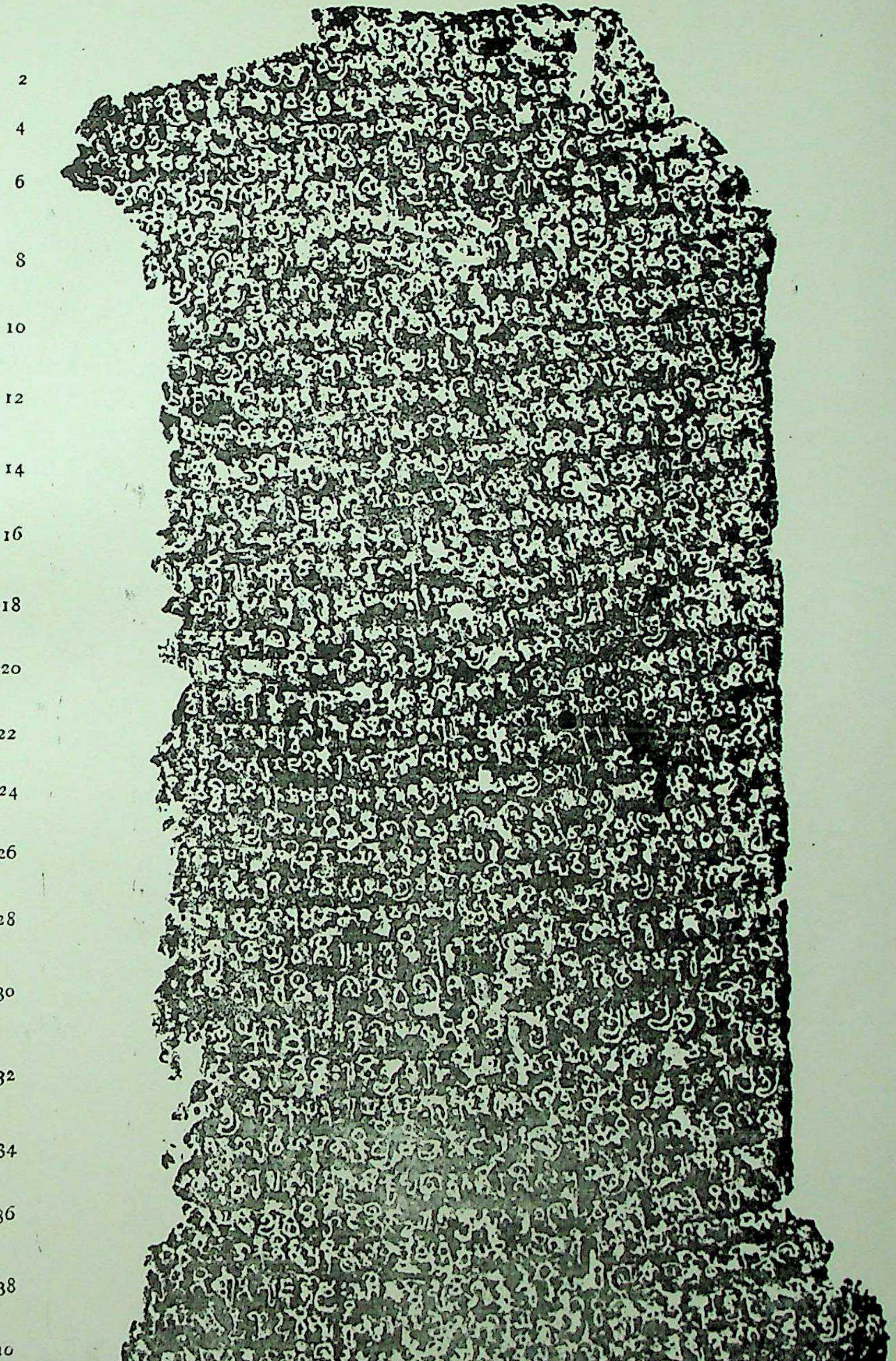
[5] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[6] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

[7] The composer, or the writer, seems to have become confused here between *Mayúrákshakasy=éti*, which is the correct reading, and *Mayúrákshakasya syád=iti*.

[8] Or possibly "[his younger brother]"; see page 74 above, note 4.

Gangdhar Inscription of Visvavarman.—The Year 480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J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S. SCALE .23 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

were, for (*even*) Râma and Bhagîratha; .... on the earth, (*was*) **Viśvavarman**;—who surpassed (the mountain) Mêru in firmness, Vaiṇya in hereditary virtue, the moon in development of lustre, (the god) Vishṇu in strength, and the most unendurable fire of universal destruction in brilliance, and (Indra) the lord of the gods in prowess;—who, when he grasps (*his*) weapon, cannot be gazed upon even for a moment by (*his*) enemies, whose eyes are blinded by fear, just like a sun, which, turning back upon (*its*) course, has an unendurable form and a brilliant and terrible lustre that is heightened by rising in a cloudless sky;—to whom obeisance is performed by the waterlilies which are the faces of the lovely women of (*his*) enemies, frightened beforehand by (*hearing of*) the prowess of (*his*) strength, (*and now*) destitute of ornaments, moist on the cheeks with the water of the tears that cling there, (*and*) deprived of beauty by having their wearing of adornments stopped;—whose forces, moreover, have reverence done to them by [the oceans], the palmyra-trees on the shores of which are beautified by the lustre of the production of jewels (*from the waters*); the rows of the foam on which are broken through by the terrified sharks and marine monsters; (*and*) all of whose hands, which are their waves, are shaken about by a fierce wind;—at the time of the journeying forth of whose army, the earth has (*its*) thickets emptied of the beasts and birds which flee away from fear of the lances that uproot the trees and make the mountains tremble, and, having (*its*) highways made uneven by protuberances, sinks down as it were (*under the tread of his troops*);—whose reputation has respect paid to it in a reverential manner in the sky by the Vidyâdharas, bound in the fetters of the arms of (*their*) mistresses, who are blinded by the radiance, directed towards (*them*), of the rays of the jewels in (*his*) diadem, (*and*) the upper parts of whose cheeks are shaded by the lifting up of (*their*) joined hands in the act of respectful salutation;—and who, even when he was still in early youth, nourished (*his*) pure intellect by following the sacred writings, and now effects the protection of the world like Bharata, pointing out, as it were, the path of the true religion among kings. While he, the king, the bravest among kings, is governing the earth, just as (Indra) the lord of the gods, of unmeasured majesty, (*governs*) the heavens, there is never any one [among mankind] who delights in wickedness, [or] is beset by misfortune, or is destitute of happiness

(L. 19.)—And when four hundred fully-complete auspicious years,[1] together with the eightieth (*year*), had here gone by; on the bright thirteenth day of the month Kârttika which brings happiness to the thoughts of all mankind;—in the season[2] which abounds with waters that are of a reddish-brown colour with the pollen that is discharged from the blue waterlilies; when the skirts of the groves are radiant with the flowers of the *bandhûka*[3] and *bâṇa*[4]-trees; when there is the time of the awakening from sleep of (the god) Madhusûdana;[5] (*and*) when the stars are as pure as a bed of waterlilies in full bloom;—

(L. 22.)—He who has adorned (*this*) city on the banks of the **Gargarâ** with irrigation wells, tanks, and temples and halls of the gods, drinking-wells, and pleasure-gardens of various kinds, and causeways, and long pools, just as if (*he were adorning his own*) beloved wife with different sorts of ornaments; he who is, as it were, the third eye of the king; who is of noble behaviour; who is devoted to gods, Brâhmaṇs, spiritual preceptors, relations, and holy men; and who, (*by nature*) not free from partiality (*for this particular virtue*), has (*always*) applied (*his*) thoughts to courteous behaviour, destitute of litigation, which is applauded by the sacred writings;—he who, having reflected that the life of every man lasts not for ever and is full of feebleness, and that prosperity is as unstable as a swing, is displaying, by means of (*his*) lawfully acquired riches, the most extreme devotion towards (the god Vishṇu) who bears the discus and the club;[1]—he who has two handsome arms that are muscular and long and round and pendulous; who is [marked] with the wounds of swords; whose eyes stretch to the tips of (*his*) ears; who is possessed of a clear skin like that of a young woman of tender age; who destroys (*his*) enemies when they display energy through pride; who is powerful ....; who through devotion behaves like a relation towards (*his*) enemies; who is experienced in (*the combined pursuit, without mutual conflict, of*) religion and wealth and pleasure:—

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[1] See page 73 above, note 1; and page 75, note 4.

[2] *i.e.* Śarad, the autumn, consisting of the two months Aśvayuja (September-October) and Kârttika (October-November).

[3] *bandhûka*; 'a shrub bearing a red flower; Pentapetes Phœnicea; Terminalia Tomentosa.'

[4] *bâṇa*; 'the blue-flowering Barleria.'

[5] Vishṇu, who sleeps during the four months of the rainy season. His slumber commences on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha (June-July), and ends on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika (October-November).

(L. 28.)—He, the illustrious **Mayûrâkshaka,**—who is sprung from a family possessed of wisdom and prowess; whose heroism is renowned in every region; who holds himself under control; (*and*) who has accomplished, in his son Vishṇubhaṭa and also Haribhaṭa, the duty of (*continuing his*) lineage,—caused to be built by his sons, the favourites of great good fortune, this shrine of the divine (god) Vishṇu, which blocks up the path of sin,—seeing the aspect of which, resembling the lofty peak of (the mountain) Kailâsa, the Vidyâdharas, accompanied by their mistresses, come and gaze into it with happy faces that are like waterlilies, as if it were the very lustrous surface of a mirror;—(*and*) seeing which (*aspect*), at the moment when the surface (*of the roof*) has been polished by the palms of the hands of the lovely women of the gods, the sun, who in the sky is praised in chorus by the saints possessed of superhuman power of mind resulting from religious merit, reins in his chariot-horses with (*their*) tossing manes, which think (*from the reflection*) that they are returning towards (*themselves*), and, joining (*his hands*) together (*so that they resemble*) an expanding bud in respectful salutation, runs away in fear with bent-down head.

(L. 35.)—Also, for the sake of religious merit, the counsellor of the king caused to be built this very terrible abode, ... (*and*) filled full of female ghouls, of the divine Mothers, who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy, (*and*) who stir up the (*very*) oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion.

(L. 37.)—And the illustrious **Mayûrâkshaka,** the receptacle of virtuous qualities, caused to be made this well, which is protected by .... in the lower regions, resembling serpents; which possesses much water, cool, and sweet, and pure; (*and*) which rivals the ocean.

(L. 39.)—As long as the oceans .... are full of jewels; as long as the earth, with (*its*) mountains, abounds with many thickets and trees and woods; and as long as the moon lights up the sky that is inlaid with the host of the planets;—so long let the fame of the illustrious **Mayûrâkshaka** remain abundant! Let there be success!

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[1] This compound combines two well-known names of Vishṇu,—Chakradhara, and Gadâdhara.

No. 18; PLATE XI.

MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA AND BANDHUVARMAN.

THE MALAVA YEARS 493 AND 529.

THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 194 ff., was discovered through information given by the late Mr. Arthur Sulivan, who, in 1879, sent to General Cunningham, from Mandasôr, a hand-copy of the fragmentary pillar inscription of Yaśôdharman, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC. I saw this copy in 1883, and, recognising in it the name of Mihirakula, sent my copyists, in March 1884, to take impressions of this fragment and of any other inscriptions that they might find. In the search made by them, they discovered the present inscription, and also the entire duplicate copy of the pillar inscription of Yaśôdharman, No. 33 below, Plate xxiB., which had escaped the notice of Mr. Sulivan.

Mandasôr,[1] or more properly **Daśôr,** the ancient **Daśapura,**[2] on the north or left bank of the river Śiwanâ,[1] is the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India. The inscription is on a stone slab, apparently rather good and dark sand-stone, built into the wall on the right hand half-way down a small flight of steps leading to the river in front of a mediæval temple of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahâdêva, at the Mahâdêva-Ghâṭ, which is on the south bank of the river, just opposite the Fort, and, I think, in the limits of the hamlet of Chandrapurâ.

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[1] The 'Mandesar, Mandesor, Mandesur, Mandisore, Mandosar, Mandsaur, Mundesor, and Mundesoor,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 24° 3′ N.; Long. 75° 8′ E.

[2] Dasôr is the name by which, in preference to Mandasôr, the town is habitually spoken of by the villagers and agriculturists of the locality and neighbourhood, and even as far as Indôr. And in some bilingual *sanads* or warrants, of about a century and a half ago, I found this form, Dasôr, used in the vernacular passages, while the Persian passages of the same documents give the form Mandasôr. So also, Paṇḍits still habitually use the form Daśapura in their correspondence; a practice with which we may compare the use, also by Paṇḍits, of Ahipura and Nakhapura for respectively Sampgaum and Ugargoḷ in the Beḷgaum District; except that it is doubtful whether these are original Sanskṛit names, or only pedantic Sanskṛit translations of original vernacular names.—The local explanation of the name is, that the place was originally a city of the Purâṇic king Daśaratha. But, on this view, the modern name should be Dasrathôr. The true explanation evidently is that,—just as now the township includes from twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions; Khilchîpur, Jankûpurâ, Râmpuriyâ, Chandrapurâ, Bâlâgañj, &c.,—so, when it was originally constituted, it included exactly ten (*daśa*) such hamlets (*pura*).—As regards the fuller form of Mandasôr, by which alone the town is known officially and is entered in maps, I cannot at present explain the origin of it. But Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji suggested to me that it may perhaps represent Manda-Daśapura, "the distressed or afflicted Daśapura," in commemoration of the overthrow of the town, and the destruction of the Hindu temples in it, by the Musalmâns, in memory of which, even to the present day, the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of the place will not drink the water there. And, as tending to support this suggestion, I would mention that one of the Paṇḍits whom I questioned on the spot, gave me Mannadasôr as another form of the name. Another suggestion, by Mr. F. S. Growse, is that the name combines the two names of Maḍ and Daśapura; the former of them (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 195) being the name of a village, also called Afzalpur, about eleven miles south-east of Mandasôr, from which, it is said, were brought, from ruined Hindu temples, the stones that were used in the construction of the Musalmân fort at Mandasôr. The true explanation, whatever it may be, would probably be found in the *Daśapura-Mâhâtmya*, which is extant, but which I did not succeed in obtaining for examination.—In addition to the present inscription, the ancient Sanskṛit name, Daśapura, occurs also in line 2 of an early Nâsik inscription of Ushavadâta (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 99, and Plate lii. No. 5); and in another inscription at Mandasôr itself, dated (Vikrama)-Saṁvat 1321 (A.D. 1264-65) Guru(*vâra*) or Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhâdrapada, which is on a white stone built into the wall on the left hand inside the inner gate of the eastern entrance of the Fort.—Under the same name, the place is also mentioned, in connection with Avanti (Ujjain), in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, xiv. vv. 11-16 (Kern's Translation, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 83).

The **writing** covers, except for a margin of about half an inch, the whole front of the stone, about 2′ 7¾″ broad by 1′ 4½″ high. It has been a good deal worn away about the centre of the stone; and also the stone is chipped at several places round the edges; but only a few letters here and there are really illegible, and these can in each case be easily supplied.—The average **size** of the letters is about ¼″. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include two letters borrowed from the northern alphabets; *viz.* the separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, *e.g.* in *taḍit*, line 6, and *chûḍâ,* line 17; and also the rare lingual *ḍh*, *e.g.* in *dṛiḍha,* lines 9 and 11. They give a very good specimen of what may be called the Western Mâlwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, with the exception of the opening *siddham* and the concluding words in line 24, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of **orthography** we have to notice (1) the occasional use of the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya*; *e.g.* in *jagataẖ=kshaya*, line 1; *gaṇaiẖ=kham*, line 8, *pravisṛitaiḫ=pushṇâti*, line 2; and *abhitâmraḫ=pâyât*, line 3; but not, for instance, in *avabhugnaiḥ kvachit*, line 5; *paraḥ kṛipaṇâ*, line 14; *rajaḥ-piñjaritaiś*, line 5; and *pratimânitâḥ pramuditâ*, line 9; (2) the occasional doubling of *t*, *dh*, and *bh*, in conjunction with a following *r*; *e.g.* in *chittrêṇa*, line 12; *rôddhra*, line 18; and *abbhra*, line 6; (3) the same of *th* and *dh*, with a following *y*; *e.g.* in *patthya*, line 9; and *svâddhyâya*, line 8; and (4) the same of *dh*, with a following *v*; *e.g.* in *addhvâdi*, line 3.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of a king named **Kumâragupta,** who, from the description of him in line 13 as sovereign of the whole earth, can be no other than the well-known **Kumâragupta** of the **Early Gupta** dynasty. Under him, the governor at **Daśapura** was **Bandhuvarman**, the son of Viśvavarman. The inscription belongs throughout to the solar form of worship. It narrates, in the first place, how a number of silk-weavers immigrated from the Lâṭa *vishaya*, or central and southern Gujarât, into the city of Daśapura; and how some of the band took up other occupations, while those who adhered to their original pursuit constituted themselves into a separate and flourishing guild. And it then proceeds to record that, while Bandhuvarman was governing at Daśapura, the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun, which was completed when, in words, four hundred and ninety-three years had elapsed, "by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas,"[2] and therefore when the four hundred and ninety-fourth year (A.D. 437-38) was current, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya (December-January). Afterwards, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair. And then it was restored by the same guild, when, in words, five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed, and therefore when the five hundred and thirtieth year (A.D. 473-74) was current, on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya (February-March). This second date is, of course, the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved; since we are told at the end that it was all composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi, and the engraving throughout is obviously the work of one and the same hand.

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[1] The 'Sau, and Seu,' of maps.

[2] See the Preface.

TEXT.[1]

1 [Sid]dh[a]m [II] Y[ô[2] v]ṛit[t*]y-a[r]ttham=upâsyatê sura-gaṇais=siddhaiś=cha siddhy=artthibhir=ddhyân-aik-âgra-parair=vvidhêya-vishayair=mmôksh-âr̀tthibhir =yyôgibhiḥ I bhaktyâ tîvra-tapôdhanaiś=cha munibhiś=śâpa-prasâda-kshamair=hêtur=yyô jagataṁ=kshay-âbhyudayayôḥ=pâyât=sa vô bhâskaraḥ I(II) Tat[t*]va-jñâna-vidô=pi yasya na vidur=brahmarsha-

2 yô=bhyudyataṁ=kṛitsnaṁ yaś=cha gabhastibhiḥ pravisṛitaiḥ=push[ṇ]âti lôka-trayam I gandharvv-âmara-siddha-kinnara-narais=saṁstûyatê=bhyutthitô bhaktêbhyaś=cha dadâti yô=bhilashitaṁ tasmai savitrê namaḥ I(II) Yaḥ[3]=pratyahaṁ prativibhâty=udayâchalêndra-vistîrṇṇa-tuṅga-śikhara-skhalit-âṁśu-jâlaḥ kshîb-âṁganâ-

3 jana-kapôla-tal-âbhitâmraḥ=pâyât=sa vas=su-k[i]raṇ-âbharaṇô vivasvân I(II) Kusuma[4]-bhar-ânata-taruvara-dêvakulasabhâ-vihâra-ramaṇi(ṇî)yât I Lâṭa-vishayân=nag-âvṛita-śailâj=jagati prathita-śilpâḥ I(II) Tê dêśa pârtthiva-guṇ-âpahṛitâḥ prakâśam=addhv-âdi-jâny=a-viralâny=asukhâ-

4 ny=apâsya I jât-âdarâ **Daśapuraṁ** prathamaṁ manôbhir=anv=âgatâs=sa-suta-bandhu-janâs=samêtya II Mattêbha-gaṇḍa-taṭa-vichyuta-dâna-bindu-sikt-ôpal-âchala-sahasra-vibhûshâ(sha)ṇâyâḥ [I*] pushp-âvanamra-taru-maṇḍa-vataṁsakâyâ bhûmêḥ=paran=tilaka-bhûtam=idaṁ kramêṇa II Taṭ[6]-ôttha-vṛiksha-chyuta-

5 naika-pushpa-vichitra-tîr-ânta-jalâni bhânti I praphulta-padm-âbharaṇâni yatra sarâṁsi kâraṇḍava-saṁkulâni II Vilôla-vîchî-chalit-âravinda-patad-rajaḥ-piñjaritaiś=cha haṁsaiḥ I sva-kêsar-ôdâra-bhar-âvabhugnaiḥ kvachit=sarâṁsy=amburuhaiś=cha bhânti I(II) Sva-pushpa-bhâr-âvanatair=nnagêndrair=mada-

6 pragalbh-âli-kula-svanaiś=cha I ajasra-gâbhiś=cha pur-âṅganâbhir=vvanâni yasmin=samalaṁkṛitâni II Chalat[7]-patâkâny=abalâ-sanâthâny=atyarttha-śuklâny=adhik-ônnatâni I taḍil-latâ-chitra-sit-âbbhra-kûṭa-tuly-ôpamânâni gṛihâṇi yatra II Kailâsa[8]-tuṅga-śikhara-pratimâni ch=ânyâny=âbhânti dîrggha-valabhî-

7 ni sa-vêdikâni I gândharvva-śabda-mukharâni(ṇi) nivishṭa-chitra-karmmâṇi lôla-kadalî-vana-śôbhitâni II Prâsâda[9]-mâlâbhir=alaṁkṛitâni dharâṁ vidâryy=aiva samutthitâni I vimâna-mâlâ-sadṛiśâni yattra gṛihâṇi pûrṇṇ-êndu-kar-âmalâni II Yad[10]=bhâty=abhiramya-sarid-[d*]vayêna chapal-ôrmmiṇâ samupagûḍhaṁ

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[1] From the ink-impression.

[2] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

[3] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[4] Metre, Âryâ.

[5] Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.

[6] Metre, Upêndravajrâ; and in the next two verses.

[7] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[8] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[9] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[10] Metre, Âryâ.

8 rahasi kucha-śâlinîbhyâṁ Prîti-Ratibhyâṁ Smar-âṅgam=iva II Satya[1]-kshamâ-dama-śama-vrata-śaucha-dhairyya-svâddhyâya-vṛitta-vinaya-sthiti-buddhy-upêtaiḥ I vidyâ-tapô-nidhibhir=a-smayitaiś=cha viprair=yyad=bhrâjatê graha-gaṇaiḣ=kham=iva pradîptaiḥ II Atha[2] samêtya nirantara-saṅgatair=aharahaḥ-pravijṛimbhita-

9 sauhṛidâḥ [I*] nṛipatibhis=suta-vat=pratim[â]nitâḥ pramuditâ nyavasanta sukhaṁ purê II Śravaṇa[3]-[su]bhaga[ṁ] dh[â]nurvvaidya[ṁ] dṛiḍhaṁ parinishṭhitâḥ sucharita-śat-âsaṅgâḣ=kêchid=vichittra-kathâ-vidaḥ I vinaya-nibhṛitâs=samyag-dharmma-prasaṅga-parâyaṇâḥ=priyam=a-parushaṁ patthyaṁ ch=ânyê kshamâ bahu bhâshituṁ II

10 Kêchit[4]=sva-karmmaṇy=adhikâs=tath=ânyair=vvijñâyatê jyôtisham=âtmavadbhiḥ I adyâpi ch=ânyê samara-pragalbhâḣ=kurvvanty=arîṇâm=a-hitaṁ prasahya I(II) Prâjñâ[5] manôjña-vadhavaḥ prathit-ôru-vaṁśâ vaṁś-ânurûpa-charit-âbharaṇâs=tath=ânyê I satya-vratâḥ praṇayinâm=upakâra-dakshâ visrambha-

11 [pûrvva]m=aparê dṛiḍha-sauhṛidâś=cha II Vijita[6]-vishaya-saṅgair=ddharmma-śîlais=tath=ânyair=m[ṛi]dubhir=adhika-sat[t*]vair=llôkayâtr-âmaraiś=cha I sva-kula-tilaka-bhûtair=mukta-râgair=udârair=adhikam=abhivibhâti śrêṇir=êvaṁ-prakâraiḥ II Târuṇya[7]-kânty-upachitô=pi suvarṇṇahâra-tâṁbûla-pushpa-vidhinâ sama-

12 [laṁkṛi]tô=pi I nârî-janaḥ priyam=upaiti na tâvad=agryâ(śryâ)ṁ yâvan=na paṭṭamaya-vastra-y[u]gâni dhattê II Sparśa[va]tâ[8] varṇṇântara-vibhâga-chittrêṇa nêtra-subhagêna I yais=sakalam=idaṁ kshititalam=alaṁkṛitaṁ paṭṭa-vastrêṇa II Vidyâdharî[9]-ruchira-pallava-karṇṇapûra-vât-êrit-âsthirataraṁ pravichintya

13 [lô]kaṁ I mânushyam=artha-nichayâṁś=cha tathâ viśâlâṁs=têshâṁ śubhâ matir=abhûd=achalâ tatas=tu II Chatus[10]-samudr-ân[t]a-vilôla-mêkhalâṁ Sumêru-Kailâsa-bṛihat-payôdharâṁ I van-ânta-vânta-sphuṭa-pushpa-hâsinîṁ **Kumâraguptê** pṛithivîṁ praśâsati II Samâna[11]-dhîś=Śukra-Bṛihaspatibhyâṁ lalâma-bhûtô bhuvi

14 pârtthivânâṁ I raṇêshu yaḥ Pârttha-samâna-karmmâ babhûva gôptâ nṛipa-**Viśvavarmmâ** II Dîn[12]-ânukampana-paraḥ kṛipaṇ-ârtta-vargga-sandh[â]-pradô=dhika-dayâlur=anâtha-nâthaḥ I kalpa-drumaḥ praṇayinâm=abhayaṁ pradaś=cha bhîtasya yô janapadasya cha bandhur=âsît II Tasy[13]=âtmajaḥ sthairyya-nay-ôpapannô bandhu-priyô

15 bandhur=iva prajânâṁ I baṁdhv-artti-harttâ nṛipa-**Bandhuvarmmâ** dviḍ-dṛipta-paksha-kshapaṇ-aika-dakshaḥ II Kântô[14] yuvâ raṇa-paṭur=vvinay-ânvitaś=cha râj=âpi sann=upasṛitô na madaiḥ smay-âdyaiḥ I śṛiṅgâra

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[1] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[2] Metre, Drutavilambita.

[3] Metre, Hariṇî.

[4] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[5] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[6] Metre, Mâlinî.

[7] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[8] Metre, Âryâ.

[9] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[10] Metre, Vaṁśastha.

[11] Metre, Upêndravajrâ.

[12] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[13] Metre, Indravajrâ.

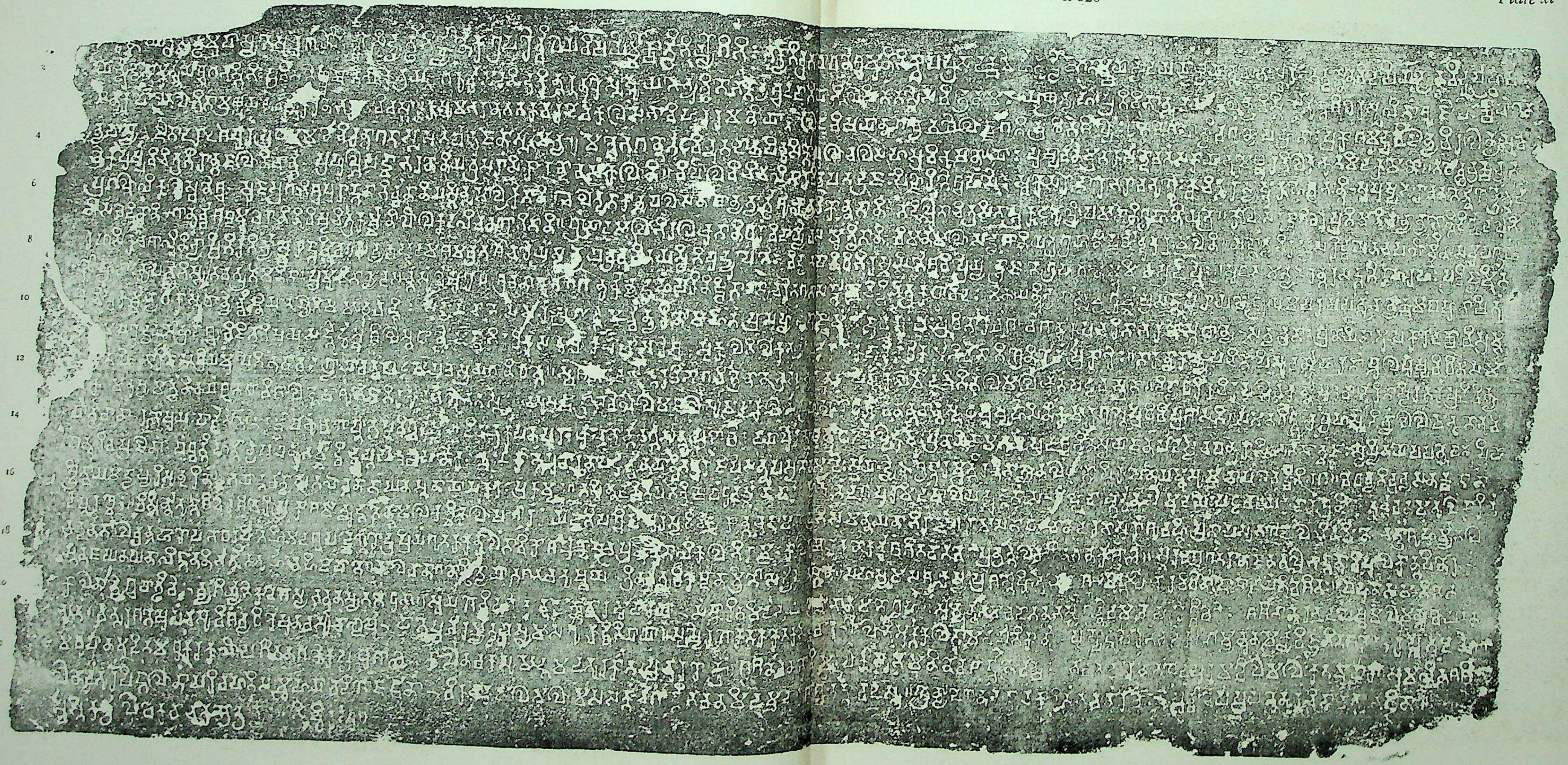
[14] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM.

Vol. III.

Mandasor Inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman.—The Malava Years 493 & 529

Plate xi



mûrttir=abhibhâty=an-alaṁkṛitô=pi rûpêṇa yâḣ=kusumachâpa iva dvitîyaḥ II Vaidhavya[1]-tîvra-vyasana-kshatânâṁ

16 smri(smṛi)tvâ yam=adyâpy=ari-sundarîṇâm I bhayâd=bhavaty=âyata-lôchanânâṁ ghana-stan-âyâsa-karaḥ prakampaḥ II Tasminn[2]=êva kshitipati-vri(vṛi)shê **Baṁdhuvarmmaṇy**=udârê samyak-sphîtaṁ **Daśapuram**=idaṁ pâlayaty=unnat-âṁsê I śilp-âvâptair=ddhana-samudayaiḥ paṭṭavâyair=udâraṁ śrêṇîbhûtair=bbhavanam=atulaṁ kâritaṁ

17 dîpta-raśmêḥ II Vistîrṇṇa[3]-tuṅga-śikharaṁ śikhari-prakâśam=abhyudgat-êndv-amala-raśmi-kalâpa-gauraṁ I yad=bhâti paśchima-purasya nivishṭa-kânta-chûḍâmaṇi-pratisaman=nayan-âbhiramaṁ II Râmâ-sanâtha-[ra]chanê dara-bhâskar-âṁśu-vahni-pratâpa-subhagê jala-lîna-mînê I chandrâṁśu-harmyatala-

18 chandana-tâlavṛinta-hâr-ôpabhôdha(ga)-rahitê hima-dagdha-padmê II Rôddhra-priyaṁgu-taru-kundalatâ-vikôśa-pushp - âsava - pramud[i]t - âli - kal - âbhirâmê I kâlê tushâra-kaṇa-karkkaśa-śîta-vâta-vêga-pranṛitta-lavạlî-nagaṇ-aikaśâkhê II Smara[4]-vaśaga-taruṇajana-vallabhâṅganâ-vipula-kânta-pîn-ôru-

19 stana-jaghana-ghan-âliṅgana-nirbhartsita-tuhina-hima-pâtê II **Mâlavânâṁ**[5] gaṇa-sthityâ yât[ê] śata-chatushṭayê I tri-navaty-adhikê=bdânâm=ri(ṛi)tau sêvya-ghana-svanê II Sahasya-mâsa-śuklasya praśastê=hni trayôdaśê I maṅgal-âchâra-vidhinâ prâsâdô=yaṁ nivêśitaḥ II Bahunâ samatîtêna

20 kâlên=ânyaiś=cha pârtthivaiḥ I vyaśîryyat=aika-dêśô=sya bhavanasya tatô=dhunâ II Sva-yaśô-v[r]i(vṛi)ddhayê sarvvam=aty-udâram=udârayâ saṁskâritam=idaṁ bhûyaḥ śrêṇyâ bhânumatô gṛihaṁ II Aty[6]-unnatam=avadâtaṁ nabha[ḥ]-spṛiśann=iva[7] manôharaiḥ śikharaiḥ I śaśi-bhânvôr=abhyudayêshv=amala-mayûkh-âyatana-

21 bhûtaṁ II Vatsara-śatêshu paṁchasu viśaṁty[8]-adhikêshu navasu ch=âbdêshu I yâtêshv=abhiramya-Tapasya-mâsa-śukla-dvitîyâyâṁ II Spashṭair[9]=aśôkataru-kêtaka-siṁduvâra-lôlâtimuktakalatâ-madayantikânâṁ I pushp-ôdgamair=abhinavair=adhigamya nûnam=aikyaṁ vijṛiṁbhita-śarê Hara-pû(dhû)ta-dêhê II

22 Madhu[10]-pâna-mudita-madhukara-kul-ôpagîta-nagan(ṇ)-aika-pṛithu-śâkhê I kâlê nava-kusum-ôdgama-daṁtura-kâṁta-prachura-rôddhrê II Śaśin=êva nabhô vimalaṁ kaus[t]ubha-maṇin=êva Śârṅgiṇô vakshaḥ I bhavana-varêṇa tath=êdaṁ puram=akhilam=alaṁkṛitam=udâram II Amalina[11]-śaśi-

23 lêkhâ-daṁturaṁ piṅgalânâṁ parivahati samûhaṁ yâvad=Îśô jaṭânâṁ I vikaṭa-kamala-mâlâm=aṁsa-saktâṁ cha Śârṅgî bhavanam=idam=udâraṁ

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[1] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[2] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

[3] Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next two verses.

[4] Metre, Âryâ.

[5] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next three verses.

[6] Metre, Âryâ; and in the next verse.

[7] *spṛiśan* is the nominative singular of the masculine; whereas the neuter *spṛiśat*, in apposition with *gṛiham*, is what is required. This, however, would not suit the metre. The only emendation that suits the metre, is to alter the construction and read *nabhaḥ spṛiśat=iva.*

[8] Read *viṁśaty.*

[9] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[10] Metre, Âryâ; and in the next verse.

[11] Metre, Mâlinî.

śâśvatan=tâvad=astu ‖ Śrêṇy[1]-âdêśêna bhaktyâ cha kâritaṁ bhavanaṁ ravêḥ ǀ pûrvvâ ch=êyaṁ[2] prayatnêna rachitâ Vatsabhaṭṭinâ ‖

24 Svasti kartṛi-lêkhaka-vâchaka-śrôtṛibhyaḥ ‖ Siddhir=astu ‖

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! May that Sun protect you,—who is worshipped by the hosts of the gods for the sake of existence, and by the Siddhas[3] who wish for supernatural powers, (*and*) by ascetics, entirely given over to abstract meditation (*and*) having worldly attractions well under control, who wish for the final liberation of the soul, and, with devotion, by saints, practising strict penances, (*who wish to become*) able to counteract curses; (*and*) who is the cause of the destruction and the commencing (*again*) of the universe! Reverence to that Sun,—whom (*even*) the Brâhmaṇical sages, though they knew the knowledge of the truth (*and*) exerted themselves, failed to comprehend; and who nourishes the whole of the three worlds with (*his*) rays diffused in all directions; who, when he is risen, is praised by Gandharvas,[4] gods, Siddhas, Kinnaras,[5] and Naras;[6] and who grants (*their*) desires to those who worship (*him*)! May that Sun, decorated with glorious beams, protect you,—who shines, day after day, with the mass of (*his*) rays flowing down over the wide and lofty summit of the lordly mountain of dawn, (*and*) who is of a dark-red colour like the cheeks of intoxicated women!

(Line 3.)—From the district of **Lâṭa,** which is pleasing with choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (*their*) flowers, and with temples and assembly-halls of the gods, and with *vihâras*, (*and*) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation, to (*this*) city of **Daśapura** there came, full of respect,—first, in thought; and afterwards (*in person*) in a band, together with (*their*) children and kinsmen,—men who were renowned in the world for (*skill in their*) craft (*of silk-weaving*), and who, being manifestly attracted by the virtues of the kings of the country, gave no thought to the continuous discomforts produced by the journey and its accompaniments. And in course (*of time*) this (*city*) became the forehead-decoration of the earth, which is adorned with a thousand mountains whose rocks are besprinkled with the drops of rut that trickle down from the sides of the temples of rutting elephants, (*and*) which has for (*its*) decorative ear-ornaments the trees weighed down with flowers. Here[7] the lakes, crowded with *kâraṇḍava*-ducks, are beautiful,—having the waters close to (*their*) shores made variegated with the many flowers that fall down from the trees growing on the banks, (*and*) being adorned with full-blown waterlilies. The lakes are beautiful (*in some places*) with the swans that are encaged in the pollen that falls from the waterlilies shaken by the tremulous waves; and in other places with the waterlilies bent down by the great burden of their filaments. Here the woods are adorned with lordly trees, that are bowed down by the weight of their flowers and are full of the sounds of the flights of bees that hum loudly through intoxication (*caused by the juices of the flowers that they suck*), and with the women from the city who are perpetually singing. Here the houses have waving flags, (*and*) are full of tender women, (*and*) are very white (*and*) extremely lofty, resembling the peaks of white clouds lit up with forked lightning. And other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful,—being like the lofty summits of (the mountain) Kailâsa; being vocal with songs (*like those*) of the Gandharvas; having pictured representations arranged (*in them*); (*and*) being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees. Here, cleaving asunder the earth, there rise up houses which are decorated with successions of storeys; which are like rows of aerial chariots; (*and*) which are as pure as the rays of the full-moon. This (*city*) is beautiful (*through*) being embraced by two charming rivers,[1] with tremulous waves, as if it were the body of (the god) Smara (*embraced*) in secrecy by (*his wives*) Prîti and Rati, possessed of (*heaving*) breasts. Like the sky with the brilliant multitudes of planets, it shines with Brâhmaṇs endowed with truth, patience, self-control, tranquillity, religious vows, purity, fortitude, private study, good conduct, refinement, and steadfastness, (*and*) abounding in learning and penances, and free from the excitement of surprise.

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[1] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[2] Supply *praśastiḥ*.—See page 87 below, note 10.

[3] Siddhas; semi-divine beings, supposed to be of great purity and holiness, and said to be specially characterised by the possession of the eight supernatural faculties. Their habitation is in the sky, or in the middle region between the earth and the sky.

[4] Gandharvas; the celestial musicians.

[5] Kinnaras; mythical beings, with a human figure and the head of a horse, reckoned among the Gandharvas, and celebrated as musicians.

[6] Naras; mythical beings, allied to the Gandharvas and Kinnaras.

[7] The original has, as far as line 8, the relative construction, which I have changed, for convenience of translation, into the absolute.

(L. 8.)—So assembling together, (*and*) day by day received into greater friendship by (*their*) constant associates, (*and*) honourably treated like sons by the kings, in joy and happiness they settled in (*this*) city. Some of them (*became*) excessively well acquainted with the science of archery, (*in which the twanging of the bow is*) pleasing to the ear; others, devoting themselves to hundreds of excellent achievements, (*became*) acquainted with wonderful tales; and others, unassuming in (*their*) modesty (*and*) devoted to discourses of the true religion, (*became*) able to say much that was free from harshness (*and yet was*) salutary. Some excelled in their own business (*of silk-weaving*); and by others, possessed of high aims, the science of astrology was mastered; and even to-day others of them, valorous in battle, effect by force the destruction of (*their*) enemies. So also others, wise, possessed of charming wives, (*and*) belonging to a famous and mighty lineage, are decorated with achievements that befit (*their*) birth; and others, true to (*their*) promises (*and*) firm in friendship with the accompaniment of confidence, are skilled in conferring favours upon (*their*) intimates. (*And so*) the guild shines gloriously all around, through those who are of this sort, and through others who,—overcoming the attachment for worldly objects; being characterised by piety; (*and*) possessing most abundant goodness,—(*are*) very gods in an earthly habitation.

(L. 11.)—(*Just as*) a woman, though endowed with youth and beauty (*and*) adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and betel-leaves and flowers, goes not to meet (*her*) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths,—(*so*) the whole of this region of the earth, is (*almost superfluously*) adorned through them, (*as if*) with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours, (*and*) pleasing to the eye.

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[1] Of these rivers, one, of course, is the Śiwanâ, on the north bank of which the town stands. The other must be the 'Sumli,' which now flows into the Śiwanâ about three miles to the north-east of the town.

(L. 12.)—Having reflected that the world is very unsteady, being blown about by the wind like the charming ear-ornaments, (*made of*) sprigs, of the women of the Vidyâdharas; (*and similarly*) the estate of man; and also accumulations of wealth, large (*though they may be*),—they became possessed of a virtuous (*and*) stable understanding; and then;[1]—

(L. 13.)—While **Kumâragupta** was reigning over the (*whole*) earth, whose pendulous marriage-string is the verge of the four oceans; whose large breasts are (the mountains) Sumêru and Kailâsa;[2] (*and*) whose laughter is the full-blown flowers showered forth from the borders of the woods;—

(L. 13.)—There was a ruler, king **Viśvavarman,**[3] who was equal in intellect to Śukra and Bṛihaspati, who became the most eminent of princes on the earth; (*and*) whose deeds in war were equal to (*those of*) Pârtha;—who was very compassionate to the unhappy; who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and the distressed; who was excessively full of tenderness; (*and*) who was a very tree of plenty to (*his*) friends, and the giver of security to the frightened, and the friend of (*his*) country;—

(L. 14.)—His son (*was*) king **Bandhuvarman,** possessed of firmness and statesmanship; beloved by (*his*) kinsmen; the relative, as it were, of (*his*) subjects; the remover of the afflictions of (*his*) connections; pre-eminently skilful in destroying the ranks of (*his*) proud enemies. Handsome, youthful, dexterous in war, and endowed with humility, king though he was, yet was he never carried away by passion, astonishment, and other (*evil sentiments*); being the very incarnation of erotic passion, he resembled in beauty, even though he was not adorned with ornaments, a second (Kâmadêva) armed with the bow that is made of flowers. Even to-day, when the long-eyed lovely women of (*his*) enemies, pained with the fierce pangs of widowhood, think of him, they stagger about through fear, in such a way as to fatigue (*their*) firm and compact breasts.

(L. 16.)—While he, the noble **Bandhuvarman,** the best of kings, the strong-shouldered one,[4] was governing this city of **Daśapura,** which had been brought to a state of great prosperity,—a noble (*and*) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun), was caused to be built by the silk-cloth weavers, as a guild, with the stores of wealth acquired by (*the exercise of their*) craft;—(a temple) which, having broad and lofty spires, (*and*) resembling a mountain, (*and*) white as the mass of the rays of the risen moon, shines, charming to the eye, having the similarity of (*being*) the lovely crest-jewel, fixed (*in its proper place*), of (*this*) city of the west.

(L. 17.)—In that season[5] which unites men with (*their*) lovely mistresses; which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the rays of the sun (*shining*) in the glens; in which the fishes lie low down in the water; which (*on account of the cold*) is destitute of the enjoyment of the beams of the moon, and (*sitting in the open air on*) the flat roofs of houses, and sandal-wood perfumes, and palmleaf-fans, and necklaces;—in which the waterlilies are bitten by the frost; which is charming with the humming of the bees that are made happy by the juice of the full-blown flowers of the *rôdhra*[1] and *priyaṁgu*-plants[2] and the jasmine-creepers; in which the *lavalî*-trees[3] and the solitary branches of the *nagaṇâ*-bushes[4] are made to dance with the force of the wind that is harsh and cold with particles of frost;—(*and*) in which (*the cold induced by*) the falling of frost and snow is derided by the close embraces of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (*their*) mistresses, completely under the influence of love;—when, by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the **Mâlavas,** four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed; in that season when the low thunder of the muttering of clouds is to be welcomed (*as indicating the approach of warmth again*);—on the excellent thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya,—this temple was established, with the ceremony of auspicious benediction.

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[1] The context is "a noble (*and*) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun) was caused to be built" &c., in line 16; all that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.

[2] Conf. *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, xliii. 35, where the earth is described as having the mountains of sunrise and sunset for lips, and the Himâlaya and Vindhya for breasts.—Compare also line 34 of the Alînâ grant of Śîlâditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv., where the Sahya and Vindhya mountains are called the breasts of the earth.—Similes of this kind doubtless varied in accordance with the extent of the kingdoms in which the inventors of them resided.

[3] This, again, is a second parenthesis, the real context of the preceding verse being the description of Bandhuvarman in line 14 ff.

[4] *lit.* 'high-shouldered.'

[5] *i.e.* Hêmanta, the cold weather, consisting of the months Mârgaśîrsha (November-December) and Pausha or Sahasya (December-January).

(L. 19.)—And, in the course of a long time, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair; so now, in order to increase their own fame, the whole of this most noble house of the Sun has been repaired again by the munificent corporation;—(this temple) which is very lofty (*and*) pure; which touches the sky, as it were, with (*its*) charming spires; (*and*) which is the resting-place of the spotless rays of the moon and the sun at (*their*) times of rising. Thus, when five centuries of years, increased by twenty, and nine years had elapsed; on the charming second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya;—in the season[5] when (Kamadêva), whose body was destroyed by Hara, develops (*his number of five*) arrows by attaining unity with the fresh bursting-forth of the flowers of the *aśôka*[6] and *kêtaka*[7] and *sinduvâra*-trees,[8] and the pendulous *atimuktaka*-creeper,[9] and the wild-jasmine;—when the solitary large branches of the *nagaṇâ*-bushes are full of the songs of the bees that are delighted by drinking the nectar; (*and*) when the beautiful and luxuriant *rôdhra*-trees swing to and fro with the fresh bursting forth of (*their*) flowers,—the whole of this noble city was decorated with (*this*) best of temples; just as the pure sky is decorated with the moon, and the breast of (the god) Śârṅgin with the *kaustubha*-jewel. As long as (the god) Îśa wears a mass of tawny matted locks, undulating with the spotless rays of the moon (*on his forehead*); and (*as long as*) (the god) Śârṅgin (*carries*) a garland of lovely waterlilies on his shoulder;—so long may this noble temple endure for ever!

(L. 23.)—By the command of the guild, and from devotion, (*this*) temple of the Sun was caused to be built; and this (*eulogy*)[10] that precedes was, with particular care, composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi. Hail to the composer and the writer, and those who read or listen (*to it*)! Let there be success!

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[1] *rôdhra*, also *lôdhra*; the tree Symplocos Racemosa.

[2] *priyaṁgu*; a medicinal plant and perfume; Panicum Italicum; Sinapis Ramosa; saffron.

[3] *lavalî*; the Averrhoa Acida.

[4] *nagaṇâ*; the Cardiospermum Halicacabum.

[5] *i.e.* Śiśira, the cool or dewy season, consisting of the months Mâgha (January-February) and Phâlguna or Tapasya (February-March).

[6] *aśôka*; the tree or shrub Jonesia Aśôka.

[7] *kêtaka*; the tree Pandanus Odoratissimus.

[8] *sinduvâra*; the tree or shrub Vitex Negundo.

[9] *atimuktaka*; a certain creeper, tree, or shrub, with apparently white flowers.

[10] *praśasti.*—This was the customary technical term applied to inscriptions on stone. It has to be supplied here; but it is of constant occurrence; *e.g.* in line 27 of the Aphsaḍ inscription of

No. 19; PLATE XIIA.

ERAN STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 165.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 633 f. when Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,[1] accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxi.), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt.—In 1861, in the same Journal, Vol. XXX. p. 17 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it.—And finally, in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 82, General Cunningham, in reprinting Dr. Hall's translation, pointed out that the *aksharas* in line 3,—in which Mr. Prinsep had found a reference to the Surâshṭras; and which Dr. Hall read as *saṁsurabhû*, and translated by "chosen land of the gods,"—were in reality a repetition of the date in numerical symbols, as had, in fact, been suggested, though without particularisation, by Dr. Hall himself, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 127, note.

This is another inscription from **Êraṇ**[2] in the Khurâî Sub-Division of the Sâgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the west face towards the bottom of the lower and square part of a large monolith red-sandstone column, which stands near the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village, and which seems from its position to be specially connected with a small double temple that General Cunningham has named the "Lakshmî Temple,"[3] separated by the intervening "Vishṇu Temple" from the "Varâha Temple," or temple of the Boar, at which there is the well-known inscription of Tôramâṇa, No. 36 below.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 2′ 6½″ broad by 1′ 7½″ high, has suffered a good deal in places from the weather; but on the original column the whole inscription can be read with certainty, except a few letters at the proper left side that have been quite worn away by sharpening tools on the edge of the stone. The bottom line of the inscription is about 3′ 3″ above the plinth from which the column rises.—The **size** of the letters varies from ½″ to ¾″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; they approximate in some respects to the type of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and in others to that of the Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, Plate iiiA.; but they also present some developments and differences that must be attributed partly to their somewhat later age, and partly to the particular locality to which the inscription belongs. I should be inclined to name them a variety, with northern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of towards the end of the fifth

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Âdityasêna, No. 42 below, Plate xxviii.—The only instance that I can quote of its use to denote a copper-plate charter, is in line 20-21 of the 'Chicacole' grant of the *Mahârâja* Indravarman of the year 128 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 121).

[1] The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 249.

[2] See page 18 above, and note 1.

[3] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 87, and Plates xxv. and xxvi.

century A.D. The letter *r*, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed sometimes within the top line of the writing, *e.g.* in *arṇṇava*, line 1, and sometimes above it, *e.g.* in *paryyaṅka*, in the same line. The characters include, in line 3, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 5, 60, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 4, and the rest in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point that calls for notice is the constant doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *maittrâyaṇîya*, line 5; *pauttrêṇa*, line 6; and *pittrôḥ*, line 8.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of **Budhagupta,** whose feudatory, the *Mahârâja* **Suraśmichandra,** was governing the country lying between the river **Kâlindî,** or the **Jamnâ,** and the **Narmadâ.** It is dated, completely in words, and partly in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and sixty-five (A.D. 484-85), on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha (June-July), and on Suraguruvâra or Thursday. It is a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection of the column, which is called a *dhvaja-stambha* or 'flag-staff'[1] of the god Vishṇu, under the name of Janârdana, by a *Mahârâja* named **Mâtṛivishṇu** and his younger brother, **Dhanyavishṇu.**

TEXT.[2]

1 Jayati[3] vibhuś=chatur-bhujaś=chatur-arṇṇava-vipula-salila-paryyaṅkaḥ jagataḥ
sthity-utpatti-nya[y-âdi[4]]-
2 hêtur=Ggaruḍa-kêtuḥ [॥*] Śatê pañcha-shashṭy-adhikê varshâṇâṁ bhûpatau
cha **Budhaguptê** । Âshâḍha-mâsa-ś[ukla]-
3 dvâ[5]daśyâṁ Suragurôr=ddivasê ।(॥) Saṁ 100 60 5 [॥*] **Kâlindî[6]-
Narmmadayôr**=mmadhyaṁ pâlayati lôkapâla-guṇair=jjagati mahâr[âja]-
4 śriyam=anubhavati **Suraśmichandrê** cha ।(॥) Asyâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-
divasa-pûrvvâyâṁ[7] sva-karmm-âbhiratasya kratu-yâji[naḥ]
5 adhîta-svâdhyâyasya vipr-arshêr=Mmaittrâyaṇîya-vṛishabhasy=Êndravishṇôḥ pra-
pauttrêṇa pitur=guṇ-ânukâriṇô Varuṇav[i]sh[ṇôḥ]
6 pauttrêṇa pitaram=anu-jâtasya sva-vaṁśa-vṛiddhi-hêtôr=Harivishṇôḥ puttrêṇ=
âtyanta-bhagavad-bhaktêna Vidhâtur=ichchhayâ svayaṁvaray=êva r[â]ja-
7 lakshmy=âdhigatêna chatuḥ-samudra-paryyanta-prathita-yaśasâ akshîṇa-mâna-
dhanên=ânêka-śattru-samara-jishṇunâ mahârâja-**Mâtṛivishnun[â]**
8 tasy=aiv=ânujêna tad-anuvidhâyin[â] tat-prasâda-parigṛi[hî]têna **Dhanya-
vishṇunâ** cha । mâtṛi(tâ)pittrôḥ puṇy-âpyâyan-ârtham=êsha bhagavataḥ ।[8]
9 puṇyajan-ârddanasya Janârddanasya dhvaja-stambhô=bhyuchchhritaḥ [॥*]
Svasty=astu gô-brâhmaṇa-p[u]rôgâbhyaḥ sarvva-prajâbhya iti ।(॥)

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[1] Compare *dhvaja*, 'standard,' as applied to the Mêharaulî column, in line 6 of No. 32 below, Plate xxiA.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Metre Âryâ; and in the next verse.—In the first *páda* of this, and of the second verse, we have the proper number of twelve syllabic instants; but they are not arranged in accordance with the usual rule for this metre.

[4] I have adopted Dr. Hall's suggestion for supplying the effaced letters. In the last legible syllable, part of the subscript *y* is quite distinct, and the consonant above it seems to be a broken *n*; and the requirements of both the metre and the sense are properly met by supplying *yádi* for the effaced syllables.

[5] This *akshara* is somewhat damaged; but it is very distinctly *dvá*. Prinsep's reading of *trayôdaśyâṁ* is proved to be wrong by the metre, if by nothing else.

[6] Metre, Âryâ. [7] Supply *tithau*. [8] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

TRANSLATION.

Victorious is the lord, the four-armed (god Vishṇu)—whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans; who is the cause of the continuance, the production, and the destruction, &c., of the universe; (*and*) whose ensign is Garuḍa!

(Line 2.)—In a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while **Budhagupta** (*is*) king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha; on the day of Suraguru;[1] (*or in figures*) the year 100 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 5:—

(L. 3.)—And while **Suraśmichandra** is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world,[2] (*the country that lies*) between the (rivers) **Kâlindî** and **Narmadâ,** (*and*) is enjoying in the world the glory of (*being*) a *Mahârâja*;—

(L. 4.)—On this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the year and month and day;—by the *Mahârâja* **Mâtṛivishṇu,** who is excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vidhâtṛi, was approached (*in marriage-choice*) by the goddess of sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing (*him*) of her own accord (*to be her husband*); whose fame extends up to the borders of the four oceans; who is possessed of unimpaired honour and wealth; (*and*) who has been victorious in battle against many enemies;—who is the son of the son's son of Indravishṇu, who was attentive to his duties; who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (*of the scriptures*); who was a Brâhmaṇ saint; (*and*) who was the most excellent (*of the followers*) of the Maitrâyaṇîya (*śâkhâ*);—who is the son's son of Varuṇavishṇu, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (*his*) father;—(*and*) who is the son of Harivishṇu, who was the counterpart of (*his*) father in meritorious qualities,[3] (*and*) was the cause of the advancement of his race;—

(L. 8.)—(*By him*) and by his younger brother **Dhanyavishṇu,** who is obedient to him, (*and*) has been accepted with favour by him,—this flag-staff of the divine (god) Janârdana, the troubler of the demons,[4] has been erected, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*their*) parents.

(L. 9.)—Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brâhmaṇs!

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[1] *i.e.* "on Thursday."—Suraguru, 'the preceptor of the gods,' is another name of Bṛihaspati, from which latter name the day takes its customary appellation of Bṛihaspativâra.

[2] *lôkapâla.*—The *lôkapâlas*, or guardians of the points of the compass, are sometimes reckoned as eight, *viz.* 1, Indra, of the east; 2, Agni, of the south-east; 3, Yama, of the south; 4, Nirṛiti, or sometimes Sûrya, of the south-west; 5, Varuṇa, of the west; 6, Vâyu, of the north-west; 7, Kubêra, of the north; and 8, Îśâna, or sometimes Chandra, and sometimes Pṛithivî, of the north-east;—and sometimes as four, *viz.* Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 7, above.

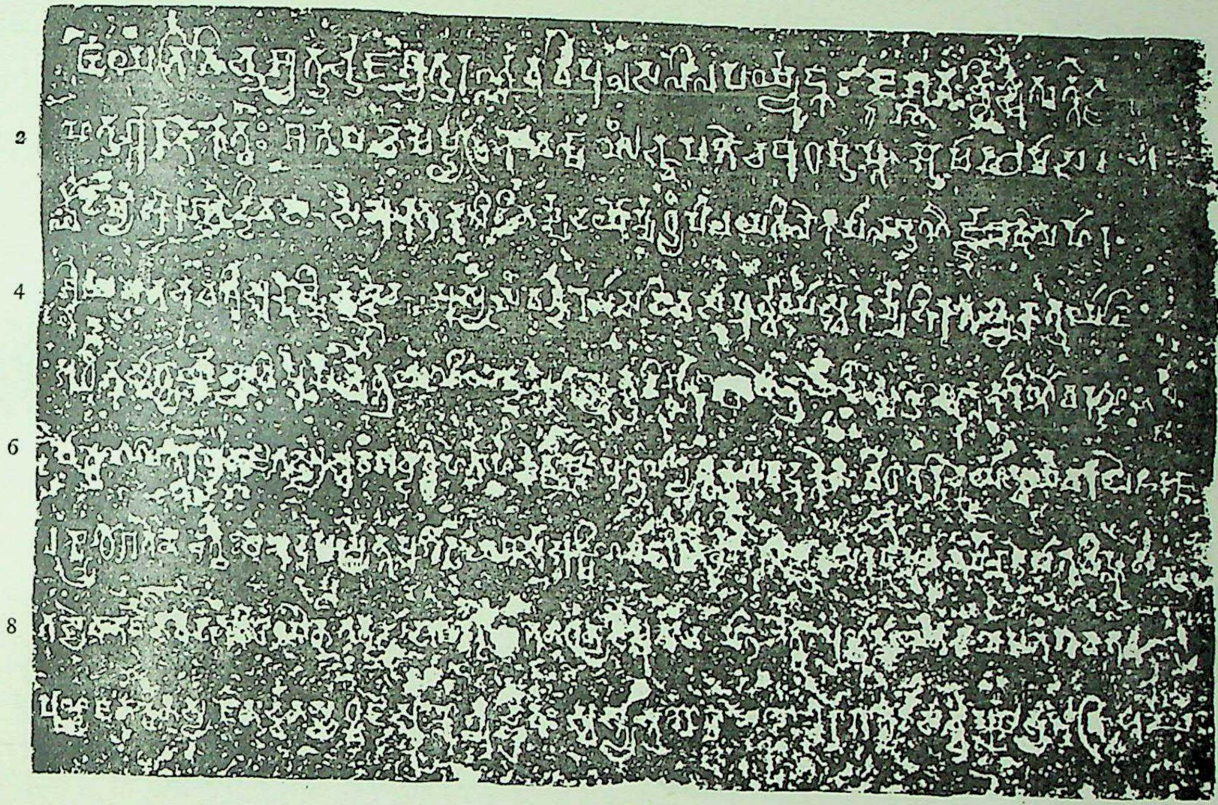
[3] *pitaram=anu-jâtasya.*—Dr. Hall explained this expression in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 139, note, by a passage quoted in the St. Petersburg Dictionary from the *Pañchatantra*; *viz.*—

Jâtaḥ putrô=nujâtaś=cha atijâtas=tath=aiva cha |
apajâtaś=cha lôkê=smin=mantavyâḥ śâstra=vêdibhiḥ ||
Mâtṛi-tulya-guṇô jâtas=tv=anujâtaḥ pituḥ samaḥ |
atijâtô=dhikas=tasmâd=apajâtô=dham-âdhamaḥ ||

"By those who know the scriptures, (*sons*) are to be understood among men as being a *jâta* son, or an *anujâta*, or an *atijâta*, or an *apajâta*. A *jâta* (*is*) one whose virtues are equal to (*those of his*) mother; an *anujâta* (*is*) equal to (*his*) father (*in virtue*); an *atijâta* surpasses that (*father*); (*and*) an *apajâta* (*is*) altogether inferior (*to him.*)"

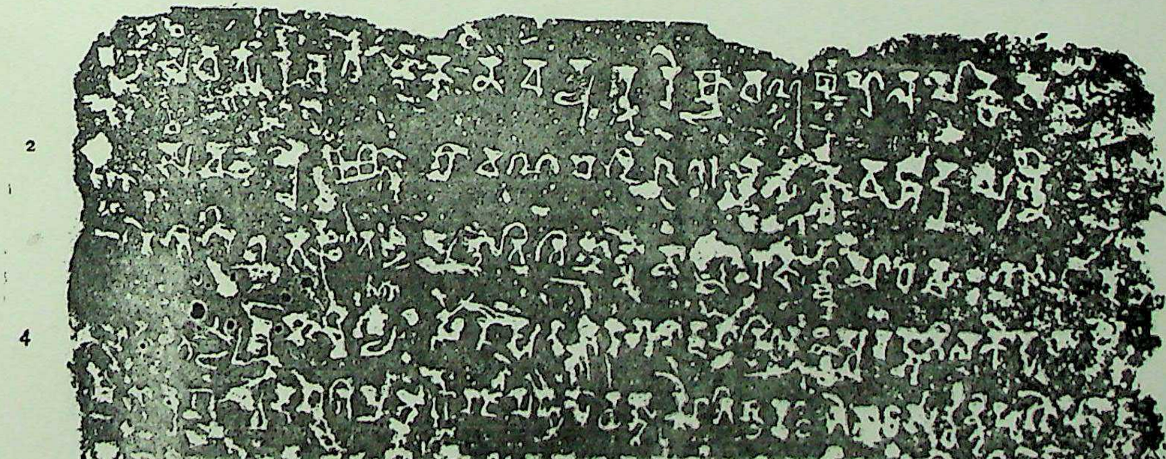
[4] *puṇyajana, lit.* 'a good, pious, or virtuous man,' also denotes 'a class of supernatural beings, a fiend, a goblin, a demon.'

A.—Eran Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta.—The Year 165.



SCALE .25

B.—Eran Posthumous Pillar Inscription of Goparaja.—The Year 191.



J. F. FLEET BO. C.S.

SCALE .33

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

No. 20; PLATE XII B.

ERAN POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF GOPARAJA.

THE YEAR 191.

THIS inscription, which has not previously been published, was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 89 f.

It is another inscription from **Êraṇ**,[1] in the Khurâî Sub-Division of the Sâgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on a small pillar, afterwards converted into a *liṅga* or phallic emblem of Śiva, which stands under some tall trees near the left bank of the Bînâ, about half a mile to the south-east of Êraṇ, and half-way between it and the neighbouring village of Pêhêlêjpur.[2] The original lower part of the pillar is now broken away and lost; the remnant of it is about 3′ 11″ high and 1′ 6″ in diameter. The bottom part is octagonal; and the inscription is at the top of this octagonal part, on three of the eight faces, each of which is about 7″ broad; the bottom line is about six inches above the level of the ground. Above this, the pillar is sixteen-sided. Above this, it is again octagonal; and the faces here have sculptures of men and women, who are probably intended for the Gôparâja of the inscription, and his wife and friends; the compartment immediately above the centre of the inscription, represents a man and a woman, sitting, who must be Gôparâja and his wife. Above this, the pillar is again sixteen-sided. Above this, it is once more octagonal; and on two of the faces here, there are the remains of a quite illegible inscription of four lines, in characters of the same type with those of the inscription now published. Above this, the pillar curves over in sixteen flutes or ribs, into a round top. The pillar was converted into a *liṅga*, by fitting an ablution-trough to it; this was attached over the part where the inscription lay; and it was only by the breaking of it, that the greater part of the inscription was disclosed to view.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 1′ 9″ broad by 11″ high, has suffered a good deal from the weather, and from the sharpening of tools on the edges of the stone; but, on the original pillar, it is fairly legible almost throughout; and the only historical items that have been lost are, in line 2, the name of Gôparâja's grandfather, and of the family to which he belonged.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{8}$″ to $\frac{5}{8}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though not quite so well formed, are of almost precisely the same type with those of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19 above, Plate xiiA. The letter *r*, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed within the top line of the writing in *pârtha*, line 5, and *bhâryâ*, line 7; but above it in *sârddham*, line 5. The characters include, in line 2, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 1, 7, 90, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, the inscription is in prose as far as the end of the date, in line 2, and the rest in verse.—In respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vaṅśa*, lines 1 and 4; and (2) the doubling of *k* and *t*. in conjunction with a following *r*; *e.g.* in *vikkrânta* and *puttra*, line 3.

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[1] See page 18 above, and note 1.

[2] The 'Pahlechpur' of Gen. Cunningham's map (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. Pl. xxiii.)

The **inscription**, which does not refer itself to the reign of any particular king, is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight, and solar day[1] of the month, of Śrâvaṇa (July-August). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record that, in the company of a powerful king named **Bhânugupta,** a chieftain or noble named **Gôparâja** came to the place where the pillar was set up, and fought a battle; that **Gôparâja** was killed; and that his wife accompanied him, by cremating herself on his funeral pyre.[2]

TEXT.[3]

1 Ôm Saṁvatsara-śatê êka-navaty-uttarê Śrâvaṇa-bahula-paksha-sap[t]amy[âṁ]
2 saṁvat 100 90 1 Śrâvaṇa ba[4] di 7 ‖ [—]**la(?)ksha**[5]-vaṅśâd=
utpannô [— —]
3 **râj**-êti-viśrutaḥ tasya puttrô=ti-vikkrântô nâmnâ râj=âtha **Mâdhavaḥ** ‖
Gôparâja[ḥ]
4 sutas=tasya śrîmân=vikhyâta-paurushaḥ **Śarabharâja**-dauhittraḥ sva-vaṅśa-
tilakô=dhu(?)nâ(?) [‖]
5 Śrî[6]-**Bhânuguptô** jagati pravîrô râjâ mahân=Pârtha-samô=ti-śûraḥ tên=âtha
sârddhan=tv=iha **Gôpar[â]j[ô]**

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[1] The day is indicated as a solar day, as well as lunar, by the use, in the numerical-symbol record, of *di*, the abbreviation of *dina, dinê, divasa,* or *divasê*, in addition to, in the fuller record, *saptamî*, which denotes the lunar *tithi*.—The abbreviation *di* is preceded by *ba*, which stands for *bahula-paksha* or *bahula-pakshê*. Sometimes, instead of *ba*, we have *va*; *e.g.* in line 17 of the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahârâja* Vinâyakapâla, *samvatsrô* (sic) *100 80 8 Phâlguna va di 9* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 141); in which case *va* may, according to the general orthography of the particular record, stand for *ba*; or it may be an abbreviation of *vadya*, which is a synonym of *bahula*, and is of common enough use in the present day, though it was not so in ancient times. The corresponding method of denoting the bright fortnight, is by the use of the abbreviation *śu*, which represents *śukla* or *śuddha*, similarly in composition with *paksha* or *pakshê*; *e.g.* in line 14 of the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, No. 71 below, Plate xliA., *samvat 200 60 9 Chaittra śu di 8*.—These abbreviations, *śu di* and *ba di* or *va di*, are often quoted as if they were words in themselves (*śudi, badi, vadi*), meaning respectively 'the bright fortnight' and 'the dark fortnight.' And Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *vadi* as an indeclinable word, meaning 'in the dark half of a month;' with the remark that, according to some, it stands for *badi*, and is a contraction of *bahula-dina*; but with an intimation of his own opinion that it represents *vadya*. But I doubt whether the Hindus themselves, even when using the abbreviations, look on them as words. And it is worth noting that Molesworth and Candy's Marâṭhî Dictionary, which is very comprehensive, does not include these expressions, either as abbreviations, or as words. Even if a modern practice of treating these abbreviations as words, should be proved, it is an erroneous practice. By origin, the syllables are nothing but distinct and separate abbreviations, of which the first denotes the fortnight of the month, and the second, the day of the month or fortnight. And this is the point of view from which they have to be looked at, in dealing with any ancient records.

[2] *i.e.*, according to the colloquial expression, she became *Satî* ('*Suttee*').—With this early instance of the cremation of widows, we may compare the indication of the same practice that is given in Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nêpâl inscription No. 1, of Mânadêva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 164, line 7 f., and p. 165), when Râjyavatî, the widow of Dharmadêva, bids her son Mânadêva take up the government, in order that she may follow her deceased husband to the other world. This instance belongs to about A.D. 705 (see *id.* Vol. XIV. pp. 344, 350).—As noted by Gen. Cunningham, there are several other *Satî*-pillars, but of much later date, at Eraṇ.

[3] From the original stone.

[4] i.e. *bahula-paksha*.

[5] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.

[6] Metre, Indravajrâ; and in the following verse.

6 mittrân=uva(?)tyâ(?)ra(?) kil=ânuyâtaḥ ‖ Kṛitvâ [cha*] y[u]ddhaṁ su-
mahat-prak[â]śaṁ svarggaṁ gatô divya-narê(?)[ndra-kalpaḥ]
7 bhakt=ânuraktâ cha[1] priyâ cha kântâ bh[â]r[y]=â[va]lag[n]=ânugat=
âg[n]i-r[â]śim ‖

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Śrâvaṇa; (*or in figures*) the year 100 (*and*) 90 (*and*) 1; (the month) Śrâvaṇa; the dark fortnight; the day 7:—

(Line 2.)—(*There was*) a king, renowned under the name of .... **râja,** sprung from the .. **laksha**(?) lineage; and his son (*was*) that very valorous king (*who was known*) by the name (*of*) **Mâdhava.**

(L. 3.)—His son was the illustrious **Gôparâja,** renowned for manliness; the daughter's son of the **Śarabha** king; who is (*even*) now(?) the ornament of (*his*) lineage.

(L. 5.)—(*There is*) the glorious **Bhânugupta,** the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Pârtha, exceedingly heroic; and, along with him, **Gôparâja** followed .... (*his*) friends (*and came*) here. [And*] having fought a very famous battle, he,[2] [who was but little short of being equal to] the celestial [king (Indra)], (*died and*) went to heaven; and (*his*) devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, in close companionship, accompanied (*him*) onto the funeral pyre.

No. 21; (No PLATE.)

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 156.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1852, by Colonel Ellis, Political Agent at Nâgaudh, and was first brought to notice in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251 f., by Professor H. H. Wilson's translation, combining both this and the next inscription of the year 163, from Mr. Thomas' reading of the texts. —In 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 6 ff., Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from the original plates.—And in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11, No. 1, General Cunningham, in partially reprinting Dr. Hall's translation, substituted a close approximation to the correct interpretation of the date, agreeing with Professor H. H. Wilson and differing from Dr. Hall; and also gave a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Plate iv. No. 1.)

The inscription is on some copper-plates that were found somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khôh,**[3] about three miles south-west of Uchaharâ,[4] the present capital of the Native State of Nâgaudh or Nâgaundh[1] in the Baghêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. They were originally deposited in the Library of the Sanskṛit College at Benares; but, with the ring and seal, were lost sight of in being transferred from there to the Allahâbâd Museum, and thence to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow (Lakhnau). I am informed that the second plate has been recently found at Lucknow. But I have not been able to obtain it, or an ink-impression of it, for examination. And I, therefore, edit the inscription here from a hand-copy made by General Cunningham, which, though not suitable for lithography, suffices admirably for reading the text.

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[1] The metre is faulty here, as the *cha*, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following double consonant, *pr*.

[2] Gôparâja.

[3] The 'Kho' of maps. It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, but is not shewn there. — *khôh* means literally 'a cave.'

[4] The 'Oochaira, Uchahara, Uchara, Uchera, Ucheyra, Uhchehra, Unchehra, Unchehrah, Unchera, Urchara, and Urcharah,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 23′ N.; Long. 80° 51′ E.—

The **plates,** two in number, and inscribed on one side only, appear to have been in a state of excellent preservation throughout. From the original accounts, they seem to have been connected as usual by a **ring,** the ends of which were secured in the lower part of a **seal,** the front of which had on it the **legend,** *Śrî-mahârâja-Hastinaḥ,* "of the illustrious *Mahârâja* Hastin," as on the seal of his grant of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type as those of the following inscription of the same *Mahârâja* of the year 163, No. 22 below, Plate xiii. The letter *r* in conjunction with a following *y*, is formed in two ways; in *kâryaḥ*, line 14, and *kuryât*, line 14-15, the *r* is written within the top line of the writing, with only a single *y* below it, as in *kuryât*, line 12, and *sûryadatta*, line 19, of No. 23 below, Plate xiv.; while in *sûryyadatta*, lines 10 and 21, and *maryyâdâḥ*, line 12, it is formed above the top line, as in the case of conjunction with other letters, and the *y* is doubled.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20, the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *vakkrâ*, line 20; and *sagôttra* and *puttra*, line 9; (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *avaddhyânêna*, line 15; and (4) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *sâmbatsarê*, line 2; and *barsha*, line 19.

In addition to 'Uchahara,' Gen. Cunningham uses three other forms, 'Uchahaṛa,' 'Uchahada,' and 'Uchahaḍa,' (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 5); but, in my inquiries at Satnâ, I could not obtain anything in support of them.—He has also proposed (*id.* p. 10) to identify Uchaharâ with 'Udyâra,' the supposed capital of Svâmidatta mentioned in line 19 of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, No. 1; but the real reading there (page 7 above) gives Giri-Koṭṭûra, or "Koṭṭûra on the hill."—Uchaharâ is probably by no means an unique name; as the maps give an 'Ocharah,' ten miles towards the north-east, an 'Oocharah,' twenty-nine miles north by east, an 'Uchera,' thirty-one miles to the south-east by east, and another 'Uchera,' about fifty-nine miles to the south-east by south, from the place under reference.

[1] The 'Nagode, Nagound, and Nagudh,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70. Lat. 24° 33′ N.; Long. 80° 37′ E.—On the badges of the Police Sepoys, I found the name written Nâgaud. But the correct form is undoubtedly Nâgaudh, which is sometimes nasalised and pronounced Nâgaundh.—The Râjâ is officially called the 'Râjâ of Nagode;' and Nâgaudh was formerly the capital of the State. The present capital is Uchaharâ. And the Political Agency is now at Satnâ, which, in reality the name of a river, has been adopted as the name of the station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The station and the Agency are really in the lands of the village of Bardâḍîh.—Gen. Cunningham has proposed (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 12) to identify Nâgaudh with the Nâgadêya that is mentioned in line 5 of the Kârîtalâî plates of the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha of the year 174, No. 26 below. But the name would rather seem to be derived from *nâga-vadha* or *nâga-bandha*, 'the slaughter or the capture of the hooded-serpents or of the Nâga tribe;' whereas Nâgadêya would mean 'the gift to the hooded-serpents, or to the Nâga tribe.'

The **inscription** is one of the **Parivrâjaka**[1] *Mahârâja* **Hastin.** It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta** kings,"[2] in the year one hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 475-76), in the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara*,[3] and on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November). The inscription is non-sectarian, except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahâdêva. The object of it is to record the grant, by the *Mahârâja* **Hastin,** of the village of **Vasuntarashaṇḍika** to Gôpasvâmin and other Brahmaṇs.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 Namô Mahâdêvâya || Svasti Shaṭpañchâś-ôttarê=bda-śatê **Gupta-nṛipa-**
2 râjya-bhuktau Mahâ-Vaiśâkha-sâmbatsarê[5] |[6] Kârttika-mâsa-śukla-paksha-tṛitîyâ-
3 yâm=asyân=divasa-pûrvvâyâṁ[7] nṛipatiparivrâjaka-kul-ôtpannêna |[8] mahâ-
4 râja-**Dêvâḍhya**[9]-pranaptrâ mâ(ma)hârâja-**Prabhañjana**-naptranâ[10] mahârâja-
Dâmôdara-sutêna

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[1] *parivrâjaka* means literally 'a wandering religious mendicant, an ascetic in the fourth and last religious order or stage of life.'—The compound used in line 3 of the Text, *nṛipati-parivrâjaka*, 'a kingly ascetic,' is of the same class with *râj-arshi*, 'a royal saint, a saint of royal descent.' Compare also *râjâdhirâj-arshi*, 'a saintly sovereign,' which is applied to Chandragupta II. in the Udayagiri cave inscription, No. 6, page 35 above, line 3.—The particular kingly ascetic, from whom Hastin's family derived its origin, was Suśarman (see No. 25 below, Plate xvB. line 5 f.)—The word *parivrâjaka* seems to have been adopted as the regular and habitual appellation of the family. At any rate, it furnishes, for distinctive purposes, a convenient and unobjectionable name for it.

[2] *Gupta-nṛipa-râjya-bhuktau*; line 1f.—The same expression occurs in Nos. 22, 23, and 25. It indicates clearly that the Gupta dynasty and sway were still continuing; and of course the date refers to the era used by the Guptas. But there is nothing in the expression, tending to give the era the name of the "Gupta era."—Prof. H. H. Wilson's translation of this date, combined with that of the following inscription, No. 22, (Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251) was "in the 163rd year of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta kings." And this was substantially correct. But he added a note that *bhuktê* or *bhuktau* might be read *muktê* or *muktau*, 'from the end or cessation.'—In publishing this translation, Mr. Thomas pointed out that the reading *muktê* or *muktau* could not possibly be admitted. And, following this, Dr. Hall (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. pp. 3 f., note, and 6, 12) adopted the reading *bhuktau* or *bhuktê*; but laid down the dictum that *bhukti*, "if unqualified by a temporal particle, denotes 'possession,' or 'fruition,' only as a thing of the past;" and he then proceeded to translate the passage by "in the year one hundred and fifty-six of the extinction of the sovereignty of the Gupta kings;" and again "one hundred and sixty-three years after the domination, of the Guptas had been laid to rest."—Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11) gave "in the year one hundred and fifty-six of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." And this, again, was substantially correct, though not grammatically.—As in the case of *śântê*, in line 3 of the Kahâuṁ pillar inscription of Skandagupta (see page 67 above, note 7), it is impossible to imagine how *bhukti*, *lit.* 'the act of enjoying or eating; enjoyment, eating; fruition, possession, usufruct,' ever came to be applied in the sense of 'extinction;' except under the influence of a preconceived bias, so strong as to prevent entirely the critical consideration which would at once have shewn the error.

[3] *saṁvatsara*, 'a year,' is used principally, if not entirely, to denote (as is indicated by the first component, *saṁ*, 'with, together with') years that have a close connection with those that precede and follow them; *i.e.* years of cycles, eras, and reigns.—In the present case, the twelve-year cycle of the planet Jupiter is referred to.

[4] From Gen. Cunningham's hand-copy.

[5] Read *saṁvatsarê.*

[6] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[7] Supply *tithau.*

[8] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[9] See page 97 below, note 4.

[10] Read *naptrâ.*

5 gô-sahasra-hasty-aśva-hiraṇy-ânêka-bhûmi-pradêna guru-pitṛi-mâtṛi-pûjâ-tatparê-
6 ṇ=âtyanta-dêva-brâhmaṇa-bhaktêna II[1] naika-samara-śatata[2]-vijayinâ sva-vanś-â-
7 môdakarêṇa mahârâja-śrî-**Hastinâ** sva-puṇy-âpyâyan-ârtham=âtmânaṁ sva-
8 rgga-sôpâna-paṅktibhir=ârôha(pa)yatâ brâhmaṇa-Vâjisinêya[3]Mâdhya
9 ndina-Kautsasagôttra-Gôpasvâmî Bhavasvâmî I Sandhyâputtra I Divâkara
10 dattaḥ Bhâskaradatta I Sûryyadattasya[4] **Vasuntarashaṇḍika**-grâmô=
11 tisṛishṭaḥ II Samantâd=garttâ uttarê paśchimô(mê)na

Second Plate.

12 pûrvva-bhûktâ[5] mâ(ma)ryyâdâḥ [II*] Saṁndhyâ[6]puttra-pramukhânâṁ s-ôdraṅgaḥ s-ôparikaraḥ
13 a-châṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêśyaḥ chôra-varjjam [II*] Tad=asmat-kul-ôtthaiḥ mat-pâdapiṇḍ-ôpajî-
14 vibhir=vvâ kâlântarêshv=api na vyâghâtaḥ kâryaḥ [I*] êvam=âjñâpta[7] yô=nyathâ ku-
15 ryât=tam=ahaṁ dêhântara-gatô=pi mahat=âvaddhyânêna nirddahêd[8]=Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ pa-
16 ram-arshiṇâ vêda-vyâsêna I Pûrvvâ[9]-dattâṁ dvijâtibhyô yatnâd=rakshya(ksha) Yudhishṭhiraḥ[10]
17 mahi(hî)ṁ mahimatâṁ[11] śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁm[12] [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhukta râ-
18 jabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [II*]
19 Shashṭim=ba(va)rsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânuma-
20 ntâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêd=iti II Likhitañ=cha[13] Vakkr-âmâtya-
21 [pra*]naptrâ bhôgik-âmâtya-Naradatta-naptrâ bhôgi[14]ka-Ravidatta-puttr[êṇa*] **Sûryya-**
22 **dattên**=êti [I*] Dûtakô **Bhâgrahaḥ** [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahâdêva! Hail![15] In a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (*year*); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings**; in the Mahâ-

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[1] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary. [2] Read *śata*. [3] Read *vâjasanêya*.

[4] Read, in composition, *Gôpasvâmi-Bhavasvâmi-Sandhyâputtra-Divâkaradatta-Bhâskaradatta-Sûryyadattêbhyô.*

[5] Read *bhuktâ.*—F. E. Hall read *bhûkti.* But the *bhûktâ* (for *bhuktâ*) of Gen. Cunningham's copy, seems preferable.

[6] Read *sandhyâ.* [7] Read either *âjñaptê*, or *âjñâpitê.* [8] Read *nirddahêyam.*

[9] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.

[10] Read *yudhishṭhira.*

[11] For some various readings here, see page 99 below, note 1.

[12] Read *nupâlanaṁ*, or *nupâlanam.*

[13] Supply *śâsanam*, or *tâmraśâsanam*, in apposition with *likhitaṁ*; and see page 99 below, note 2.

[14] This *gi* is omitted in Gen. Cunningham's copy.

[15] *svasti*; *lit.* "it is well" (*su asti*).—Like *siddham* (see page 25 above, note 4), this word of constant use as a *maṅgala*, or 'auspicious invocation,' at the commencement of inscriptions.—

Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara* ; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (*&c.*),[1]—

(Line 3.)—By the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Hastin,**—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic ;[2]—who is the great-grandson[3] of the *Mahârâja* **Dêvâḍhya** ;[4]—who is the grandson of the *Mahârâja* **Prabhañjana** ;—who is the son of the *Mahârâja* **Dâmôdara** ;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands ; —who is earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother ;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brâhmaṇs ;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles ;—(*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 7.)—(*By him*),—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit, (*and*) in order to cause (*himself*) to ascend by the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—the village of **Vasuntarashaṇḍika** is granted to the Brâhmaṇ Gôpasvâmin, of the Vâjasanêya-Mâdhyaṁdina (*śâkhâ*) and the Kautsa *gôtra*, and to Bhavasvâmin, Sandhyâputra, Divâkaradatta, Bhâskaradatta, and Sûryadatta.

(L. 11.)—On all sides (*there are*) trenches (*of demarcation*);[5] (*and*) on the north by the west, the boundaries are those that have been previously enjoyed. (*This village is made the property*) of Sandhyâputra and the others, with the *udraṅga*[6] and the *upari-*

It also occurs, governing a dative case, at the end of the Mandasôr inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18, page 84 above, line 24 ; and as a neuter noun, signifying 'prosperity,' in conjunction with *astu*, 'let there be,' the two together governing a dative, at the end of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19, page 89 above, line 9, and at the end of the Êraṇ inscription of Tôramâṇa, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiiA. line 8.

[1] The text (line 3) has *asyâṁ=divasa-pûrvvâyâṁ*, in apposition with which *tithau* has to be supplied.—The same expression was used in the Gaḍhwâ inscription of Chandragupta II No. 7, page 37 above, line 2 f. ; and it occurs in other places also.—But the fuller and more formal expression was *asyâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-divasa-pûrvâyâṁ*, "on this (lunar day), (specified as above by the *saṁvatsara* (or year) and month and day," which occurs, for instance, in the Majhgawâṁ grant of the *Mahârâja* Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv. line 2 f. -Another variety of the expression is *asyâṁ=divasa-mâsa-saṁvatsar-ânupûrvvyâṁ*, in the Shâhpur image inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA. line 2.—In the Bilsaḍ pillar inscription of Kumâragupta, No. 10 page 44 above, line 7, we have *asyâṁ=divasa-pûrvvâyâṁ*, without the specification of any details except the year

[2] See page 95 above, note 1.

[3] In this and the other three formal inscriptions of this family, Nos. 22, 23, and 25 below, *pranaptṛi* and *naptṛi* are used, instead of the more customary and stricter terms, *prapautra*, or 'son of a son's son,' and *pautra*, 'son's son;' see page 15 above, note 3. *Pranaptṛi* and *naptṛi* may denote, at any rate in early times, descendants through a daughter, as well as through a son ; and I therefore translate them by the less binding expressions of 'great-grandson' and 'grandson.' We may, however, assume with safety that they are used here to denote descendants through sons.

[4] F. E. Hall (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 6, and p. 8, note) read this name as Dêvâhya, and rejected H. H. Wilson's reading of Dwrhya (which is evidently a misprint for Dêvârhya, *i.e.* Dêvâḍhya) with the remark—"in both inscriptions, the name is most legibly incised ; and Mr. Thomas' decipherments bear out my lection unhesitatingly." The fact remains, however, that in all the three inscriptions of Hastin, and in the inscription of Saṁkshôbha, the name is unmistakably Dêvâḍhya ; as, indeed, would be recognised at once by any careful reader, acquainted with Sanskṛit, since *ahya* or *âhya* is no real word or termination at all ; and Prof. H. H. Wilson was right, and Dr. FitzEdward Hall was wrong.

[5] *garta* ; *lit.* 'a hollow, a hole, a cave.

[6] *udraṅga* is a technical fiscal term.—Dr. Bühler has brought to notice (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 189, note 39) that in the *Śâśvatakôsha*, Zachariæ's edition, pp. xxix., 260, it is explained by *uddhâra*

kara,[1] (*and with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops;[2] (*but*) with the exception of (*the right to fines imposed on*) thieves.[3]

(L. 13.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (*to the enjoyment of this grant*) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories.[4] This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 15.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage,[5] the arranger of the

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and *udgrantha* (? *udgráha*), and thus seems to mean 'the share of the produce collected usually for the king.'—The only passage in which it occurs otherwise than among the technical conditions of a grant, is in connection with Kharagraha II.; *e.g.* in line 46 of the Alînâ grant of Śîlâditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv.—In this passage, as it is given in line 46 of the grant of Śîlâditya III. of the year 352 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 308), it appears to be spelt with a double *d*, *uddraṅga*; so also in line 10 of the grant of the *Mahárája* Guhasêna of the year 246 (*id.* Vol. IV. p. 175.)

[1] *uparikara* is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which has not been made clear. But I would suggest that the first component is the Prâkṛit word *uparî* or *upri* (see Molesworth and Candy's Marâṭhi Dictionary, and Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms*; and that the term denotes 'a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary rights in the soil.'

[2] *a-cháṭa-bhaṭa-právêśya*; a technical term of constant occurrence.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 175, note 41) takes *cháṭa-bhaṭa* as meaning *cháṭân prati bhaṭáḥ*, 'soldiers against robbers,' and as denoting the royal police. But, that *cháṭa* is not governed by *bhaṭa*, seems to be made clear by the analogous but differently arranged expression, *a-bhaṭa-chchhátra-právêśya*, in line 26 of the Chammak grant of the *Mahárája* Pravarasêna II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv., and in line 27-28 of his Siwanî grant, No. 56, Plate xxxv. And, in line 6 of the Goa grant of Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman of Śaka-Saṁvat 532 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365), we have the simple expression *a-bhaṭa-pravêśya*.—I follow Dr. Bühler's interpretation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 115 and note).—A slightly different expression, but of exactly the same purport, viz. *pratinishiddha-cháṭa-bhaṭa-pravêśa* occurs, for instance, in l. 10-11 of the Kapâlêśwar grant of Mahâ-Bhavagupta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 56.)—Other expressions, which help to indicate the bearing of the term, are *samasta-rájakíyánám=a-pravêśya*, "not to be entered by any of the king's people," *e.g.* in line 17 of the Ilâô grant of Dadda II. of Śaka-Saṁvat 417 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 117); and *rája-sêvakánáṁ vasatidaṇḍa-prayáṇadaṇḍau na staḥ*, in line 97 of the Paiṭhan grant of Râmachandra of Śaka-Saṁvat 1193 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 318). The latter expression may refer to 'fees' imposed on the king's servants for halting at, or starting from, a village; or it may refer to 'fines,' *i.e.* 'forced contributions of money or supplies,' obligatory on the holders of villages on such occasions.

[3] This elliptical expression, *chôra-varjjam*, *lit.* "with the exception of thieves," is explained by the fuller expression *chôra-daṇḍa-varjjam*, "with the exception of fines (imposed) on thieves," in line 14 of the Khôh grant of the *Mahárája* Jayanâtha of the year 177, No. 27 below, Plate xvii.

[4] *mat-pádapiṇḍ-ôpajivin*; *lit.* 'subsisting on the cakes which are my feet.'—Compare *tat-pádapadm-ôpajívin*, 'subsisting (like a bee) on the waterlilies that are his feet,' which, in later times in the south, became the customary technical expression for the relation of feudatory princes and nobles, and other officials, to their paramount sovereigns; *e.g.* in line 8 of the Kâdarôḷḷi inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 997 (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 105.)—Compare, also, an expression of very similar purport,—*tat-pádapallav-ôpaśôbhit-ôttamáṅga*, 'whose head is adorned with the fresh sprouts that are his feet,'—in line 5 f. of the Baḷagâṁve inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 970 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 179.)—See also page 55 above, and note 1.

[5] Vyâsa; whose name, as well as his epithet of "arranger of the Vêdas," is usually inserted in this passage; *e.g.* in line 13 of the Majhgawâṁ grant of the *Mahárája* Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—In line 13 of No. 26 below, Plate xvi., line 14 of No. 27, Plate xvii., line 22 of

Vêdas,—"O Yudhisṭhira, best of kings,[1] carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!"

(L. 20.)—And (*this charter*)[2] has been written[3] by **Sûryadatta**, the [great*]-grand-

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No. 28, Plate xviii., and line 3 of No. 30, Plate xixB., these verses are said to be from the Mahâbhârata. And in line 19 of the Khôh grant of the *Mahárája* Saṁkshôbha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx., it is also added that they are in the *Śatasáhasrî-Saṁhitá* of the Mahâbhârata.—These verses are nearly always attributed, in the inscriptions, to Vyâsa. But, in line 27-28 of the Karṇûl grant of the third year of Vikramâditya I. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 237), the verse commencing *Bahubhir=vasudhá bhuktá*, the second in the present inscription, with one other not in this inscription, is allotted to Manu; a point which may be of some interest in connection with Dr. Bühler's discovery (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 324) that about one-tenth of Manu's verses occur in the Mahâbhârata.

[1] *mahimat*, or *mahîmat*, in the sense of a 'king' (*lit.* 'possessed of the earth') is not a dictionary word. But its meaning, based on its etymology, is obvious; and it is further borne out by the various reading *kshitibhṛitám*, which occurs in the same verse in line 32 of the Chhârôlî grant of a Râshṭrakûṭa king Kakka of Śaka-Saṁvat 679 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 109). Another various reading, in a slight variety of the same verse, is *matimatám*, 'wise, prudent.' in line 40 of the Nausârî grant of Jayabhaṭa II. of the year 456 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 79).

[2] *śásana*, 'a charter;' or *támra-śásana*, 'a copper-charter.'—These were the technical terms for conveyances of this kind. The first word, *śásana*, occurs, for instance, in line 4 of the legend on the seals of the Chammak and Siwanî grants of the *Mahárája* Pravarasêna II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plate xxxiii C. and D. The second, *támra-śásana*, occurs, for instance, in line 10 of the Majhgawâṁ grant of the *Mahárája* Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—See also p. 87 above, note 10, where I have given an instance (the only one known to me) of a copper-plate charter being called *praśasti*, which word is properly the technical term for an inscription on stone.

[3] *likhitam*.—This refers either to the manual drafting of the record, or to the writing of it on the plates, for the guidance of the engraver, who then had to follow the writing and impress it with his tools. And of course it is to be understood, in the case of a high official like Sûryadatta, who in No. 22 below, Plate xiii. line 29 f. has the title of *Mahásáṁdhivigrahika*, that the writing was done by one of his clerks; not by himself.—The process of engraving is always denoted by *utkîrṇá* (*praśastiḥ*), *e.g.* in line 25 of the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.; or *utkîrṇaṁ* (*śásanam*), *e.g.* in line 23 of the Âraṅg grant of the *Rája* Mahâ-Jayarâja, No. 40 below, Plate xxvi.—It might be thought that *likhitam* may refer to the composition or drawing up of the record. But this part of the process is always denoted by a derivative from the root *kṛi*, 'to make,' e. g. *praśastêḥ kartá*, in line 17 of the Aihoḷe Mêguṭi inscription of Pulikêśin II. of Śaka-Saṁvat 556 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 242); or *rach*, 'to compose,' e. g. *rachitá* (*praśastiḥ*), in line 23 of No. 18 above, page 84. And in line 37 of a grant of Âlhaṇadêva of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1218 (*Indian Inscriptions*, No. 10), we have the double expression *rachayáṁ-chakára lilikhê ch=êdaṁ mahá-śásanam*.—Some of the functions connected with a copper-charter are very well indicated in line 46 of the Kapâlêśwar grant of Mahâ-Bhavagupta, (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 57, 58) where the proper translation (from my own reading of the original) runs,—"This triplicate copper-charter has been written by the illustrious Mâhûka,—the son of Priyaṁkarâditya,—a writer (*Káyastha*) belonging to (the office of) the *Mahásaṁdhivigrahin*, the *Ráṇaka*, the illustrious Malladatta. (This) charter, presented by the lord of Kôśala, by which the village-headman (*Mahattama*) is to be informed,—Puṇḍarîkâksha received it (apparently to superintend the engraving), transferred to copper. It has been engraved by Mâdhava, the son of Vâsu."

son of the *Amâtya*[1] Vakra; the grandson of the *Bhôgika*[2] and *Amâtya* Naradatta; (*and*) the son of the *Bhôgika* Ravidatta. The *Dûtaka*[3] (*is*) **Bhâgraha.**[4]

No. 22; PLATE XIII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 163.

THIS inscription, again, appears to have been discovered about 1852, by Colonel Ellis, Political Agent at Nâgaudh, and was first brought to notice in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251 f., by Professor H. H. Wilson's translation combining both this and the preceding inscription of the year 156, from Mr. Thomas reading of the texts.—In 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 10 ff., Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from the original plates.—And in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11 f., No. 2, General Cunningham, in partially reprinting Dr. Hall's translation, substituted a close approximation to the correct interpretation of the date, agreeing with Professor Wilson and differing from Dr. Hall; and also gave a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Plate iv. No. 2.)

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[1] *Amâtya*, *lit.* 'an inmate of the same house; a counsellor,' is a technical official title.

[2] *Bhôgika*, *lit.* 'one who enjoys or possesses,' is explained in Monier Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary by 'housekeeper, groom.' In the inscriptions it is a technical official title, possibly connected with the territorial terms *bhôga* and *bhukti*.—If we may judge by the passage in line 8 of the Kâvî grant of Jayabhaṭa II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 114), the *Bhôgikas* came in rank below the *Sâmantas* and above the *Vishayapatis*.

[3] *Dûtaka*, and occasionally *Dûta* (*e.g.* in line 14 of the Nirmaṇḍ grant of the Mahâsâmanta and *Mahârâja* Samudrasêna, No. 80 below, Plate xliv.), *lit.* 'a messenger,' is the technical title of an officer employed in connection with formal grants. The term is most commonly used in connection with copper-charters. But there are a few instances in which it occurs in inscriptions on stone; *e.g.* Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nêpâl inscriptions, No. 3, line 21 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 167), No. 4, line 17-18 (*id.* p. 168), No. 6, line 13 (*id.* p. 170), &c. And these are sufficient to shew that the *Dûtaka's* office was to carry, not the actual charter itself, for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king's sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty it then was to have the charter drawn up and delivered. And, in accordance with this, there is no mention of any *Dûtaka* when we have such expressions as *âjñâ svayam*, "the order (is) (that of the grantor's) own self," *e.g.* in line 19 of the 'Chicacole' grant of the *Mahârâja* Indravarman of the year 128 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 121); *sva-mukh-âjñâ*, "the order (is) (that of the grantor's) own mouth," *e.g.* in line 24 of the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha, No. 25 below, Plate xvB.; *âjñaptiḥ sva-mukhaṁ*, with the same meaning, *e.g.* in line 34 of the Gôdâvarî grant of the *Râja* Pṛithivimûla (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 118); and *sva-mukh-âjñayâ utkîrṇam*, "engraved at the order of (the grantor's) own mouth," *e.g.* in line 23 of the Âraṅg plates of the *Râja* Mahâ-Jayarâja, No. 40 below, Plate xxvi.—As pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 161, note 28), *Âjñâdâpaka*, *lit.* 'conveyer of orders,' in line 29 of the Ujjain grant of Vâkpatirâja of Dhârâ (*id.* p. 160) seems to have been another regular title of the same officer; though this is, I think, at present the only instance in which it occurs.—And it is now plain that it is the same office which is referred to in such expressions as *âjñâ mahâmahattara-Gauriśarmâ*, "the order (is) (conveyed by) the *Mahâmahattara* Gauriśarman," in line 24 of the 'Chicacole' grant of the *Mahârâja* Indravarman of the year 146 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 123); *âjñaptis=Siyaśarmâ*, in line 28 of the 'Pedda-Maddâli' grant of Jayasiṁha I. (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 138); and *âjñâptiḥ Dâmakirttibhôjakaḥ &c.*, in line 12-13 of the Halsî grant of the eighth year of Mṛigêśavarman (*id.* Vol. VI. p. 24 f).—Line 13 of the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja* Śarvanâtha of the year 197, No. 30 below, Plate xixB., mentions, in addition to the ordinary *Dûtaka*, another *Dûtaka*, sent as a messenger to a second writer, who was ordered to insert certain additional privileges. And this, again, is in favour of my position that the *Dûtaka* carried the orders for the drawing up of a charter, not the charter itself.

[4] In No. 22 below, Plate xiv. line 30, this name occurs with the short vowel *a* in the first syllable. It is impossible to decide which form is correct, as the first component may be either *bhâ*, 'light, splendour, lustre,' or *bha*, 'a star, a planet.'

The inscription is on another set of copper-plates that were found, with the plates containing the inscription of the same *Mahârâja* Hastin of the year 156, No. 21 above, somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khôh,**[1] in the Nâgaudh State in the Baghêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. They were originally deposited in the Library of the Sanskṛit College at Benares, but were transferred, first to the Provincial Museum at Allahâbâd, and then to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow, where they now are; but without their ring and seal, which were lost during the transfers.

The **plates,** which are inscribed on one side only, are three in number. The first two measure about $7\frac{1}{2}''$ by $5\frac{5}{8}''$, and the third, which was evidently added as an afterthought, when it was found that the inscription could not be completed on the front of the second and that the back of it was not suitable for engraving, about $5\frac{3}{8}''$ by $2\frac{3}{8}''$. They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. Except, however, for the small piece broken away at the beginning of the third plate, the writing is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are rather thin; and the letters, being rather deeply engraved, shew through so plainly on the backs of them that even vowel-marks can be read there; and it is evidently owing to this, that the inscription was finished on a third and smaller plate, instead of on the back of the second. The engraving is well executed; but the interiors of the majority of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is a hole in the upper part[2] of each plate for a **ring,** with a seal attached to it; but the ring and seal are not now forthcoming. From the original accounts, the **seal** appears to have had on it the **legend** *Śrî-Mahârâja-Hastinaḥ*, "of the illustrious *Mahârâja* Hastin," as on the seal of his grant of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—The **weight** of the three plates is 1 lb. $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average **size** of the letters is between $\frac{3}{16}''$ and $\frac{1}{4}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the present inscription, with the following, from No. 24, Plate xvA., to No. 31, Plate xx., illustrates what may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India, from towards the end of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century A.D. In *sûryadatta*, line 30, on the one hand, and, on the other, in *kâryya,* line 20, and *kuryyât*, line 21, we have further illustrations of the two methods of writing *r* in combination with a following *y*, on which I have commented at page 94 above. In *brahmachâriṇe* and *cha*, line 8, *châṭa*, line 16, and *dânâch*, line 23, we have a form of *ch* which belongs properly to a somewhat later period, and to the southern alphabets; but which is perhaps indicative of the current and non-official form of the letter in Central India in this period.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 22 to 28, the inscription is in prose throughout It has been engrossed with less care than is usual in epigraphical records of this early date.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vakkrâ*, line 28; (3) the doubling of *t*, under the same circumstances, in *ttri*, line 1; *chaittra*, line 2; and other places; but not in *putrêṇa*, line 29; (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *maddhyêma*, line 18; but not in *avadhyânêna*, line 21; and (5) the use of *v* for *b*, in *lamvôshṭha*, line 14.

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[1] See page 93 above, and note 3.

[2] When the rings are arranged as in these plates, it is customary to find the ring-hole in the bottom of the first plate and the top of the second. But all the grants of this family, and of the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa, as far as Plate xx., have the ring-holes in the top of each plate as here.

The **inscription** is one of the **Parivrâjaka** *Mahârâja* **Hastin.** It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta** kings," in the year one hundred and sixty-three[1] (A.D. 482-83), in the Mahâ-Aśvayuja *saṁvatsara*, and on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April). Except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahâdêva, the inscription is non-sectarian. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the *Mahârâja* **Hastin,** of the *agrâhâra* of **Kôrparika** to certain Brâhmaṇs.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Namô Mahâdêvâya (II) Svasti Ttri-shashṭy-uttaṛê=bda-śatê **Gupta-nṛipa-**râjya-bhuktau

2 Mah-Âśvayuja-sâṁvatyarê[3] Chaittra-mâsa-śukla-paksha-dvitîy[â*]yâm=asy[â*]n=divasa-

3 pûrvv[â*]yâ[ṁ*][4] nṛipatiparivrâjaka-kul-ôtpannêna mahârâja-**Dêvâḍhya-**pranapt[r*]â

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[1] In respect of the date of this inscription, Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 9 and 11, and Vol. X. p. 116) has expressed the opinion that one hundred and *sixty*-three is a mistake for one hundred and *seventy*-three. And certainly the record in No. 21, page 95 above, that the year 156 was Mahâ-Vaiśâkha, leads *primâfacie* to the conclusion that 163 would be Mahâ-Mârgaśîrsha, and that Mahâ-Aśvayuja would be (either 161 or) 173; especially since the record of No. 25, page 112 below, that 209 was Mahâ-Aśvayuja, points to the names of the *saṁvatsaras* running in regular succession, without any adjustment by expunction, through this period of fifty-four years. But Gen. Cunningham's suggestion that the apparent error is "a mistake of the engraver, who has written *shasht*" (sic.) "(60) instead of *sapt*" (sic.) "(70), which in Gupta characters might easily happen," takes no account of an additional *akshara* that must then have been omitted altogether. "Increased by seventy-three" would be, not *ttri-sapty-uttarê*, but *ttri-saptaty-uttarê*. And it would not be an easy matter for the engraver to turn this full and correct form into *ttri-shashṭy-uttarê*. Gen. Cunningham's present tables for the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 118 ff.; and *Indian Eras*, Table xvii. Col. 10, p. 135 ff.) will have to be re-examined. In this process, with the possibility, which there always is, of the drafters of these epigraphical records making a mistake between current and expired years, it may turn out that this passage really does contain a mistake; which, if it does exist, is more likely to be in the direction of *ttri*, 'three,' having been engraved instead of *dvi*, 'two,' and perhaps of the drafter of the record having also written one hundred and sixty-*two*, instead of one hundred and sixty-*one*.—Meanwhile, Dr. Thibaut, who is a competent authority, has recorded his opinion (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 322) that "observation has, as we know, never been the strong point of Hindu astronomers; and if, according to their system, a certain year was to be called Mahâ-Chaitra, they would scarcely have hesitated to do so, even if they had found that the name was not justified by Jupiter's actual position." And, until the matter is definitely settled one way or the other, it is better to adhere to the distinct reading of the year one hundred and sixty-three.

[2] From the original plates.

[3] Read *saṁvatsarê*.

[4] Supply *tithau*.

4 mahârâja-śrî-**Prabhañjana**-naptrâ mahârâja-**Dâmôdara**-sutêna gô-sahasra-

5 hasty-aśva-hiraṇy-ânêka-bhûmi-pradêna guru-pitṛi-mâtṛi-pûja-tanatparêṇ[1]=â-

6 tyanta-dêva-brâhmaṇa-bhaktêna naika-samara-śata-vijayinâ sva-vanś-âmôdaka-

7 rêṇa mahârâja-śrî-**Hastinâ** sva-puṇy-âpyâyan-ârtham=Agnisv[â*]miputtra-Bharadvâja-

8 sagôttra-Vâji(ja)sanêyasabrahmacharuïṇê[2] Dêvasvâminê[3] Śarvvasvâminê cha

9 Gôrisvâminê Vâji(ja)sanêya-sabrahmachâriṇê Kautsa-sagôttrâya Di-

10 vâkarasvâminê cha Sv[â*]tisvâminê Vâjasanêya-sabrâ(bra)hmachâriṇê Bhârgga-

11 va-sagôttrâya Varuṇaśarmmaṇaḥ[4] Bappasvâminê Vâsula-sagôttr[â*]ya

12 Kaṭha-sabrahmachâriṇê Kumâradêvarêva[5] Vâji(ja)sanêya-sabrâhmachari-

13 na[6] Mât[ṛi*]śarmmaḥ[7] Nâgaśa[r*]mma Rukharadêvaḥ[8] Kaudravadêvaḥ[9] Vishṇ[u*]dêvaḥ[10]

Second Plate.

14 Dêvanâga Kumârasêna[11] Rudraśarmma ।[12] Dêvadâ(?)ṅgarâ(?)[13] Lamvô(mbô)shṭha Dêdamita[14]

15 Mahadêva Guṇṭhaka ity-êvam-âdibhyô brâhmaṇêbhy=ôttare paṭṭê **Kôrppari**-

16 **k**-âgrâhâraḥ s-ôdraṅgaḥ s-ôparikaraḥ a-châṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêśyô=tisṛishṭaḥ-

17 s[16]=Tasy=âghâṭâḥ pûrvvêṇa Kôrpparagarttâ । uttarêṇ=Ânimuktakakôṇakaḥ

18 Vaṅgara-grâmakasya dakshiṇa-p[â*]rsvê Valaka-maddhyêma[17] vṛikaḥ amvrâta-saṁtâra-

19 kaḥ[19] [।*] paśchimêna Nâgasarî । dakshiṇêna Balavarmma-parichchhêdaḥ [॥*] Tad=asma-

20 [t*]-kul-ôtthair=mmat-pâdami(pi)ṇḍ-ôpajîvibhir=vvâ[18] kâlântarêshv=api na vyâghâtaḥ kâryya[ḥ*] [।*]

21 êvam=âjñâpta[20] yô=nyathâ kuryyân(t)=tam=ahaṁ dêhântara-gatô=pi mahat=âvadhyânê-

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[1] Read *pûjâ-tatparêṇ.*—The engraver omitted to cut the *â* of *jâ*; and to cancel the *na*, when he inserted, partly above the line and somewhat small, the *ta* for which *na* had been engraved by mistake

[2] Read *châriṇê.*

[3] First *nai* was engraved; and then it was corrected into *nê*, by partial erasure of the upper stroke of the *ai*.

[4] Read *śarmmaṇê.* [5] Read *dêvâya.* [6] Read *châriṇê.*

[7] Read *śarmma.*—From here, down to *ity-êvam-âdibhyô* in line 15, is properly a compound; but it is spoilt by the three nominative cases at the end of this line, and by the unnecessary mark of punctuation in the next line.

[8], [9], and [10] Read *dêva.*

[11] After this *na*, some letter, which is not quite certain, was engraved and then cancelled.

[12] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[13] Read *dêvadâṅgiraḥ* (?).

[14] This is perhaps a mistake for *dêvamitra.*

[15] Read *brâhmaṇêbhya uttarê.* [16] Read *tisṛishṭas.* [17] Read *maddhyamê.*

[18] Read *amrâta*; and probably *saṁbhâraka.*

[19] First *rnna* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *rvvâ.*

[20] Read *âjñaptê* or *âjñâpitê.*

22 na nirddahêd[1]=Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ param-arshiṇâ vêda-vyâsêna [I*] Pûrvva[2]-dattâ[ṁ*]

23 dvijâtibhyô yatnâd=rakshya(ksha) Yudhishṭhiraḥ[3] mahî[ṁ*] mah[i*]matâṁ śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrê-

24 yô=nupâlanaṁ I(II) Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ sa(ya)sya ya-

25 yasya[4] yadâ bhûmis=tasya [tasya*] tadâ phalan(m) [II*] Sva-dattâ[ṁ*] para-dattâṁ vâ yô harê-

26 ta vasundharâḥ(m) sa vishṭh[â*]yâ[ṁ*] kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitrabhi[5] saha pachyatê [II*]

Third Plate.

27 Sh[a]shṭ[iṁ] v[ar]vva(sha)-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhu(bhû)mi-daḥ âchchhêt[t*]â

28 ch=ânumant[â*] ma(cha) t[â*]ny=êva narakê vasê[t*] [II*] Likhitañ=cha[6] Vakkr-âm[â*]tya-prana-

29 ptranatrâ[7] bhôgika-Naradatta-napt[r*]â bhôgika-Ravidatta-putrêna(ṇa) mahâ-

30 sândhivigrahika-**Suryadatênaḥ**[8] [I*] **Bhagrahô** dûtaka[ḥ*] [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahâdêva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by sixty-three;[9] in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings;** in the Mahâ-Aśvayuja *saṁvatsara*; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (*&c.*),—

(Line 3.)—By the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Hastin,**—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the *Mahârâja* **Dêvâḍhya;**—who is the grandson of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Prabhañjana;**—who is the son of the *Mahârâja* **Dâmôdara;**—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brâhmaṇs;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 7.)—(*By him*),—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit,—the *agrâhâra* of **Kôrparika,** in the northern *paṭṭa*,[10] is granted, with the *udraṅga* and the

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[1] Read *nirddahêyam.*

[2] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following three verses.

[3] Read *yudhishṭhira.*

[4] Read *yasya*; the engraver repeated the *ya* by mistake.

[5] Read *pitṛibhiḥ.*

[6] Supply *śâsanam.*

[7] Read *pranaptrâ.*—Mistakes of this kind would occur through the engraver not spacing the *aksharas* out as far as they were spaced in the painted arrangement on the copper. He would thus come to engrave *naptra* (for *naptrâ*) two *aksharas* before the place intended for it; and he then ignorantly, and also imperfectly, repeated the *aksharas*, by engraving the painted marks still remaining on the plate.

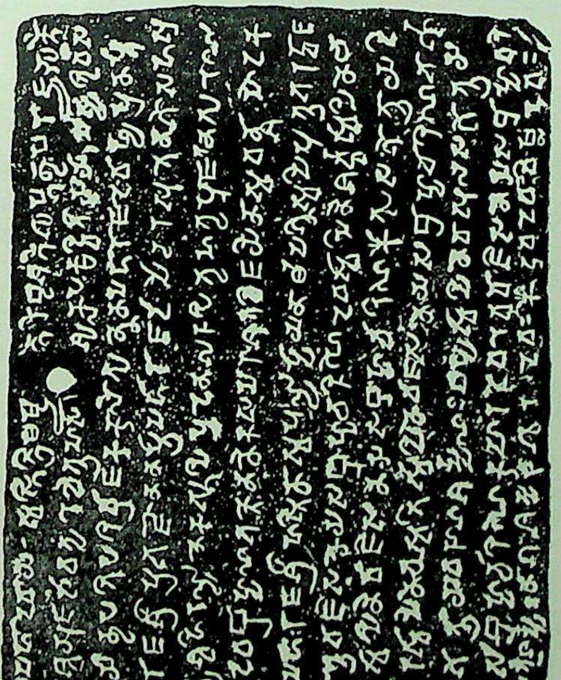
[8] Read *sûryadattêna.*

[9] See page 102 above, note 1.

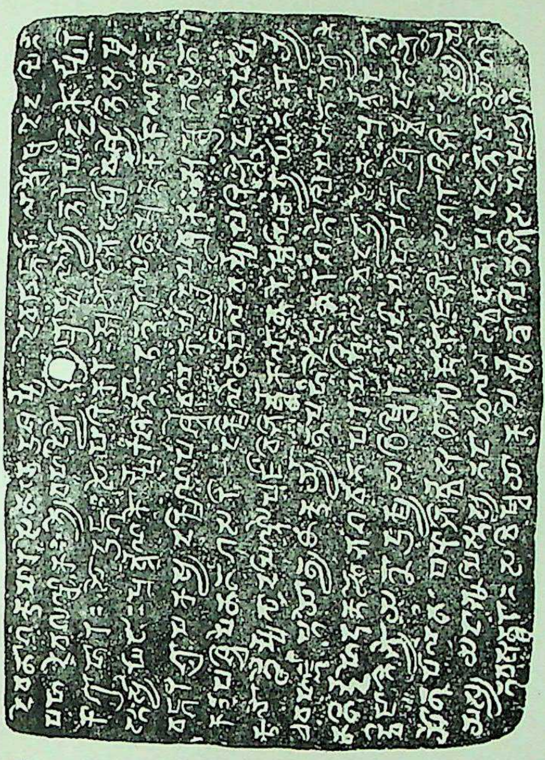
[10] *paṭṭa*, as used here, is apparently some technical territorial term. Compare *paṭî*, for *paṭṭî*, in line 8 of the Halsî grant of Bhânuvarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 28 and 29, note), which, both in Kanarese and in Marâṭhî, is used for 'a strip of land, a division of a village.' Compare also *paṭṭikâ* in line 16 of the Kaira grant of Vijayarâja of the year 394 (*id.* Vol. VII. pp. 248 and 250, note 27), and in line 11 ff. of the cancelled grant on the same plates (*id.* p. 252)

Khoh Plates of the Maharaja Hastin.—The Year 163.

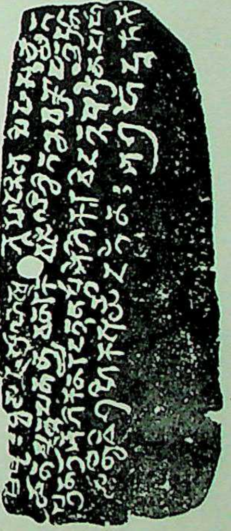
i.



ii.


14
16
18
20
22
24
26

iii.



SCALE .66

uparikara, and (*with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops, to (*certain*) Brâhmaṇs, commencing with Dêvasvâmin, the son of Agnisvâmin, of the Bharadvâja *gôtra* (*and*) a student of the Vâjasanêya (*śâkhâ*), and Śarvasvâmin, (*and*) Gôrisvâmin,—Divâkarasvâmin, of the Kautsa *gôtra*, a student of the Vâjasanêya (*śâkhâ*), (*and*) Svâtisvâmin,—Varuṇaśarman, of the Bhârgava *gôtra*, a student of the Vâjasanêya (*śâkhâ*), (*and*) Bappasvâmin,—Kumâradêva, of the Vâsula *gôtra*, a student of the Kaṭha (*śâkhâ*),—(*and*) Mâtṛiśarman, a student of the Vâjasanêya (*śâkhâ*), (*and*) Nâgaśarman, Rukharadêva, Kaudravadêva, Vishṇudêva, Dêvanâga, Kumârasêna, Rudraśarman, Dêvadâṅgiras (?), Lambôshṭha, Dêvamitra (?), Mahadêva, (*and*) Guṇṭhaka.

(L. 17.)—The boundaries of it (*are*),—on the east, (the boundary-trench or village called) Kôrparagartâ; on the north, Animuktakakôṇaka, (*and*) a *vṛika*-tree[1] in the centre of Valaka on the south side of the village of Vaṅgara, (*and*) a clump[2] of *amrâta*-trees;[3] on the west, (the tank or village called) Nâgasarî; (*and*) on the south, the *parichchhêda*[4] of Balavarman.

(L. 19.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (*to the enjoyment of this grant*) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 22.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, the arranger of the Vêdas,—"O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! He becomes a worm in ordure, and is tormented together with his ancestors, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!"

(L. 28.)—And (*this charter*) has been written by the *Mahâsâṁdhivigrahika*[5] **Sûryadatta**; the great-grandson of the *Amâtya* Vakra; the grandson of the *Bhôgika* Naradatta; (*and*) the son of the *Bhôgika* Ravidatta. **Bhagraha**[6] (*is*) the *Dûtaka*.

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[1] *vṛika*; the Sesbana Grandiflora.

[2] Or,—if we keep the original reading of *saṁtâraka*,—'the ferry (*at the place*) of the *amrâta*-trees.'

[3] *amrâta*; the hog-plum, Spondias Mangifera.

[4] *parichchhêda*; *lit.* 'division, separation,' is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which cannot be at present suggested.

[5] *Mahâsâṁdhivigrahika*, *lit.* 'a great officer entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war,' is a technical official title denoting an official superior to the *Sâṁdhivigrahikas* (see page 16 above, note 6). Another of his titles was *Mahâsaṁdhivigrahâdhikârâdhipati*; *e.g.* in line 18-19 of the grant of Gôvinda III. of Śaka-Saṁvat 726 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127.)

[6] See page 100 above, note 4.

No. 23; PLATE XIV.

MAJHGAWAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 191.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 7 and 13 f., No. 5, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (*id.* Plate iv. No. 5),—is on some copper-plates that were discovered in 1870, in ploughing a field at the village of **Majhgawâṁ**,[1] about three miles towards the south-west from Uchaharâ, the capital of the Nâgaudh State in the Baghêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Râjâ of Nâgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr, Political Agent, Satnâ.

The **plates**, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about $8\frac{9}{16}''$ by $5\frac{7}{8}''$. They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. Except, however, for the small piece broken away at the beginning of the second plate, the inscription is in a stote of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are not very thick; and the letters, which are rather deeply engraved, shew through on the backs of them. The engraving is very good, but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring**, with a seal attached to it. The ring and seal are not now forthcoming; but fortunately General Cunningham had preserved a pencil-rubbing of the seal, from which I have been able to give a lithograph. It represents a pointed oval **seal**, about $2\frac{1}{2}''$ by $1''$, with the **legend** *Śrîr-mmahâ*[2]*râja-Hastinaḥ*, "of the illustrious *Mahârâja* Hastin."—The **weight** of the two plates is 1 lb. 14 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is between $\frac{3}{16}''$ and $\frac{1}{4}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the peculiar 'nail-headed' type, on which I have commented at page 19 above; thus giving another variety, with northern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of the period. They include the very rare initial *au*, in *aupamanyava*, line 8. In *kuryât*, line 12, and *sûryadatta*, line 19, we have further illustrations of the first method of writing *r* in combination with a following *y*, on which I have commented at page 94 above. In *chhrêyô*, line 14, *yô*, line 16, *apânîyêshu*, line 17, and *yê*, line 18, we have a form of *y*, differing from the form used throughout the rest of this inscription, *e.g.* in *dêvâya*, line 1, and *tṛitîyâyâm*, line 2. It belongs properly to a somewhat later development of the northern alphabet, as used in formal official records; and we find it, for instance, throughout the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, of the year 269, No. 71 below, Plate xliA., but it is perhaps indicative of the current form of the letter in this period.[3] The characters also include, in lines 20 and 21, forms of the **numerical**

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[1] This name, given in maps, &c., as 'Majgama, Majgowa, Majhgawan, Mugjowan, Mujgoah, Mujgowan, and Munjgowa,' is a very common one in that part of the country. The present village should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89; but it is not entered there, unless 'Moghani' (Lat. 24° 22′ N.; Long. 80° 47′ E.) is intended for it.

[2] Read *śrî-mahâ*.

[3] To quote another early instance, the same form occurs also in *vijaya*, in line 1 of the 'Kondakur grant of the Pallava prince Vijayabuddhavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 101 and Plate); but the cor-

symbols for 1, 3, 90, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 13 to 18, the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *h*, in *siṅha*, line 20; (2) the doubling of *k*, *g*, and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vakkrâ*, line 18; *viggrahika*, line 19; and *chaittra*, line 2, and *pittrôr*, line 7; but not in other places, *e.g.* in *sagôtrêbhyaś*, line 8; (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *avaddhyânêna*, line 12; (4) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *sambatsara*, line 2 (twice), and *sambat*, line 20; and (5) the occasional use of *v* for *b*, in *vrâhmaṇa*, line 5, and *vahubhir*, line 14.

The **inscription** is one of the **Parivrâjaka** *Mahârâja* **Hastin.** It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings,**" in the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), in the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara*, and on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight, and the third solar day of the whole month, of Mâgha (January-February).[1] Except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahâdêva, the inscription is non-sectarian. The object of it is to record the grant, by the *Mahârâja* **Hastin,** at the request of a certain person named **Mahâdêvidêva,** of the village of **Vâlugarta** to certain Brâhmaṇs.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Namô Mahâdêvâya II Svasty=Êka-navaty-uttarê=bda-śatê **Gupta-nṛipa**-râjya-bhuktau śrîmati pravarddhamâna[3]-

2 Mahâ-Chaittra-samba(mva)tsarê Mâgha-mâsa-bahula-paksha-tṛitîyâyâm=asyâ[ṁ*] samba(mva)tsara-mâsa-divasa-pûrvvâ-

3 yâṁ[4] [I*] Nṛipatiparivrâjaka-kul-ôtpannêna mahârâja-**Dêvâḍhya**-pranaptrâ mahârâja-śrî-**Prabhaṁjana**-naptrâ mahâ-

4 râja-śrî-**Dâmôdara**-sutêna gô-sahasra-hasty-aśva-hiraṇy-ânêka-bhûmi-pradêna guru-pitṛi-mâtṛi-pûjâ-

5 tatparêṇ=âtyanta-dêva-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-bhaktên=ânêka-samara-śata-vijayinâ sva-vaṁś-âmôdakarêṇa mahâ-

6 râja-śrî-**Hastinâ** **Mahâdêvidêva**-sukha-vijñaptyâ **Vâlugarttô** nâma grâmaḥ pûrvv-âghâṭa-parichchhêda-ma-

7 ryâdayâ s-ôdraṅgaḥ s-ôparikarô=ch[â*]ṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêśyaḥ mâtâpittrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê **Mahâdê-**

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rect ancient form of the letter is used throughout the rest of this inscription also, *e.g.* in *yuva*, line 2, and *vijaya*, line 3.

[1] The double record of this date is of considerable importance. In line 2, the day is distinctly specified as the third lunar day of the dark fortnight; while, in line 21, in numerical symbols, it is shewn as the third day of the month, without any specification of the fortnight. So, again, in No. 25 below, page 114 f., the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (line 2 f.), is shewn in line 24 as the twenty-ninth solar day of the whole month. The four entries together prove that, as might be expected in the case of an era belonging to Northern India, the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year followed the northern custom, with the dark fortnight preceding the bright.

[2] From the original plates.

[3] The vowel *ê*, of *nê*, appears to have been engraved and then cancelled here. In Plate xvB, l. 2, the reading is as I transcribe it here.

[4] Supply *tithau*.

8 **vidêva**-sukhâṁ cha svargga-sôpâna-paṅktim=ârôpayatâ Aupamanyava-sagôtrêbhyaś=Chhandôga-Kauthuma-

9 sabrahmachâribhyô=mibhya[1] brâhmaṇêbhyaḥ Gôvindasvâmi- | Gômîka[2]-svâmi-Dêvasvâmibhyaḥ putra-pau-

10 tr-ânvay-ôpabhôgyas=tâmra-śâsanên=âgrâhârô=tisṛishṭaḥ chaura-varjjam [|*] Tad=asmat-kul-ôtthair=mmat-pâda-

11 piṇḍ-ôpajîvibhir=vvâ kâl-ântarêshv=api na vyâghâtaḥ karaṇîyaḥ [|*] êvam=âjñâptê[3] yô=nyathâ

12 kuryât=tam=ahaṁ dêhântara-gatô=pi mahat=âvaddhyânêna nirddahêyam=Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ parama-

Second Plate.

13 [ṛ]sh[i]ṇâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna ||(|) Pûrvva[4]-dattâṁ dvijâtibhyô yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira mahî[ṁ*]

14 mahimatâṁ śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ |(||) Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ ya-

15 sya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasr[â*]ṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ

16 âkshêptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [||*] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâm=bâ(vâ) yô harêta vasundharâm

17 sa vishṭhâyâṁ kkrimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhiḥ saha majjatê [||*] A-pânîyêshv=araṇyêshu śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ

18 kṛishṇ-âhayô=bhijâyantê pûrvva-dâyaṁ haranti yê || Likhitaṁ[5] cha Vakkr-âmâtya-pranaptṛi-naptrâ[6]

19 bhôgika-Naradatta-pranaptrâ Ravidatta-naptrâ Sûryadatta-puttrêṇa mahâ-sândhiviggrahika-

20 **Vibhudattên**=êti [|*] Mahâva(ba)lâdhikṛita-**Nâgasiṁhô** dûtakaḥ [||*] Samba(mva)t 100 90 1

21 Mâgha di 3 [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahâdêva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings**; in the prosperous augmenting Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the *saṁvatsara* and month and day,[7]—

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[1] Read *mîbhyô.*

[2] Read *gôvindasvâmi-gômika.*

[3] Read *âjñaptê*, or *âjñâpitê.*

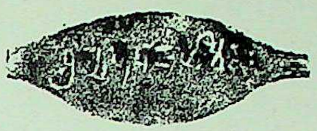
[4] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following four verses.

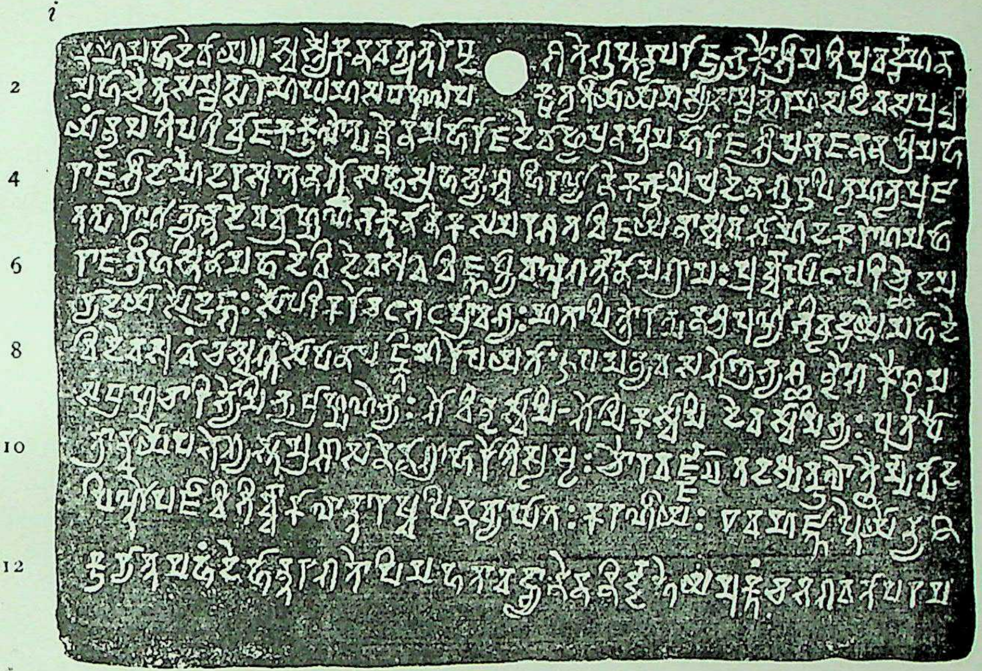
[5] Supply *śâsanam.*

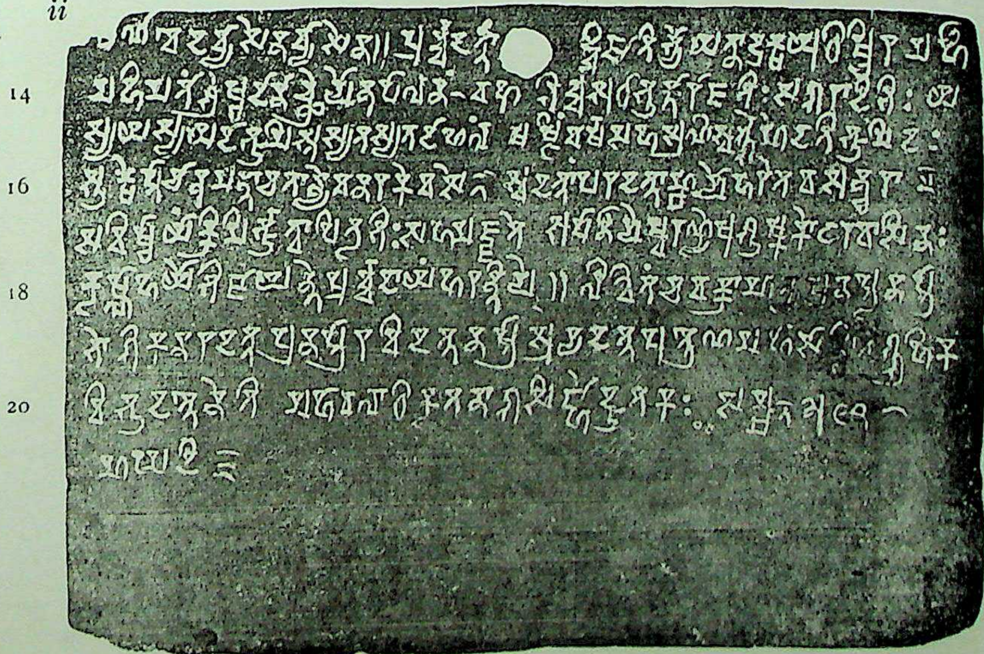
[6] This must be a mistake for either *naptṛi-naptrâ*, or *pranaptṛi-putrêṇa*; since, as the text stands, it passes over the generation between Vakra and Naradatta.

[7] See page 97 above, note 1.

Majhgawam Plates of the Maharaja Hastin.—The Year 191.






ii
14
16
18
20

(Line 3.)—By the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Hastin,**—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the *Mahârâja* **Dêvâḍhya**;—who is the grandson of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Prabhañjana**;—who is the son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Dâmôdara**;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brâhmaṇs;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 6.)—(*By him*), at the agreeable request of **Mahâdêvidêva,** the village named **Vâlugarta,** in accordance with the usage of the specification of (*its*) ancient boundaries, with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, (*and with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, is granted as an *agrâhâra*, by a copper-charter,—for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself, and in order to erect the steps of a ladder leading to heaven, acceptable to **Mahâdêvidêva,**—to these Brâhmaṇs, of the Aupamanyava *gôtra*, students of the Chhandôga-Kauthuma (*śâkhâ*), (*viz.*) Gôvindasvâmin, Gômikasvâmin, and Dêvasvâmin,—to be enjoyed by (*their*) sons and sons' sons, with the exception of (*the proceeds of fines imposed on*) thieves.

(L. 10.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (*to the enjoyment of this grant*) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 12.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas,—"O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He becomes a worm in ordure, and is tormented together with his ancestors, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! Those who confiscate a previous grant, are born (*again*) as black serpents, inhabiting the dried-up hollows of trees, in desert places destitute of water!"

(L. 18.)—And (*this charter*) has been written by the *Mahâsâmdhivigrahika* **Vibhudatta,** the son[1] of the great-grandson of the *Amâtya* Vakra; the great-grandson of the *Bhôgika* Naradatta; the grandson of Ravidatta; (*and*) the son of Sûryadatta. The *Mahâbalâdhikṛita*[2] **Nâgasiṅha** (*is*) the *Dûtaka*. The year 100 (*and*) 90 (*and*) 1; (*the month*) Mâgha; the day 3.

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[1] See page 108 above, note 6.

[2] *Mahâbalâdhikṛita, lit.* 'a great officer placed at the head of the forces,' is a technical official title, denoting an officer superior to the *Balâdhikṛitas*.—The latter title, *Balâdhikṛita*, occurs in line 2 of the Shâhpur image inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA.—A synonym for *Mahâbalâdhikṛita* was *Mahâbalâdhyaksha*, which occurs in Mr. Bendall's Nêpâl inscription of Harsha-Saṁvat 34 (*Journey in Nêpâl*, p. 75, line 17.)

No. 24; PLATE XV A.

BHUMARA STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJAS HASTIN AND SARVANATHA.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 8 f. and 16, No. 9, where he published his translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate iv. No. 9.)

Bhumarâ[1] is a village about nine miles to the north-west of Uchaharâ, in the Nâgaudh State in the Baghêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. From line 3 of the inscription, the ancient name of the place seems to have been **Âmblôda.** The inscription is on one of the faces of the bottom and rectangular part of a small red-sandstone pillar, popularly called *thâḍî-patthar* or "the standing stone," in the lands of this village.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about $10\frac{1}{2}''$ broad by $1'\ 6\frac{3}{4}''$ high, is in a state of very fair preservation throughout.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{5}{8}''$ to $\frac{7}{8}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 9, forms of the **numerical symbols**[2] for 9 and 10.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *puttra*, line 5; (2) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, line 2; and (3) the use of *b* for *v*, in *sambatsarê*, line 8.

The **inscription** is one of the two *Mahârâjas* **Hastin,** of the **Parivrâjaka** family, and **Śarvanâtha,**[3] of **Uchchakalpa.** It is dated, in numerical symbols, on the nineteenth day,[4] without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Kârttika (October-

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[1] The 'Bhomara and Bumra' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70. Lat. 24° 25′ N.; Long 80° 41′ E.—Gen. Cunningham wrote the name 'Bhubhara.' And, at Satnâ, it was given to me as 'Bhurbhurâ.' But my office-people brought back the name as either Bumarâ or Bhumarâ, and said that the villagers do not know of any other form of the name. Of these two forms, Bhumarâ agrees most closely with the names in the maps, and seems to be the correct one.

[2] I am a little doubtful about the second symbol, which occurs again in line 24 of No. 25 below, Plate xvB., and line 14 of No. 71, Plate xliA. But it resembles most a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9. The only other possibilities are 7 or 8.

[3] For this *Mahârâja*, see Nos. 28, 29, 30, and 31 below.

[4] Other instances will be met with, in the present series, of the number of a day exceeding sixteen, which is the extreme number in a lunar fortnight, bright or dark. And such instances are still more common in other inscriptions.—In such cases, whether there is any mention of a lunar fortnight or not, and also in cases in which the number of the day does not exceed sixteen, and the lunar fortnight is not mentioned, it is sometimes thought that the reference is to the solar, not the luni-solar, months and year. But I do not consider that this necessarily follows. At Hulgûr, in the Bankâpur Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Dhârwâḍ District, there is an inscription of the Yâdava king Mahâdêva of Dêvagiri, in which the date (line 15 ff.) is *Śaka-varshada 1189neya Prabhava-saṁvatsarada Jyêshṭha ba 30 Budhavâra sûryagrahaṇad-andu*, "(the month) Jyêshṭha of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, which is the 1189th Śaka year (A.D. 1267-68); the dark fortnight; (the solar day or lunar *tithi*) 30 (of the month); Wednesday; at the time of an eclipse of the sun." And we also have the Kôṭâ inscription of the *Sâmanta* Dêvadatta, in which the date (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 351 f.) runs *Samvat 800 70 9 Mâgha śu di 20*, "the year 800 (and) 70 (and) 9 (A.D. 822-23); (the month) Mâgha; the bright fortnight; the day 20 (of the month)." Of these, the first is a southern date, according to the arrange-

November), in the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara*, without any reference to an era. But the choice lies only between Gupta-Saṁvat 189 and 201; and, as we have for the *Mahârâja* **Hastin** the early date of the year 156, in No. 21 above, page 93, the preference is in favour of the year one hundred and eighty-nine (A. D. 508-9). The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being simply to record the erection, at **Âmblôda,** of a boundary-pillar between the territories of the two *Mahârâjas* in question.

One point of importance in connection with this inscription, is that its existence on stone furnishes definite evidence that the **Parivrâjaka** *Mahârâjas* and the *Mahârâjas* of **Uchchakalpa** really did belong to this part of the country. This is a point on which stone-inscriptions give testimony of a kind that can never be derived from the mere finding, in a certain locality, of copper-plates, which, being small and portable, are always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong,[1] and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified.

TEXT.[2]

1 Svasti Mahâdêva-pâd[â]-
2 nuddhyâtô(ta)-mahârâja-**Hasti**-
3 râjyê **Âmblô**[3]**dê** mahârâja-
4 **Śarvvanâtha**-bhôgê Indana-
5 naptrâ Vâsu-grâmika-puttra-
6 **Śivadâsêna** vala-ya-
7 shṭi uchchhritaḥ[4] [I*] Mahâ-Mâghê
8 samba(mva)tsarê Kârttika-mâsa
9 divasa 10 9 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In (*the boundary of*) the kingdom of the *Mahârâja* **Hastin,** who meditates on the feet of (the god) Mahâdêva; at (the village of) **Âmblôda;** (*and*) in (*the boundary*

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ment by which the bright half of the month comes first; and the second is a northern date, according to the arrangement by which the dark half comes first. These instances, of course, are exceptional ones. But they suffice to shew that, both in northern and in southern India, down to comparatively late times, the numbering of the solar days and lunar *tithis* of the month up to thirty did occasionally continue alongside of the more usual reckoning by fortnights, in which the lunar *tithis* of each fortnight are denoted by the numbers one to fifteen only, and the solar days by the numbers one to fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen, as the case may be.

[1] A marked instance of the distances to which copper-plates and seals may travel, is afforded by the finding of the seal of the Maukhari Śarvavarman, No. 47 below, at Aśirgaḍh in the Nimâḍ District in the Central Provinces. Its original locality must have been some hundreds of miles to the east of this.

[2] From the ink-impression.

[3] The engraver seems to have first engraved *hlô*, or perhaps *ḍhlô*, and then corrected it into *mblô*.

[4] Read *valaya-yashṭir=uchchhritâ*. — As regards the correction of *vala* into *valaya*, *vala-yashṭi* or *bala-yashṭi* gives no meaning; whereas the appropriateness of *valaya-yashṭi*, 'boundary-staff or pillar,' is apparent. The mistake arose from the omission to repeat, at the beginning of line 7, the *ya* at the end of line 6.

of) the *bhôga*[1] of the *Mahârâja* **Śarvanâtha,**—(*this*) boundary-pillar has been set up by **Śivadâsa,** the grandson of Indana, and the son of the *Grâmika*[2] Vâsu;—in the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara*; the month Kârttika; the day 10 (*and*) 9.

No. 25; PLATE XV B.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SAMKSHOBHA.

THE YEAR 209.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 7, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 4),—is on another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khôh,**[3] in the Nâgaudh State in the Baghêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Râjâ of Nâgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The **plates,** which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $8\frac{3}{16}''$ by $4\frac{7}{8}''$, and the second about $8\frac{1}{16}''$ by $4\frac{7}{8}''$. They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. They have apparently been subjected to the action of fire; but the inscription is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters are deep, and shew through very distinctly on the backs of them. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. The ring is about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. It had not been cut, when the grant came under my notice; but one end of it had been forced out of the socket of the seal, so that it could be separated from the plates. The **seal,** in the lower part of which the ends of the ring were originally fused and so secured, is rectangular, about $1\frac{3}{8}''$ by $\frac{7}{8}''$. It must have had a **legend,** on a countersunk surface; but it is now perfectly illegible, and not worth reproducing by a lithograph. Also, from the shape of the seal, as contrasted with that of the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja* Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv., and compared with the seal of the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja* Śarvanâtha of the year 193, No. 28 below, Plate xviii., it would seem to be a seal of one of the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa, rather than of one of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas.*—The **weight** of the two plates is 1 lb. $8\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, 6 oz.; total 1 lb. $14\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare initial *ô.* in *ôpâṇi*, line 14. In *kuryât*, line 17, and in *kâryyaḥ*, line 16, we have further illustrations of the two methods of forming *r*, in combination with a following *y*, on which I have commented at page 94 above. The characters also include, in line 24, forms of the **numerical symbols**[4] for 9 and 20.

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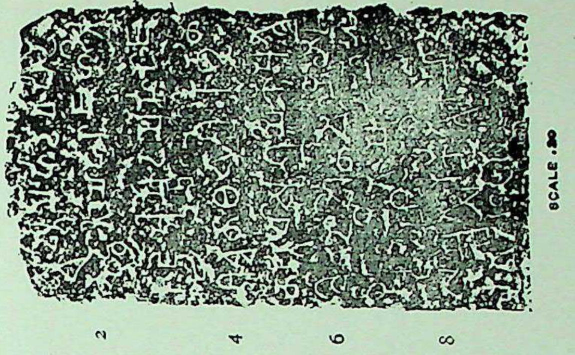
[1] *bhôga, lit.* 'enjoyment, possession, government,' is a technical territorial term, probably of much the same purport as the *bhukti* of other inscriptions.

[2] *Grâmika,* 'a villager, the headman of a village,' is a technical official title corresponding to the modern Kanarese *Gauḍa* and Marâṭhî *Pâṭîl.*

[3] See page 93 above, and note 3.

[4] As regards the symbol for 9, see page 110 above, note 2.

A.—Bhumara Pillar Inscription of the Maharajas Hastin and Sarvanatha.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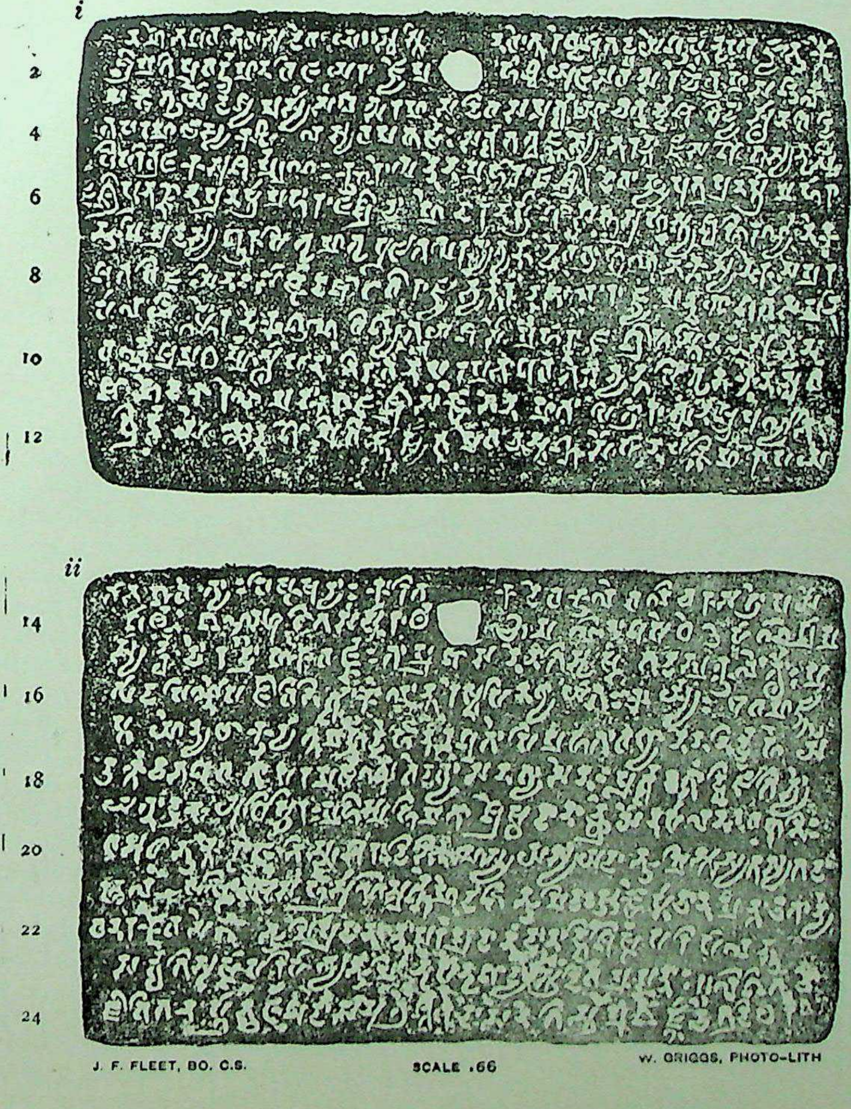
SCALE .30

B.—Khoh Plates of the Maharaja Samkshobha.—The Year 209.


i
2
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8
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12
ii
14
16
18
20
22
24

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S. SCALE .66 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 18 to 23, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice in *kâritaka*, line 13, the affix *ka*, on which I have commented at page 69 above. — In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of *b* for *v*, in *saṁbatsara*, line 3; and (2) the occasional use of *v* for *b*, in *avda*, line 1; *vrâhmaṇa*, line 7; and *vahubhiḥ*, line 19.

The **inscription** is one of the **Parivrâjaka** *Mahârâja* **Saṁkshôbha.** It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings,**" in the year two hundred and nine (A.D. 528-29), in the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara*, on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April); and at the end, in numerical symbols, the date is given again as the twenty-ninth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the same month Chaitra.[1] Judging by the opening invocation of the god Vishṇu, under the name of Vâsudêva, it is a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the *Mahârâja* **Saṁkshôbha,** at the request of a certain person named **Chhôḍugômin,** of the village of **Ôpâṇi** to a temple of the goddess Pishṭapurî,[2]—apparently some local form of Lakshmî, the wife of Vishṇu.[3]

One point of importance in this inscription is, that it mentions the *Mahârâja* **Hastin** as governing the kingdom of **Ḍabhâlâ,** or possibly Ḍahâlâ, that had come to him by inheritance, together with all the country included in **the eighteen forest kingdoms.** I cannot identify these eighteen forest kingdoms.[4] But, in **Ḍabhâlâ** or Ḍahâlâ, we have undoubtedly the older form of **Ḍâhala,** Ḍâhâla, Ḍahâla, or Ḍahalâ, which seems to represent the modern **Bundêlkhaṇḍ,** and which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Tripura near Jabalpur, whose original capital was Kâlañjara in Bundêlkhaṇḍ. This, therefore, is another item of evidence connecting the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas* with this part of the country.[1]

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[1] On the extreme importance of this double record, see page 107 above, note 1.

[2] Through his identification of Pishṭapura with the place that he writes 'Pithaora,' and which is entered in maps as 'Pataora' and 'Puttoura,' nine miles north of Uchchaharâ, Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 10) identified this goddess Pishṭapurî with the local goddess Pataindêvî of this 'Pithaora.' But this identification will not hold good; if only for the reason that 'Pithaora' is in reality Pataurâ, probably from *pitṛi-pura*, 'the town of deceased ancestors.'—Pataurâ and Pitaurâ, in passing, are evidently common names in that part of the country; as the maps shew 'Patoura,' 'Pitoura,' 'Patora,' and 'Pithoura,' respectively 29 miles west by a little north, 18 miles west, 13 miles north-west, and 24 miles north-west, of Uchchaharâ.—Of Pishṭapura we have already had an earlier mention in line 19 of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, No. 1, page 7 above, as the capital of a king named Mahêndra, who was conquered by Samudragupta, in the *dakshiṇâpatha* or 'region of the south.' And we have another later mention of it, as being conquered by the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II., in line 13 of the Aihoḷe Mêguṭi inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 556 or A.D. 634-35 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 242, 245). It is the modern Piṭṭâpuram, the 'Pithâpur and Pittapooram' of maps, &c. (Indian Atlas Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17° 6′ N., Long. 82° 18′ E.), twelve miles north by east of 'Coconada' in the Gôdâvarî District in the Madras Presidency. It is the chief town of a Zamindârî, or Estate of the same name; and the remains at it shew that it is a place of considerable antiquity (see Sewell in *Lists of Antiquities, Madras,* Vol. I. p. 23 f.)—The Pishṭapurî of this inscription must be a local form of some more famous and original goddess at Pishṭapura itself. She is mentioned again, under the slightly different name of Pishṭapurikâdêvî, in line 12 of No. 29 below, Plate xixA., and in line 11 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and the latter passage shews that her local shrine was at a place named Mânapura, which may perhaps be the modern 'Manpoor, Manpora, and Mánpur,' of maps about forty-seven miles towards the south-east from Uchaharâ.

[3] This seems to be shewn (1) by the general Vaishṇava tendency of the present inscription; and (2) by the fact that,—whereas in the year 177 the village of Dhavashâṇḍikâ was allotted by the *Mahârâjâ* Jayanâtha for the purposes of a temple of the god Vishṇu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One (No. 27 below, Plate xvii.),—subsequently half of this same village was set apart, by a grant of the *Mahârâja* Śarvanâtha, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pishṭapurikâdêvî (No. 29 below, Plate xixA.)

[4] See page 13 above, note 7.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Ôm Namô bhagavatê Vâsudêvâya II Svasti Nav-ôttarê=vda(bda)-śata-dvayê **Gupta-nṛipa**-r[â*]jya-bhuktau

2 śrîmati pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râjyê Mah-Âśvayuja-sa[ṁ*]vatsarê Chaitra-mâsa-śukla-

3 paksha-trayôdaśy[â*]m=asyâṁ samba(va)tsara-mâsa-divasa-pûrvvâyâ[ṁ*][3] [I*] Chaturddaśa-vidyâsthâna-vidi-

4 ta-paramârthasya Kapilasy=[ai*]va mah-arshêḥ sarvva-tat[t*]va-jñasya **Bharadvâja**-sagôtrasya nṛipa-

5 pi[4]parivrâjaka-**Suśarmmaṇaḥ** kul-ôtpannêna mahârâja-śrî-**Dêvâḍhya**-puṭra-pranaptrâ mahârâ-

6 ja[5]-śrî-**Prabhañjana**-pranaptrâ mahârâja-śrî-**Dâmôdara**-naptrâ gô-sahasra-hasty-aśva-hiraṇy-ânêka-

7 bhûmi-pradasya guru-pitṛi-mâtṛi-pûjâ-tatparasy=âtyanta-dêva-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-bhaktasy=ânêka-samara-

8 śata-vijayinaḥ s-**âshṭâdaś-âṭavî-râjy**-âbhyantaraṁ **Ḍabhâ(?hâ)lâ**-râjyam=anvay-âgataṁ samaḍi[6]

9 pâlayipṇô(shṇô)r=anêka-guṇa-vikhyâta-yaśasô mahârâja-grî(śrî)-**Hastinaḥ** sutêna

10 varṇṇ-âśrama-dharmma-sthâpanâ-niratêna paramabhâgavatên=âtyanta-pitṛi-bhaktêna sva-vaṁ-

11 ś-âmôdakarêṇa mahârâja-śrî-**Saṁkshôbhêna(ṇa)** mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhi-

12 vrirddhayê[7] **Chhôḍugômi**-vijñâptyâ tam=êva cha sva[r*]gga-sôpâna-paṁktim=ârôpaya-

Second Plate.

13 tâ bhagava[8]tyâḥ Pishṭapuryâḥ kâritaka-dêvakulê va(ba)li-charu-sat[t*]r-ôpayô-

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[1] It is perhaps worth mentioning, that there is in this neighbourhood a station on the Allahâbâd-Jabalpur railway, called Ḍabhaurâ (the 'Dabhura' and 'Daboora' of maps), about fourteen miles east of Mâṇikpur, and fifty miles east by north of Kâlañjara.

[2] From the original plates.

[3] Supply *tithau.*

[4] Read *nṛipati.*—In the second syllable, first *ti* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *pa.*

[5] This *ja* was first omitted, and then inserted in the margin of the plate.

[6] Some correction or other is required here; but it is not apparent what was intended; possibly, however, *samyak, sampadi,* or *sapadi.* I do not suggest *samadhipâlayishṇôr,* because I cannot find any authority for the composition of *sam* and *adhi* with *pâ,* 'protect'.—In the third syllable, *ḍi* was certainly engraved; but the *i* may perhaps have been cancelled.

[7] Read *âbhivṛiddhayê.*

[8] The mark over this *va* is only a fault or rust-hole in the copper. There are several other similar faults or rust-holes in these two plates; *e.g.* after *sy=ârddhaṁ* in line 15.

14 g-ârthaḥ(ṁ) khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṁskâr-ârthañ=cha **Maṇinâga**-pêṭhê **Opâṇi**-grâma-
15 sy=ârddhaṁ. chôra-drôhaka-varjjaḥ(ṁ) tâmra-śâsanên=âtisṛishṭaṁ [I*] tad=asmat-kul-ôtthau(tthai)ḥ ma-
16 t-pâdapiṇḍ-ôpajîvibhir=vvâ kâlântarêshv=api na vyâghâtaḥ kâryyaḥ [I*] êvam=âjñâ-
17 pta[1] yô=nyathâ kuryât=tam=ahaṁ dêhântara-gatô=pi mahat=âvadhyânêna nirddahêyaṁ [II*]
18 Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ param-arshiṇâ vêda-vyâsena Vyâsênaḥ[2] [I*] Pûrvva[3]-dattâṁ dvijâtibhyô
19 yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhiraḥ[4] mahîm=mahimatâ[ṁ*] śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaḥ(ṁ) [II*] Va(ba)hubhiḥ
20 vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ
21 phalaṁ [II*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âkshêptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=ê-
22 va narakê vasêt [II*] Bhûmi[5]-pradânân=nâ(na) paraṁ pradânaṁ dânâd=viśishṭaṁ paripâlan=chha[6]
23 sarvvê=tisṛishṭâ[ṁ*] paripâlya bhûmi[ṁ*] nṛipâ Nṛig-âdyas=tridivaṁ prapannâḥ II Likhitaṁñ[7]=cha
24 Jîvita-naptrâ Bhujaṁgâdasa-putr-**Êśvaradâsên**=êti [I*] Sva-mukh-âjñâ [I*] Chaitra di 20 9 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Reverence to the divine (god) Vâsudêva! Hail! In two centuries of years, increased by nine; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings**; in the glorious augmenting and victorious reign; in the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara*; on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the *saṁvatsara* and month and day,-

(Line 3.)—By the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Saṁkshôbha,**—who is born in the family of the kingly ascetic **Suśarman,** who had learned the whole truth of the fourteen sections of science;[8] who was a great sage, (*being*) indeed (*an incarnation of*) Kapila; who knew all the first principles; (*and*) who was of the **Bharadvâja** *gôtra*;—who is the great-grandson of the son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Dêvâḍhya**;—who is the great-grandson of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Prabhañjana**;—who is the grandson of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Dâmôdara**;—who is the son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Hastin,** who was the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands; who was earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother; who was extremely devoted to the gods and Brâhmaṇs; who was victorious in many hundreds of battles; who sought to govern properly the kingdom of **Ḍabhâlâ**,[1] which had come (*to him*) by inheritance, together with (*all the country*) included in **the eighteen forest kingdoms**; (*and*) whose fame was renowned through many good qualities;—who is intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and the different periods of life;—who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One;—who is extremely devoted to (*his*) ancestors;—(*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

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[1] Read either *âjñaptê*, or *âjñâpitê*.

[2] Read *vyâsêna*.

[3] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.

[4] Read *yudhishṭhira*.

[5] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[6] Read *paripâlanañ=cha*.

[7] Read *likhitañ*.—And supply *śâsanam*.

[8] *chaturdaśa-vidyâsthâna*; *viz.* the four Vêdas, the six Vêdâṅgas, the Purâṇas, the Mîmâṁsa system of philosophy, the Nyâya system, and Dharma, or law.

(L. 11.)—(*By him*),—for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself,—at the request of **Chhôḍugômin**, and (*with the object of*) causing him to ascend the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—half of the village of **Ôpâṇi**, in the **Maṇinâga** *pêṭha*,[2] is granted by a copper-charter, with the exception of (*the right to fines imposed on*) thieves and mischief-doers, for the purpose of observing the *bali*, *charu*, and *sattra*,[3] at the temple, which (*he*) has caused to be built, of the divine (goddess) Pishṭapurî, and for the purpose of renewing whatever may become broken or torn.

(L. 15.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (*to the enjoyment of this grant*) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 18.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas,—"O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made*, *if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents to (*an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! (*There is*) no gift better than a gift of land, and the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) better than making a grant; all kings, commencing with Nṛiga, have attained heaven, (*by*) preserving land that had been granted!"

(L. 23.)—And (*this charter*) has been written by **Îśvaradâsa**, the grandson of Jîvita, (*and*) the son of Bhujaṁgadâsa. The order (*is that*) of his own[4] mouth. (*The month*) Chaitra; the day 20 (*and*) 0.

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[1] Or possibly Ḍahâlâ; but the second syllable, though rather badly formed, seems to be *bhâ*, rather than *hâ*.

[2] *pêṭha*; a technical territorial term, represented in modern Marâṭhî by *pêṭâ*. Another form of it, *venṭha*, occurs in line 30-31 of the Harihar grant of Bukkarâya of Śâlivâhana-Śaka 1270 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 347); and we also have *venṭheya* or *penṭheya* in line 24 of the Harihar inscription of Achyutarâya of Śâlivâhana-Śaka 1460 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 331).

[3] *bali* is the offering of ghee, grain, rice, &c., to the gods and all creatures of every description; *charu*, the oblation of rice, barley, and pulse boiled with butter and milk, for the deceased ancestors; and *sattra*, the giving of alms and refuge. They are three of the *pañcha-mahâyajña*, or 'five great sacrifices,' which are usually (*e.g.* in line 27 f. of the Mâliyâ grant of the *Mahârâja* Dharasêna II., No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.) enumerated as *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva* (the offering to all deities), *agnihôtra* (see page 71 above, note 8), and *atithi* (hospitality; the *sattra* of the present inscription).—The *sattra*-rite was the special object of the *sattra*, or 'charitable hall or almshouse,' which is mentioned for instance, in No. 7, line 6, page 38 above.

[4] Saṁkshôbha's. These words imply that he employed no *Dûtaka* to convey the orders to the local officials, but gave them in person; see page 100 above, note 3.

No. 26; PLATE XVI.

KARITALAI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.

THE YEAR 174.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 12. f. No. 3, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (*id.* Plate iv. No. 5),—is from some copper-plates that were found, about 1850, in a small receptacle inside a ruined temple of the god Vishṇu, in his incarnation as the Boar, at **Kârîtalâî,**[1] a village about twenty-three miles north-east of Muḍwârâ,[2] the chief town of the Muḍwârâ Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Jabalpur District in the Central Provinces. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The **plates,** which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $9\frac{3}{16}''$ by $6\frac{3}{4}''$, and the second $9\frac{1}{16}''$ by $6\frac{9}{16}''$. The edges of them are here and there fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters are deep, and shew through on the backs, so clearly that in many places they can be read there. The engraving is good; but the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part[3] of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. But the ring, and the **seal** attached to it, are not forthcoming.—The **weight** of the two plates is 2 lbs. 7 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the present inscription, with the five that follow, and with No. 22 above, Plate xiii., No. 24, Plate xvA., and No. 25, Plate xvB., illustrates what may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India, from towards the end of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century A.D. The characters include the rather rare initial *ô*, in *ôghadêva*, line 1, and the equally rare *jh*, in *ajjhitadêvî*, line 5; also, in lines 24 and 25, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 4, 10, 70, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 14 to 21, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in *utpadyamânaka*, line 10 f., the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 10; (2) the constant doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *puttra*, line 2; *sagôttra*, line 7; and *ttrâtâ*, line 20; and (3) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *sambatsara*, line 21, and *sambat*, line 24.

The **inscription** is one of the *Mahârâja* **Jayanâtha;** and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called **Uchchakalpa.**[4] The date of the writing of the charter is given, in both words and numerical symbols, as the year one hundred and seventy-four, and the fourteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Âshâḍha (June-July). There is no information given as to the era. But the Bhumarâ pillar inscription of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Śarvanâtha, No. 24 above, page 110, shews that the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas* and the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa were contemporaries; and, therefore, that the era of the latter must be the same with that of the former, which is distinctly indicated as being the **Gupta** era. And the result, accordingly, for the present date, is A.D. 493-94. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant, by the *Mahârâja* **Jayanâtha,** to a Brâhmaṇ, of the village of **Chhandâpallikâ** in the **Nâgadêya**[1] *santaka*.[2]

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[1] The 'Karitalai and Kareetullaee' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 3′ N.; Long. 80° 46′ E.

[2] The 'Moorwari, Moorwarra, and Murwâra,' of maps, &c.

[3] See page 101 above, note 2.

[4] The literal meaning, 'that which is but little short of being a high place,' points perhaps rather to the name being properly that of a hill; but of course with a town on it.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 Om Svasti **Uchchakalpân**=mahârâja-**Ôgha**[4]**dêvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtô mahâ-

2 dêvyâṁ **Kumâradêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Kumâradêvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-[â*]nudhyâtê(tô)

3 mahâdêvyâṁ **Jayasvâminyâm**=utpannô mah[â*]râja-**Jayasvâmî** tasya puttras=tat-pâd-[â*]nudhyâtê(tô)

4 mah[â*]dêvyâ[ṁ*] **Râmadêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Vy[â*]ghras**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtô mahâ-

5 dêvyâm=**Ajjhitadêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Jayanâthaḥ** kuśalî **Nâgadêya**-santaka-**Chha**-

6 **ndâpallikâyâṁ** brâhmaṇ-âdin=kuṭumbinaḥ kârukâṁś=cha samâjñâpayati [I*] Vadataṁm=bô[5]=stu

7 yath=aisha grâmô mayâ sva-puṇy-âbhivṛiddhavê Kaṇvasagôttra-Vâja-sanêyaMâdhya-

8 ndina-brâhmaṇa-Mittrasvâminaḥ s-ôdraṅgaḥ s-ôparikaraḥ a-châṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêśyaḥ

9 chôra-varjjitô=tisṛishṭas=Tê yûyam=asya samuchita-bhâgabhôga-kara-pratyây-ôpa-

10 nayaṁ kaka(ri)shyatha âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyâś=cha bhavishyatha [I*] Yê ch=âsmad-vanś-ôtpadya-

11 mânaka-râjânas=tair=iyaṁ dattir=nna vilôpy=ânumôdanîyâ samuchita-râj-â-

12 bhâvya-kara-pratyâyâ na grâhyâḥ [I*] Yaś=ch=aimâṁ dattiṁ lôpayêt sa pañchabhiḥ

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[1] As regards Gen. Cunningham's desire to identify Nâgadêya with the modern Nâgaudh, see page 94 above, note 1.

[2] *santaka* is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning of which is not apparent. It is perhaps identical in etymology with the Prâkrit *santaka*, 'belonging to,' in *asmat-santaka*, 'belonging to Us,' which occurs in the Vâkâṭaka inscriptions, No. 55 below, line 21, and No. 56, line 23.—In No. 29 below, line 7, we have the slightly different form, as a territorial term, of *santika*.

[3] From the original plates.

[4] Read *râj-augha*.

Read *viditaṁ vô*.

Second Plate.

13 mahâpâtakair=upapâtakaiś=cha saṁyukta[ḥ*] syân(d)=Uktaṁ cha Mahâbhâratê bhagavatâ

14 Vyâsêna [I*] Sva[1]-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira mahîm=mahîmatâṁ śrêshṭha

15 dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya

16 yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [II*] Prâyêṇa hi narêndrâṇâṁ vidyatê n=â-

17 śubhâ gatiḥ pûyântê tê tu satataṁ prayacnchhantô vasundharâṁ [II*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâ-

18 ṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [II*]

19 Âsphôṭala(ya)nti pitaraḥ pravalganti pitâmahâḥ bhûmi-dô=sma[t*]-kulê jâtaḥ sa nô(naḥ)

20 ttrâtâ bhavishyati [II*] Sarvva-sasya-samṛiddhân=tu yô harêta vasundharâṁ śva-vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimi-

21 r=bhûtvâ pitṛibhis=saha majjati I(II) Samba(mva)tsara-ga(śa)tê chatuḥsaptatê Âshâḍha-mâsa-

22 sya chaturddaśamê divasê asyâṁ divasa-purvvâyâṁ[2] likhitaṁ[3] mayâ bhôgika-Râjyi-

23 l-âmâtya-naptṛi-bhôgika-Dhruvadatta-puttra-bhôgika-**Guñjakîrttinâ** [I*] Dûtakôparika-[4]

24 dîkshita-gṛihapati-sthapatisamrâṭ-**Chchha(chha)rvvadatta** iti II Samba(mva)t 100 70 4 Âshâ-

25 ḍha di 10 4 I(II)

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! From (the city or hill of) **Uchchakalpa**;[5]—(*There was*) the *Mahârâja* **Ôghadêva.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Kumâradêva,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî*[6] **Kumâradêvî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Jayasvâmin,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Jayasvâminî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Vyâghra,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Râmadêvî.**

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahârâja* **Jayanâtha,**—begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Ajjhitadêvî,**[7]—being in good health,[8] issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brâhmaṇs, and to the artisans, at (the village of) **Chhandâpallikâ** in the **Nâgadêya** *santaka* :—

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[1] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following five verses.

[2] Supply *tithau*.

[3] Supply *śâsanam*.

[4] Read *dûtaka uparika*.—*Dûtaka* should be a word by itself, in the nominative singular; not in composition with *uparika*.

[5] The context is in line 5 f.,—"the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha ...... issues a command." The genealogy that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.

[6] See page 16 above, note 2.

[7] The first part of this name, *ajjhita*, must be a Prâkṛit word. There might be some temptation to correct it into the Sanskrit *ujjhita*; but there is not the slightest approach to the vowel *u* below the final *m* of the preceding word *dêvyâm*, in any of the passages in which it occurs.—Gen. Cunningham read the name as Majjhitadêvî; but this is incorrect, as there is no trace whatever of an *anusvâra* over the *vyâ* of *dêvyâm*, in any of the passages.—We have another Prâkṛit name in Ijjâdêvî in line 5 of the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.

[8] *kuśalin*; a technical expression of constant use in charters.

(L. 6.)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, this village is granted by me,—with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, (*and with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, (*but*) with the exception of (*the right to fines imposed on*) thieves,—to the Brâhmaṇ Mitrasvâmin, of the Kâṇva *gôtra* and the Vâjasanêya-Mâdhyaṁdina (*śâkhâ*).

(L. 9.)—"You yourselves shall render to him the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties[1] and taxes, and shall be obedient to (*his*) commands.

(L. 10.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) should be assented to; (*and*) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(L. 12.)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 13.)—And it has been said in the Mahâbhârata by the venerable Vyâsa,—'O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Fathers (*in the world of the dead*) clap their hands upon their arms, (*and*) grandfathers leap (*from joy*), (*saying*)—'A giver of land has been born in our family; he shall become our deliverer'! He who confiscates land, rich in all (*kinds of*) grains, (*that has been granted*),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (*into hell*), together with (*his*) ancestors!"

(L. 21.)—In a century of years, together with the seventy-fourth (*year*), on the fourteenth day of the month Âshâḍha,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (*&c.*),[2]—(*this charter*) has been written by me, the *Bhôgika* **Guñjakîrtti**, the grandson of the *Bhôgika*, the *Amâtya* Râjyila, and the son of the *Bhôgika* Dhruvadatta. The *Dûtaka* (*is*) the *Uparika*, *Dîkshita*,[3] householder,[4] and chief of architects,[5] **Śarvadatta.**

(L. 24.)—The year 100 (*and*) 70 (*and*) 4; (the month) Âshâḍha; the day 10 (*and*) 4.

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[1] *bhâgabhôga*; *lit.* 'enjoyment of shares.' My rendering is on the authority of Monier Williams' explanation of *bhâga-bhuj*, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, by 'enjoying taxes; a king, sovereign.'

[2] See page 97 above, note 1.

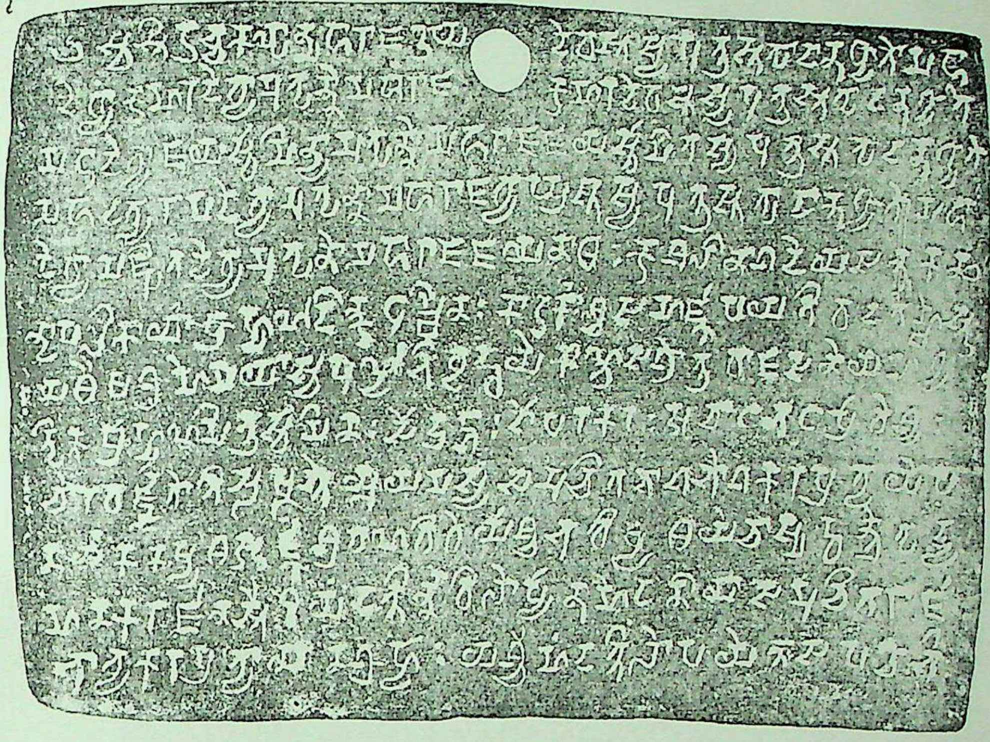
[3] *Dîkshita*; 'one who has received initiation, or by whom the preparatory ceremonies have been observed.'

[4] *grihapati*; 'the master of a house, a householder; a man of the second class, who, having finished his studies, is married and settled.'

[5] *sthapati-samrâj*; the meaning, however, is not quite certain. Perhaps it may mean 'superintendent of the attendants of the women's apartments.'

Karitalai Plates of the Maharaja Jayanatha.—The Year 174

i



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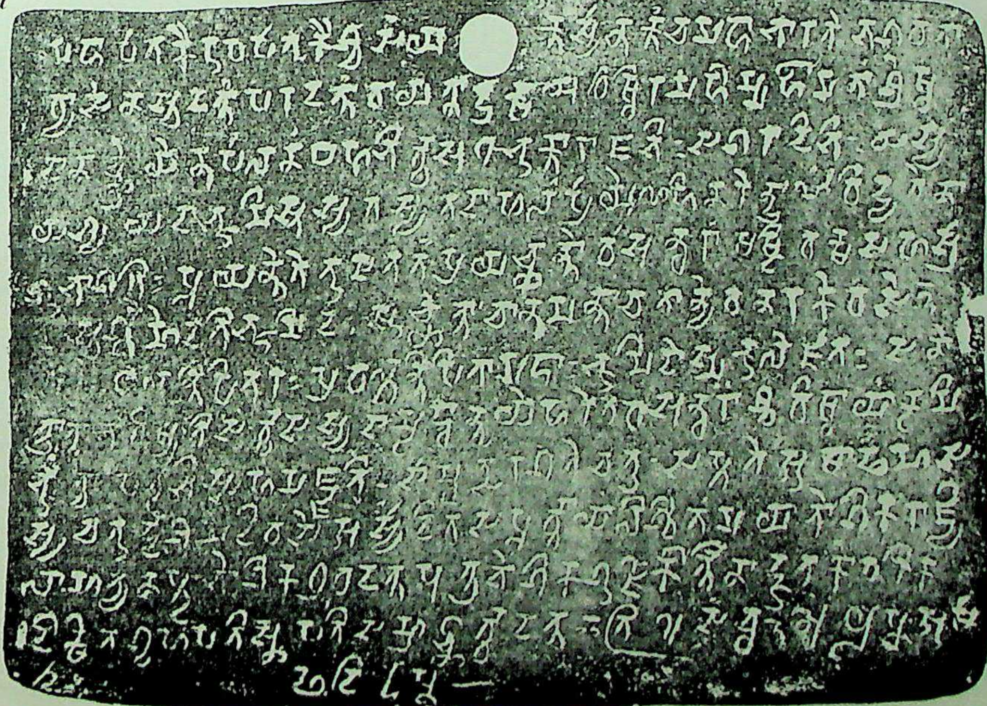

No. 27; PLATE XVII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.

THE YEAR 177.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 13, No. 4, where he published a partial translation of it, with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 6),—is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khôh**,[1] in the Nâgaudh State in the Baghêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Râjâ of Nâgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The **plates,** which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $9\frac{3}{8}''$ by $6\frac{5}{8}''$, and the second $9\frac{1}{2}''$ by $6\frac{5}{8}''$. They are quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims; the inscription, however, is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters here and there shew through faintly on the backs of them. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. But the ring and **seal** are not forthcoming.—The **weight** of the two plates is 3 lbs. 11 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of the same *Mahârâja* of the year 174, No. 26 above, Plate xvi. In *râjânas*, line 12, the vowel *â* is attached, in a very unusual way, to the top stroke of the *j*; instead of to the centre of it, as in *rôjâ* (for *râja*), line 13; this occurs occasionally in other inscriptions also; and it is difficult to say whether it is an authorized variety of practice, or only a mistake on the part of the engraver. The letter *r*, in combination with a following consonant, is formed uniformly above the top line of writing. The characters include the rather rare *jh*, in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the entire inscription is in prose, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prâkṛit word *phuṭṭa*, in line 10; and (2) in *pratishṭhâpitaka*, line 9, and *utpadyamânaka*, line 12, the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *kkramêṇa*, *puttra*, and *prapauttra* line 9; and (2) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vali*, line 10.

The **inscription** is one of the *Mahârâja* **Jayanâtha;** and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called **Uchchakalpa.** The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and seventy-seven (A.D. 496-97), and the twenty-second day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the *Mahârâja* **Jayanâtha,** to some Brâhmaṇs, of the village of **Dhavashaṇḍikâ,** for the purposes of a temple of the god Vishṇu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One, established by them there.

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[1] See page 93 above, and note 3.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 Svasty=**Uchchakalpân**=mahârâj-**Aughadêvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtô mahâ-

2 dêvyâṁ **Kumârad[ê*]vyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Kumâradêvas**=tasya puttras=tat-p[â*]d-ânudhyâtô

3 mahâdêvyâṁ **Jayasvâminyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Jayasvâmi(mî)** tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtô

4 mahâdêvyâṁ **Râmadêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Vyâghras**=tasya puttras=tat-p[â*]d-ânudhyâtô mahâ-

5 dêvy[â*]m=**Ajjhitadêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Jayanâthaḥ** kuśali(lî) **Dhavashaṇḍikâyâ[ṁ*]** vrâ(brâ)hma-

6 ṇ-âdîn=kuṭumvi(mbi)naḥ kârukâṁś=cha samâjñâpayati [|*] Viditaṁ vô=stu yath=aisha grâmô may=â-

7 chandr-ârkka-samakâlikaḥ Śâśâtanêya-Sarvvavâḍha-divira-tatputtra-bhâgavata-Gaṅga-ta[t*]puttra-

8 Raṅkabôṭa-Aja[2]garadâs[â*]nâṁ sva-puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê bhagavat-pâd[ê*]bhyaḥ dêv-[â*]grâhârô=tisṛishṭa[ḥ*] [|*]

9 êbhiś=ch=âttra pratishṭhâpitaka-bhagavat-pâdânâṁ puttra-[pautra*]-prapauttra-tatputtr-âti(di)-kkramêṇa khaṇḍa-

10 phuṭṭa[3]-pratisaṁsk[â*]r[êṇa*] va(ba)li-charu-sattra-pravarttan-âdy-anushṭhânêna cha sva-puṇy-âbhivṛiddhiḥ

11 karttavyâ [||*] Tê yûyam=êshâṁ samuchita-śu[l*]ka-bhâgabhôga-kara-hiraṇy-âdi-pratyây-ôpanayaṁ[4]

12 karishyath=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyâś=cha bhavishyatha [|*] Yê ch=âsmad-vaṁś-ôtpadyamânaka-râjânas=tair=iyaṁ

13 datti[r*]=nna vilôpyâ anumôdan[î*]yâ samuchita-rô(râ)j-âbhâvya-kara-pratyâyâ na grâhyâ[ḥ*]

Second Plate.

14 chôra-daṇḍa-varjyaṁ | kâl-ânukâlâṁ cha pratipâlanîya [|*] Yaś=ch=aimâṁ dattiṁ lôpayêt=sa pa[ṁ*]cha-

15 bhir=mmahâpâtakair=upapâtakaiś=cha saṁyuktaḥ sy[âd*] [||*] Uktaṁ cha Mahâbhâratê bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna

16 Vyâsêna [|*] Sva[5]-dâttâṁ para-dattâm=vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira mahî[ṁ*] mahîmatâṁ śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâla-

17 naṁ [||*] Prâyêṇa hi narêndrâṇâṁ vidyatê n=â-śubhâ gatiḥ pûyattê(ntê) tê tu satata[ṁ*] prayachchhantô vasundha-

18 râ[ṁ*] || Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahaṁsrâṇi[6] svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ | âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=[ê*]va narak[ê*] vasêt [||*]

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] Read *bôṭ-âja*.

[3] Read *sphuṭita*.—*Phuṭṭa* is a regular Prâkṛit formation; but is not admissible in a Sanskṛit passage.

[4] This *anusvâra* is so high above the *ya*, that it seems to have been omitted at first, and inserted subsequently, somewhat at random.

Metre. Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following four verses.

[6] Read *sahasrâṇi*.

19 Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ I rya(ya)sya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [II*]

20 Sarvva-sasya-samṛiddhân=[t*]u yô harêta vasundharâ[ṁ*] I sa vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimi[r*]=bhûtvâ pitṛibhiḥ saha majya(jja)tê [II*]

21 Samvatsara-śatê sapta-saptaṭy-u[tta*]rê Chaittra-mâsa-divasê dvâ-viṁśatimê likhitaṁ[1] bhôgika-Phâlgu[2]datt-âmâtya-

22 mâtya[3]-naptrâ bhôgika-Varâhadinna-puttra-sândhivigrahika-**Gallunâ** I dûtak-ôparika[4]-dîkshita-gṛiha-

23 pati-sthapatisamraṭ-**Chharvvadattaḥ** II Yattr=âghâtâḥ **Dhânyavâhika**-pratyuddêśê garttâ pâlî cha I

24 **Durggamaṇḍala**-pradêśê pâlî [I*] **Suvarṇṇakakshaka**-pradêśê gôpatha-śaraḥ ardhêna cha pâlî [I*]

25 **Âmuka**-pradêśê garttâ [I*] **Dâramaṇḍala**-pradêśrê(śê) pâlî [I*] **Vakra-vaṇa**-prâvêśya-maṇḍala-pradêśê pâlî [I*]

26 grâmê yâvat-kûpaṁ pravishṭâ iti [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! From **Uchchakalpa**;—(*There was*) the *Mahârâja* **Ôghadêva.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Kumâradêva,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Kumâradêvî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Jayasvâmin,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Jayasvâminî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Vyâghra,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Râmadêvî.**

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahârâja* **Jayanâtha,**—begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Ajjhitadêvî,**—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brâhmaṇs, and to the artisans, at (the village of) **Dhavashaṇḍikâ :—**

(L. 6.)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, (*and*) for the benefit of the feet of the Divine One,[5] this village is granted by me, as an *agrahâra* of the god, to continue for the same time with the moon and the sun, to the *Divira*[6] Sarvavâḍha, of the Śâśâtanêya (*gôtra*) (?), and his son the *Bhâgavata* Gaṅga, and his sons Raṅkabôṭa and Ajagaradâsa. And the increase of their own religious merit should be effected by the succession of (*their*) sons, [sons' sons*], sons of sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c., by repairing whatever may become broken or torn, and by attending to the maintenance of the *bali, charu, sattra*, and other (*such rites*), of the feet of the Divine One, established here by these persons.

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[1] Supply *śâsanam.*

[2] Read *phalgu.*—The name occurs again with the long vowel *â* in the first syllable, in line 30 of No. 28 below, and line 11 of No. 30 below. But the correct form, with the short vowel *a*, occurs in line 28 of No. 31 below, page 137.

[3] Read *âmâtya-naptrâ.* The syllables *mâtya* are repeated by mistake.

[4] Read *dûtaka uparika*; see page 119 above, note 4.

[5] *i. e.* "for the benefit of the Divine One."—Here, and in line 9 below, the words "the feet" are only used in accordance with the customary method of respectful mention. No reference is intended to any shrine containing 'foot-prints' of Vishṇu, which would be denoted by the use of *pada*, not *pâda*.

[6] *Ḍivira* is a technical official title, explained by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 10) as meaning 'a clerk, writer, or accountant,' on the authority of a passage in the *Lôkaprakâśa* of Kshêmêndra, which explains the details of written documents for the benefit of the *Diviras.*

(L. 11.)—"You yourselves shall render to these persons the offering of the tribute of the customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (*their*) commands.

(L. 12.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) should be assented to; (*and*), with the exception of fines imposed on thieves, the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken; and (*this grant*) should be preserved from time to time.

(L. 14.)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 15.)—And it has been said in the Mahâbhârata by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas,—"O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! He who confiscates land, rich in all (*kinds of*) grains, (*that has been granted*),—he becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks (*into hell*), together with his ancestors!"

(L. 21.)—In a century of years, increased by seventy-seven, on the twenty-second day of the month Chaitra, (*this charter*) has been written by the *Sâṁdhivigrahika* **Gallu**, the grandson of the *Bhôgika*, the *Amâtya* Phalgudatta,[1] (*and*) the son of the *Bhôgika* Varâhadinna.[2] The *Dûtaka* (*is*) the *Uparika*, *Dîkshita*, householder, and chief of architects,[3] **Śarvadatta.**

(L. 23.)—The boundaries in this matter (*are*),—in the direction of **Dhânyavâhika,**[4] a boundary-trench and a bridge;[5]—in the direction of **Durgamaṇḍala,** a

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[1] See page 123 above, note 2.

[2] *dinna* is rather a rare word. But it occurs again (1) as the second part of a proper name, in Indradinna, a Jain teacher (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 247, 251), and perhaps in Vîkidinna, in line 25 of the Mâliyâ grant of Dharasêna II., No. 38 below (where, however, it may be a name by itself); (2) as a proper name by itself, in line 9 of the Nirmaṇḍ grant of the *Mahâsâmanta* and *Mahârâja* Samudrasêna, No. 80 below, Plate xliv., and in the case of a Jain teacher (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 247, 252); and (3) as the first component of the name of a village in Dinnâgrâma (Monier Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, *s. v.*) Also, we have a village or town named Diṇṇaputra, either a mistake or a local variation for Dinnaputra, or more probably a mistake for Dinnâputra, in line 54 of one of the Ḍhâṅk grants of Śîlâditya V. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 345; and *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 15.)

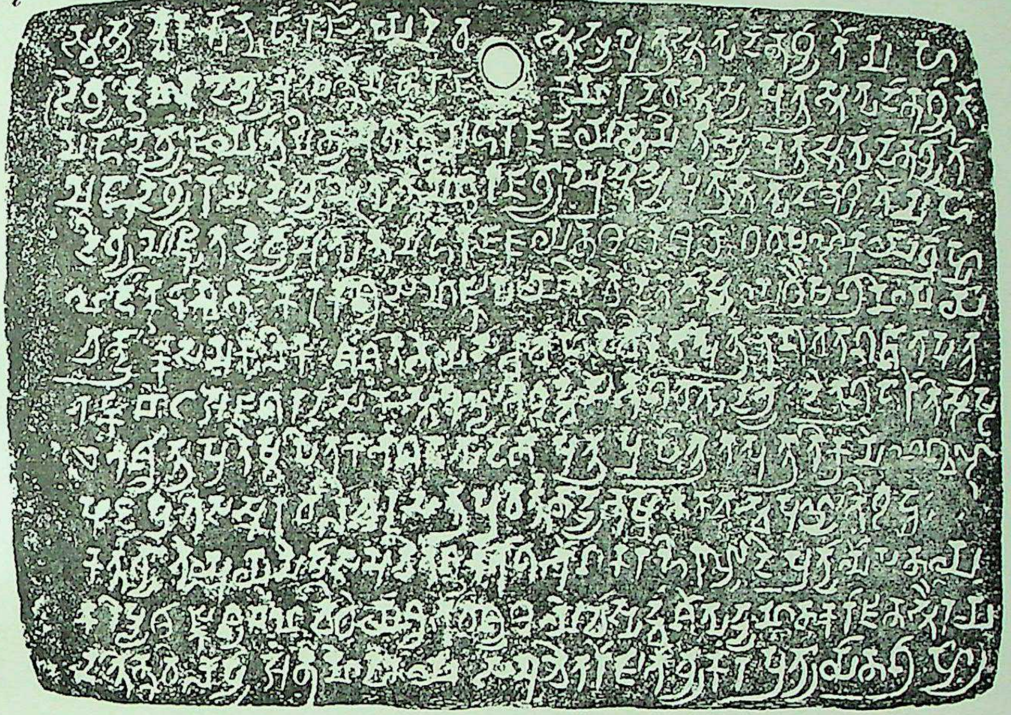
[3] *sthapati-samraj*; see page 120 above, note 5.

[4] Dhânyavâhika must have been a very common village-name in those parts, as the maps give 'Danwai,' 'Dhanwahi' (three times), 'Dhunwahee,' and 'Dhunwai,' all within a distance of thirty-two miles from Uchaharâ, on the south-east, south, and south-west.

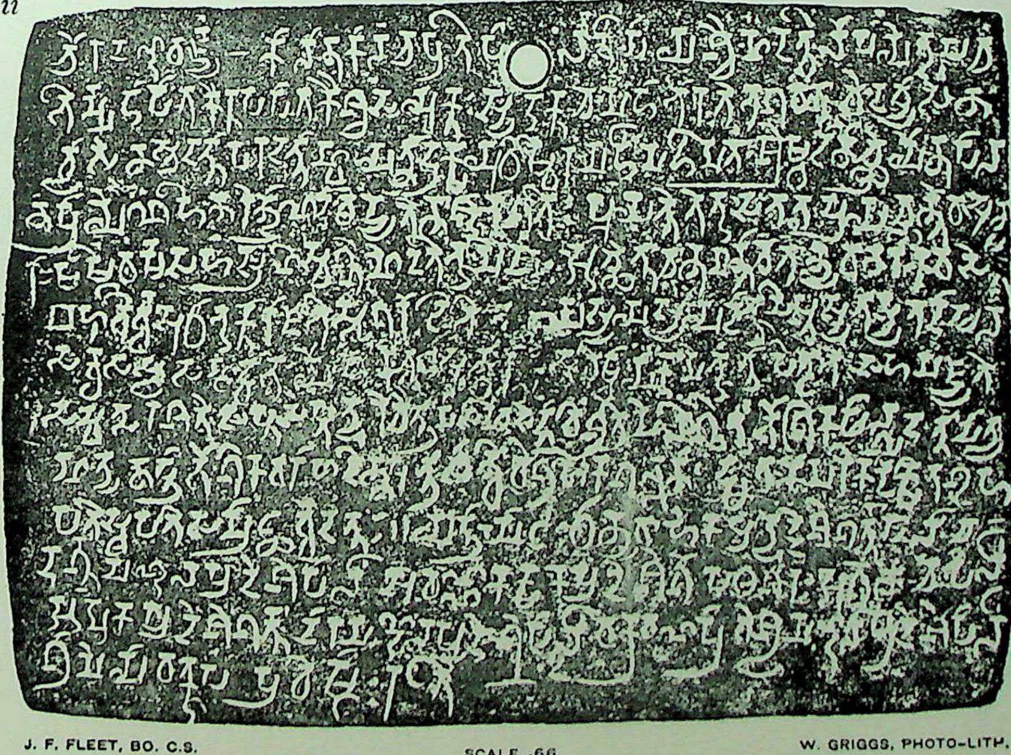
[5] *pâlî*; or 'a raised bank, dike, or causeway.'—This, also, if it did not occur five times in this passage, and in five different directions, might be taken as a village-name; since the maps give 'Pali,' thirty-seven miles north-west, and again seventy miles south by east, from Uchaharâ.

Khoh Plates of the Maharaja Jayanatha.—The Year 177.

i



ii



J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE .66

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

bridge;—in the direction of **Suvarṇakakshaka,** (*partly*) the place where the reeds grow by the cattle-path,[1] and partly a bridge:—in the direction of **Âmuka,** a boundary-trench;—in the direction of **Dâramaṇḍala,** a bridge;—(*and*) in the direction of the district at the entrance of **Vakravaṇa,** a bridge;—(*then the boundaries*) enter the village (*again*) at the well.

No. 28; PLATE XVIII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 193.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khôh,**[2] in the Nâgaudh State in the Baghêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Râjâ of Nâgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The **plates,** which, so far as the inscription now published is concerned, are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $7\frac{3}{4}''$ by $6\frac{1}{2}''$, and the second, $7\frac{5}{8}''$ by $6\frac{1}{4}''$. The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. The plates are rather thick, and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. The ring is about $\frac{3}{16}''$ thick and $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. It had not been cut when the grant came under my notice; but one end of it had been forced out of the socket of the seal, so that it could be detached from the plates. It appears, however, to be the ring properly belonging to these plates. The **seal,** in which the ends of the ring are secured, is rectangular, about $\frac{15}{16}''$ by $1\frac{1}{4}''$. With the plates, it has been subjected to the action of fire, and has received considerably more injury than the plates. It can be seen, however, that it contains, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, Garuḍa, the bird-vehicle of Vishṇu, with outstretched wings, just as on the copper-coins of Chandragupta II.; and below this, in two lines, the **legend,** very much damaged, *Mahârâja-Śa*[*r*]*va*[*nâ*]*tha*.—The **weight** of the two plates is 2 lbs. 4 oz., and of the ring and seal, $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total, 2 lbs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kârîtalâî grant of the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117 ff., and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare *jh*, in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 22 to 28, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prâkṛit word *phuṭṭa*, in line 15; and (2) in *anumôditaka*, line 13 f.; *uparilikhitaka*, line 14; *pratishṭhâpitaku*, line 14 f.; and

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[1] *gôpatha-śara*, line 24: the meaning, however, is not quite certain.—*śara*, in one of its meanings, denotes the reed or grass called Saccharum Sara.

[2] See page 93 above, and note 3.

utpadyamânaka, line 18 f., the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmânîya*, in *saḥ=pañchabhir*, line 21; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *kârûnś=cha*, line 8; *anśa*, in various forms, in lines 10 to 12; and *vanśa*, line 18; (3) the constant doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *anukkrama*, line 13; *kkrama*, line 14; *puttra*, line 1; *sattra*, line 16; and *kshattriya*, line 31; (4) the doubling of *g*, under the same circumstances, in *viggrahika*, line 31; (5) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, lines 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6; (6) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *bâ* (for *vô*), line 8; *bâ* (for *vâ*) line 23; and *sambatsara*, line 29; and (7) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vali*, line 16; and *valâdhikṛita*, line 31.

The first plate of this grant is a **quasi-palimpsest.** On the outer side of it there are traces of sixteen lines of writing, containing an inscription of the same *Mahârâja* Śarvanâtha, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription. They have been so carefully beaten in that no impression of them is possible; and only detached words can be read here and there. But I could distinguish the names of Râmadêvî, in line 4; Ajjhitadêvî, in line 5; Jayanâtha, in line 6; and Śarvanâtha in line 7. And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words *Tamasâ-nadyâ uttara-pârê*, between *mahârâja-Śarvanâthaḥ kuśalî* and *brâhmaṇ-âdîn=kuṭumbinaḥ*, in line 7.

The extant **inscription** is one of the *Mahârâja* **Śarvanâtha;** and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called **Uchchakalpa.** The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and ninety-three (A. D. 512-13), and the tenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is partly Vaishnava, and partly of solar worship; the object of it being to record the grant, by the *Mahârâja* **Śarvanâtha,** of the village of **Âśramaka** on the north bank of the river **Tamasâ,** on the agreement between him and the grantees that it was to be applied to, amongst other things, the purposes of a shrine of Vishṇu under the title of Bhagavat or the Divine One, and of a shrine of a god the name of which, as written, must be a mistake for *Âditya*, the Sun.

I have not been able to identify the village of **Âśramaka.** But the river **Tamasâ** is, of course, the modern '**Tamas**' and '**Tons**' of maps, &c., which rises in the Mahiyar State, on the south of Nâgaudh, and, running through the north part of Rewah (properly Rîwâṁ, or sometimes Rîmâṁ) flows into the Ganges about eighteen miles to the south-east of Allahâbâd. And the mention of it, under circumstances which shew that Śarvanâtha had territorial ownership over at any rate a certain village on its northern bank, is of importance, as giving evidence that the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa did belong to the part of the country in which their grants are found. The only other definite proof of this is, as noted above, page 111, the existence of the inscription mentioning both Hastin and Śarvanâtha on the stone-pillar at Bhumarâ.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 Ôm Svasty=**Uchchakalpât(n)**=mahârâj-**Aughadêvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô mahâdêvyâ[ṁ*]

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[1] From the original plates.

2 **Kumâradêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Kumâradêvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânu-
3 ddhyâtô mahâdêvyâṁ **Jayasvâminyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Jayasvâmî** tasya
4 puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô mahâdêvyâṁ **Râmadêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Vyâghras**=tasya
5 puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô mahâdêvyâm=**Ajjhitadêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Jaya-**
6 **nâthas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâto mahâdêvyâṁ **Muruṇḍadêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-
7 **Śarvanâthaḥ** kuśalî **Tamasâ**-nadyâ uttara-pârê **Âśramakê** brâhmaṇ-â-
8 dîn=kuṭumbinas=sarvva-kârûnś=cha samâjñâpayati [I*] Viditam=bâ(vô)=stu yath=aisha
9 grâmô may=â-chandr-ârkka-samakâlikas=s-[ô*]draṅgas=s-ôparikaraḥ a-châṭa-
10 bhaṭa-prâvêśyaś=chôra-daṇḍa-varjjitaḥ chatu[r*]bhir=anśê[1] pratipâditaḥ [I*] atô=
11 nśa-dvayaṁ Vishṇunandinaḥ aparô=py=anśaḥ Svâminâga-puttra-vaṇija-
12 Śaktinâgasya aparô=py=anśaḥ Kumâranâga-Skandanâgayôḥ [I*] êtat-pu-
13 ttra-[pautra*]-prapauttra-tatputtr-âdy-anukkramêṇa[2] tâmra-śâsanên=âti-sṛishṭa[ḥ*] [I*] êbhir=ap[i*] may=[â*]-
14 numôditakaṁ yath=ôparilikhitaka-kkramêṇ=aiva sva-puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê sva prati-
15 shṭhâpitaka-bhagavat-pâdânâm=âditsâ[3]-bhaṭṭâraka-pâdânâñ=cha khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa[4] pratisaṁ-
16 skâra-karaṇâya va(ba)li-charu-sattra-gandha-dhûpa-mâlya-dîpa-pravarttanâya ch=[â*]tisṛishṭaḥ[5] [I*]

Second Plate.

17 Tai(tê) yûyam=êshâṁ samuchita-bhâgabhôga-kara-hiraṇy-âdi-pratyây-ôpa
18 naya[ṁ*] karishyath=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyâś=cha bhavishyatha [I*] Yê ch=âsmad-vanś-ôtpadya-
19 mânaka-râjânas=tair=iyan=dattir=na vilôpy=ânumôdanîyâ yathô(thâ)-kâlañ=cha
20 pratipâlanîyâ samuchita-râj-âbhâvya-kara-pratyâyâś=cha na grâhyâḥ [I*] Yaḥ
21 imân=dattin=lôpayêt=saḥ=pañchabhir[6]=mahâpâtakair=upapâtakaiś=cha saṁyukta[ḥ*]
22 syâd=Uktañ=cha Mahâbhâratê bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna [I*] Sva[7]-dattâm=para-dattâ-

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[1] Read *anśaḥ*.

[2] We have to supply *upabhôgyaḥ*, or some similar word, here.

[3] Read *âditya*. — *âditsâ* is a regular formation, in the sense of 'a desire to seize or take,' from the desiderative of *dâ*, 'give,' in composition with the prefix *â*. But it is not known as a proper name; and there can be no doubt that the engraver has written it by mistake for *âditya*, 'the sun.'

[4] Read *sphuṭita*. See page 122 above, note 3.

[5] This *shṭaḥ* is inserted below the *ch=[â*]*, from want of space at the end of the line.

[6] Read *ya imân=dattiṁ lôpayêt=sa pañchabhir*.

[7] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following four verses.

23 m=bâ(vâ) yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira mahîm=mahîmatâñ=chhrêshṭha[1] dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ [||*]

24 Prâyêna(ṇa) hi narêndrâṇâṁ vidyatê n=[â*]-śubhâ gatiḥ pûyantê tê tu satataṁ pra-

25 yachchhantô vasundharâ[ṁ*] [||*] Bahubhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya

26 yasya yadâ bhu(bhû)mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môda-

27 ti bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt=Sarvva[2]-sasya-samṛi-

28 ddhân=tu yô harêta vasundharâṁ śva-vishṭhâyâm kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhis=saha majjatê [||*]

29 Likhitaṁ[3] samba(mva)tsara-śatê tṛi(tri)-navaty-uttarê Chaittra-mâsa-divasê daśamê

30 bhôgika-Phâlgu[4]datt-âmâtya-naptrâ bhôgika-Varânadinna-puttrêṇa mahâ-

31 sândhiviggrahika-**Manôrathêna** [|*] Dûtak[ô*] rma(ma)hâva(ba)lâdhikṛita-kshattriya-

32 **Śivagu[5]ptaḥ** [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! From **Uchchakalpa**;—(*There was*) the *Mahârâja* **Ôghadêva.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Kumâradêva,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Kumâradêvî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Jayasvâmin,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Jayasvâminî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Vyâghra,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Râmadêvî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâjâ* **Jayanâtha,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Ajjhitadêvî.**

(Line 6.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahârâja* **Śarvanâtha,**—begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Murundadêvî,**[6]—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brâhmaṇs, and to all the artisans, at (the village of) **Aśramaka** on the north bank of the river **Tamasâ**:—

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that this village is allotted by me, in four shares, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; (*and with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops. Out of them, two shares belong to Vishṇunandin; and another share belongs to the merchant Śaktinâga, the son of Svâminâga; and another share belongs to Kumâranâga and Skandanâga. It is given by (*this*) copper-plate charter, [to be enjoyed*] by the succession of them and (*their*) sons, [sons' sons*], sons of sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c. Moreover, it is agreed by them (*and*) by me that it is given for the repairs, by the above-mentioned succession (*of them and their descendants*), in order to increase their own religious merit, of whatever may become broken or torn (*in the shrines*) of the feet[7] of the

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[1] Read *mahîmatâṁ śrêshṭha.*

[2] Read *vasêt* [||*] *Sarvva.*

[3] Supply *śâsanam.*

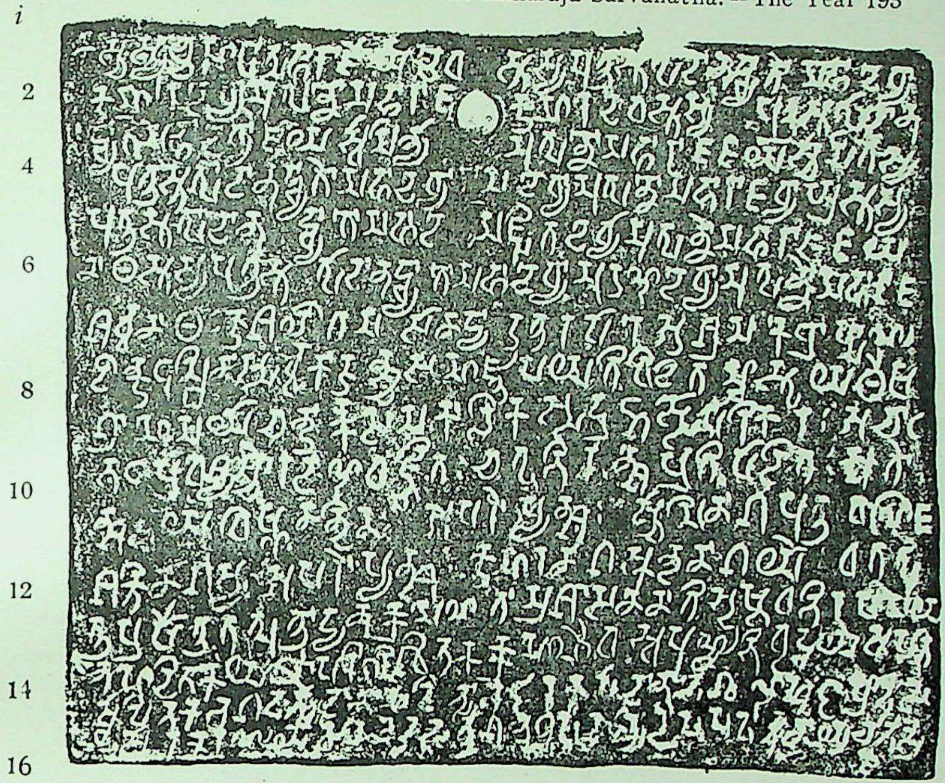
[4] Read *phalgu.* See page 123 above, note 2.

[5] This *gu* is very much blurred in the original, but is quite legible.

[6] In No. 29, line 6, and No. 31, line 6, she is called Murundasvâminî.

[7] See page 123 above, note 5

Khoh Plates of the Maharaja Sarvanatha. -- The Year 193


i
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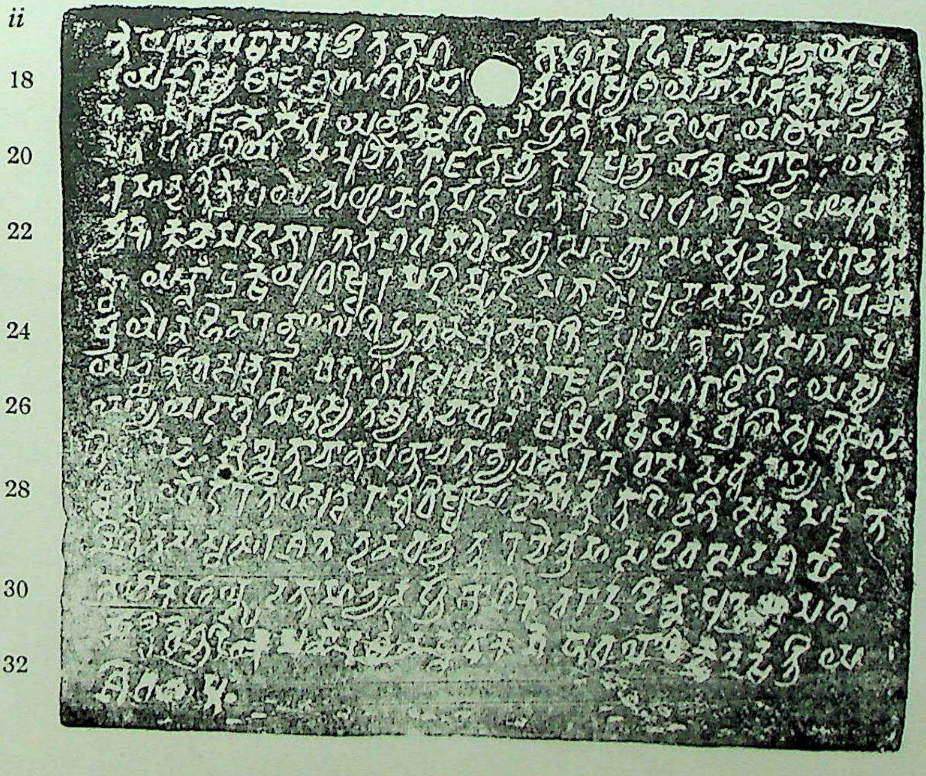
ii
18
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32

Divine One, established by them, and of the feet of the sacred Sun,[1] and for the maintenance of the *bali*, *charu*, *sattra*, perfumes, incense, garlands, and lamps.

(L. 17.)—"You yourselves shall render to them the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (*their*) commands.

(L. 18.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) should be assented to, and should be preserved according to opportunity. (*And*) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(L. 20.)—"Whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 22.)—And it has been said in the Mahâbhârata by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas,—"O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) better than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land, rich in all (*kinds of*) grains, (*that has been granted*),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (*into hell*) together with (*his*) ancestors!"

(L. 29.)—(*This charter*) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-three, on the tenth day of the month Chaitra, by the *Mahâsâṁdhivigrahika* **Manôratha,** the grandson of the *Bhôgika*, the *Amâtya* Phalgudatta,[2] (*and*) the son of the *Bhôgika* Varâhadinna. The *Dûtaka* (*is*) the *Mahâbalâdhikṛita*, the Kshatriya **Śivagupta.**

No. 29; PLATE XIX A.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 8, where he published a translation of it,[3]—is on another copper-plate, the only one now forthcoming of an original set of two,[4] that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khôh,**[5] in the Nâgaudh State in the Baghêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of the Râjâ of Nâgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

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[1] See page 123 above, note 5; and page 127, note 3.

[2] See page 123 above, note 2.

[3] But he wrongly took, as the continuation of it, the second plate of the grant of the same *Mahârâja* Śarvanâtha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.

[4] See page 132 below, note 3.

[5] See page 93 above, and note 3.

The **plate,** which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 7½″ by 6″ The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of very fair preservation almost throughout. The plate is rather thin; but the letters are shallower than usual, and shew through only indistinctly on the back of it. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect it with the other that belonged to it. But the ring and its **seal** are not forthcoming.—The **weight** of the plate is 10½ oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kârîtalâî grant of the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare *jh*, in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, the first plate only being extant, this portion of the inscription is in prose throughout. It has not been engrossed as carefully as was usual in inscriptions of this early date. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prâkṛit word *phuṭṭa* in line 12; and (2) in *uparilikhitaka*, line 10, and *utpadyamânaka*, line 15, the affix *ka*, that I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *kârûnś=cha*, line 7, and *vanśa*, line 15; (2) the doubling of *k*, *g*, and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *anukkrama*, line 10; *ggrâma*, line 8; and *puttra*, line 1, and *satira*, line 13; (3) the doubling of *dh*, in onjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, lines 1 to 5; and (4) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vali*, line 13.

The **inscription** is one of the *Mahârâja* **Śarvanâtha**; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called **Uchchakalpa.** The date is lost, in the second plate. The inscription is apparently Vaishṇava; the object of it being to record the grant, by the *Mahdrâja* Śarvanâtha, of half of the village of **Dhavashaṇḍikâ,** on the agreement between him and the grantees that it should be applied to, amongst other things, the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pishṭapurikâdêvî.

This village of **Dhavashaṇḍikâ** seems to be the same one that was granted by the *Mahârâja* **Javanâtha,** in the year 177, as recorded in No. 27 above, page 121, for the purposes of a temple of the god Vishṇu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One. And the present assignment of half of it specially for the purposes of a temple of Pishṭapurikâdêvî. furnishes one item of proof that this goddess was a form of Lakshmî, the wife of Vishṇu.[1]

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Om Svasty=**Uchchakalpât(n)**=mahârâj-**Aughadêvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô mahâdêvyâṁ

2 **Kumâradêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Kumâradêvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-anuddhyâtô

3 mahâdêvyâ[ṁ*] **Jayasvâminyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Jayasvâmî** tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânu-

4 ddhyâtô mahâdêvyâ[ṁ*] **Râmadêvy[â*]m**=utpann[ô*] mahârâja-**Vyâghras**=tasya puttras=tat-p[â*]d-ânuddhyâtô

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[1] See also page 113 above, note 2.

[2] From the original plate.

5 mah[â*]dêvyâm=**Ajjhitadêvyâm**=[u*]tpannô mahârâja-**Jayanâthas**=tasya puttras=tat-p[â*]d-ânuddhyâ-

6 tô mahâdâ(dê)vyâ[ṁ*][1] **Murû(ru)ṇḍasvâminyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Śarvvanâthaḥ** kuśalî **Vôṭa-**

7 santika-**Dhavashaṇḍik**-ârddhê brâhmaṇ-âdîn=kuṭumbinas=sarvva-kârûnś=cha samâjñâpayati [|]

8 Viditaṁ vô=stu yath=aisha ggrâm-ârddhô may=â-chandr-ârkka-sama-kâlikâ(ka)s=s-[ô*]draṅgaḥ

9 s-ôparikaraḥ a-ch[â*]ṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêśya[ḥ*] sarvva-karâ-tyagaḥ[2] dr(s)-ôtpaḍya-mânaka-pui(pra)tyâya-

10 samêtaḥ Chhôḍugômika[3] êtat-puttra-[pautra*]-prapauttra-tatputtr-âdy-anu-kkramêṇa[4] tâṁbra-[5]

11 śâsanên=âtisṛishṭaḥ [|*] Anên=âpi may=ânumôditaṁ yath=ôpari-likhitaka-

12 kkramêṇ=aiva bhagavatyâḥ Pishṭapurik[â*][6]-dêvyâḥ khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa[7]-pratisaṁskâra-

13 karaṇâya va(ba)li-charu-sattra-prâdharttanâya[8] ch=âtisṛishṭas=Tê yûyam=êshâṁ

14 samuchita-bhâgabhôga-kara-hiraṇy-âdi-pratyây-ôpanaya[ṁ*] karishyath=âjñâ-śrava-

15 ṇa-vidhêyâś=cha bhavishyatha [|*] Yê ch=âsmad-vanś-ôtpadyamânaka-râjânas=tair=iya[ṁ*]

16 dattir=na vilôky(py)=ânumôdanîyâ

(*The second plate of this grant is not forthcoming.*)

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! From **Uchchakalpa**;—(*There was*) the *Mahârâja* **Ôghadêva.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Kumâradêva,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Kumâradêvî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Jayasvâmin,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Jayasvâminî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Vyâghra,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Râmadêvî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, was the *Mahârâja* **Jayanâtha,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Ajjhitadêvî.**

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[1] This *anusvâra* is omitted also in line 6 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and thus, as Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *Uruṇḍa* as a proper name of a demon and of a man, as well as *Muruṇḍa*, we might have read *mahâdêvyâm=Uruṇḍasvâminyâm*. In line 6, however, of the newly-discovered grant, No. 28 above, page 127, the reading is very distinctly *mahâdêvyâṁ Muruṇḍadêvyâm*.

[2] Read *sarvva-kara-tyâgaḥ*.

[3] Read *gômikâya*.

[4] We have to supply *upabhôgyaḥ*, or some similar word, here.

[5] Read *tâmra*.

[6] See line 11 of No. 31 below, page 137, and Plate xx., in which the long vowel *â* was duly engraved, and is quite distinct.

[7] Read *sphuṭita*. See page 122 above, note 3.

[8] Read *pravarttanâya*.

(Line 5.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahârâja* **Śarvanâtha,**—begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Muruṇḍasvâminî,**[1]—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brâhmaṇs, and to the artisans, in half of (the village of) **Dhavashaṇḍikâ** in the **Vôṭa** *santika* :—

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that this half village is, by (*this*) copper-plate charter, given to Chhôḍugômika, [to be enjoyed*] by the succession of him and (*his*) sons, sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c.,—to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; (*with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; with remission of all the taxes; (*and*) with such tribute as may accrue. And it is agreed by him (*and*) by me, that it is granted for the purpose of the repairs, by the above-mentioned succession (*of him and his descendants*), of whatever may become broken or torn, belonging to the divine goddess Pishṭapurikâdêvî, and for the maintenance of the *bali*, *charu*, and *sattra*.

(L. 13.)—"You yourselves shall render to these persons the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (*their*) commands.

(L. 15.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) should be assented to."

(*The rest of this inscription, on the second plate, is not forthcoming.*)

No. 30; PLATE XIX B.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 197.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 14, No. 6, where he published a partial translation of it,[2] with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 7),—is on another copper-plate, the only one forthcoming of an original set of two,[3] that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khôh,**[4] in the Nâgaudh State in the Bag͟hêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examin-

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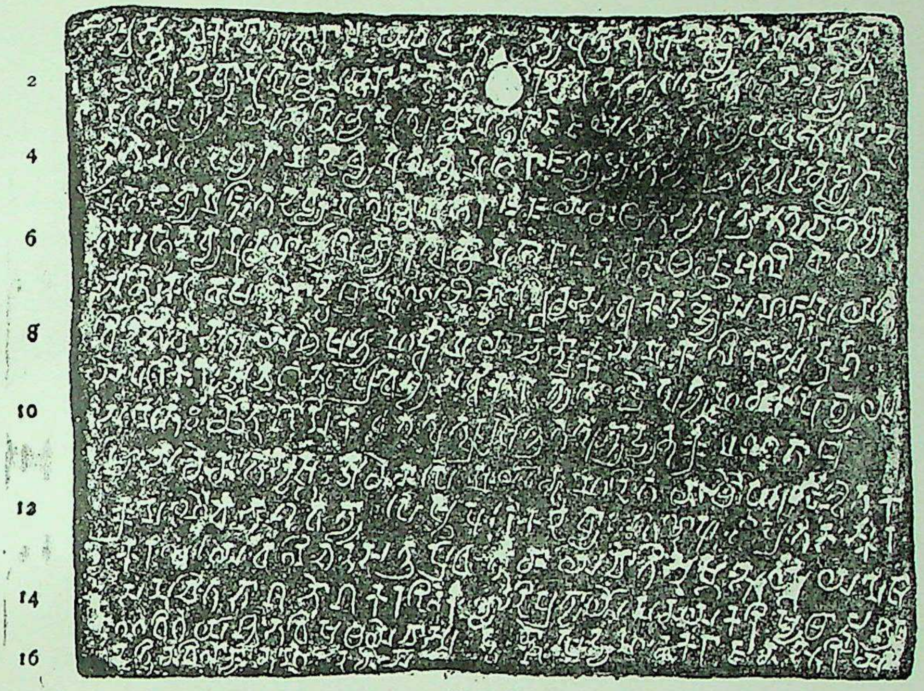
[1] In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called Muruṇḍadêvî. In No. 31 below, line 6, page 136, the termination of her name is *svâminî* as here.

[2] But he wrongly treated it as the continuation of the first plate of the grant of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.

[3] The grant of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx., furnishes another instance, similar to that of the grant, the date of which is lost, No. 29 above, page 129, in which the last line of the first plate is left half blank. And, so far as the context goes, this inscription might be taken as the continuation of No. 29. But the edges of this plate are rounded off more; the copper is of a totally different quality, thickness, and weight; and the characters, though of just the same period, differ very much in details of execution,—notably in the *visarga, e.g.* in *grâhyâḥ*, line 2, *guptaḥ*, line 13, and *dûtakaḥ*, line 14, as contrasted with *nâthaḥ* in line 6, *s[ô*]draṅgaḥ* in line 8, and *samêtaḥ* in line 10, of No. 29, Plate xixA. And there can, on the whole, be no doubt that in Plate xixA. and B. we have the first and second plates of two separate grants; not one entire grant.

[4] See page 93 above, and note 3.

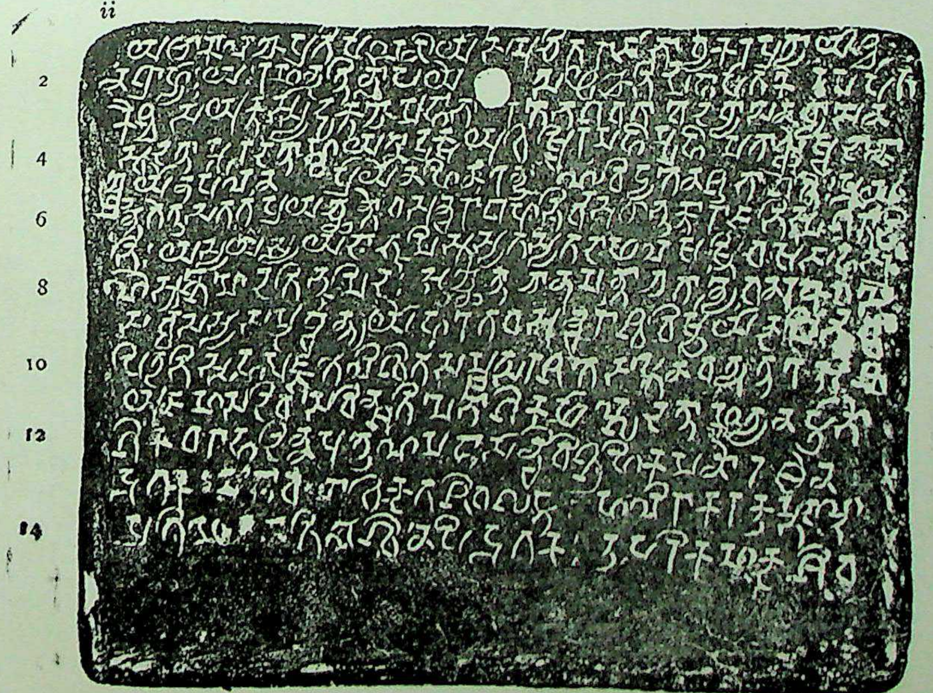
A.—Khoh Plate of the Maharaja Sarvanatha.



SCALE .75

B.—Khoh Plate of the Maharaja Sarvanatha.—The Year 197.

ii



J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE .75

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

ation, from the possession of the Râjâ of Nâgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr,

The **plate,** which is inscribed on one side only, measures about $7\frac{7}{16}''$ by $5\frac{7}{8}''$. The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters are rather deep, and shew through clearly on the back of it. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect it with the other that belonged to it. But the ring and its **seal** are not forthcoming.—The **weight** of the plate is 13 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is between $\frac{3}{16}''$ and $\frac{1}{4}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kârîtalâî grant of the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 4 to 10, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmânîya*, in *saḥ=pañchabhir*, line 2; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vinśati*, line 11; (3) the doubling of *g* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *viggrahika* and *puttrêṇa*, line 12; (4) the use of *b* for *v*, in *bâ*, line 4, and *sambatsara*, line 10; and (5) the use of *v* for *b*, in *valâdhikṛita*, line 13.

The first plate, containing the name of the *Mahârâja* and the place whence the charter was issued, is lost; but the date, and other details at the end, shew that the **inscription** is one of the *Mahârâja* **Śarvanâtha** of **Uchchakalpa.** The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and ninety-seven (A.D. 516-17), and the twentieth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Aśvayuja (September-October.) The details of the grant are lost, in the first plate.

TEXT.[1]

(*The first plate of this grant is not forthcoming.*)

Second Plate.

1 Yathâ-kâlañ=cha pratipâlanîyâ [|*] samuchita-râj-âbhâvya-kara-pratyâyâś=chaḥ[2]

2 na grâhyâḥ [|*] Ya imân=dattin=lôpayêt=saḥ=pañchabhir[3]=mahâpâtakair=upapâta-

3 kaiś=cha saṁyuktas=syâd=Uktañ=cha Mahâbhâratê bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna [|*]

4 Sva[4]-dattâm=para-dattâm=bâ(vâ) yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira mahîm=mahîmatâñ=chhrêshṭha[5] dânâ-

5 ch=chhrêyô=nupâlana[ṁ*] [||*] Prâyêna(ṇa) hi narêndrâṇâṁ vidyatê n=[â*]-śubhâ gatiḥ pûya-

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[1] From the original plate.

[2] Read *cha*.

[3] Read *dattiṁ lôpayêt=sa pañchabhir*.

[4] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following four verses.

[5] Read *mahîmatâṁ śrêshṭha*.

6 nt[ê*] tê tu satataṁ prayachchhantô vasundharâṁ [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdi-

7 bhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phala[ṁ*] [II*] Shashṭi-va[r*]sha-sahasrâ-

8 ṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasê-

9 [t*] [II*] Sarvva-sasya-samṛiddhân=tu yô harêta vasundharâṁ śva-vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ

10 pitṛibhis=saha majjatê [II*] Likhitaṁ[1] samba(mva)tsara-śatê sapta-navaty-uttarê Aśva-

11 yuja-mâsa-divasê vinśatimê[2] bhôgika-Phâlgu[3]datt-âmâtya-naptrâ bhô-

12 gika-Varâhadinna-puttrêṇa mahâsândhiviggrahika-**Manôrathêna** [I*]

13 Dûtakaḥ mahâva(ba)lâdhikṛita-**Śivaguptaḥ** [I*] Halir-âkara-kumbha-daṇḍa-

14 pratimê(mô)chan-âtilêkhinê=pi dûtakaḥ uparika-**Mâkṛi(tṛi)śiva[ḥ*]** [II*]

TRANSLATION.

(*The opening part of this inscription, on the first plate, is not forthcoming.*)

"And, according to opportunity, it should be preserved. And the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(Line 2.)—"Whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 3.)—And it has been said in the Mahâbhârata, by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas,—"O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) is more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land, rich in all (*kinds of*) grains, (*that has been granted*),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (*into hell*) together with (*his*) ancestors!"

(L. 10.)—(*This charter*) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-seven, on the twentieth day of the month Aśvayuja, by the *Mahâsâṁdhivigrahika* **Manôratha,** the grandson of the *Bhôgika*, the *Amâtya* Phalgudatta,[4] (*and*) the son of the *Bhôgika* Varâhadinna. The *Dûtaka* (*is*) the *Mahâbalâdhikṛita* **Śivagupta.** Moreover, the *Dûtaka* to an additional writer[5] for the remission of the fines on ....[6] and water-pots, (*is*) the *Uparika* **Mâtriśiva.**

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[1] Supply *śâsanam*.

[2] We should perhaps correct this into *vinśatitamê*, as the base *viṁśatima* seems to be properly used only when in composition with another numeral, e.g. *dvâ-viṁśatima*, in No. 27 above, line 21 page 123. But *viṁśatima*, by itself, occurs again in line 18 of the Goa grant of Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365.)

[3] Read *phalgu*; see page 123 above, note 2.

[4] See page 123 above, note 2.

[5] See page 100 above, note 3.

[6] The meaning of *halir-âkara* is not apparent.

No. 31; PLATE XX.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 214.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 14 and 16, Nos 6 and 8, where he published a translation of it,[1] with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 8),—is on another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khôh,**[2] in the Nâgaudh State in the Baghêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The **plates,** which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $8\frac{3}{8}''$ by $6''$, and the second $8\frac{3}{8}''$ by $5\frac{7}{8}''$. The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and, though the plates are here and there worn quite through by rust, the inscription is in a state of very good preservation almost throughout. The plates are rather thin; and the letters shew through on the backs of them so clearly that in many places they can be read there. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. But the ring, with the **seal** attached to it, is not now forthcoming; having been abstracted by slitting the plates from the ring-holes to the edges.—The **weight** of the two plates is 1 lb. 2 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kâritalâî grant of the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare *jh* in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 20 to 27, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in *utpannaka*, line 9; *utpadyamānaka*, lines 9 and 16; and *kâritaka*, line 11, the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmânîya*, in *saḥ=pañchabhir,* line 18; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś* and *h*, in *vaṅśa*, line 16, and *saṅhitâ*, line 19; and (3) the doubling of *g* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *viggrahika*, line 29, and *puttra*, lines 1 to 5; but not in *putra-pautra*, line 12.

The **inscription** is one of the *Mahârâja* **Śarvanâtha;** and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called **Uchchakalpa.** The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year two hundred and fourteen (A.D. 533-34), and the sixth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pausha (December-January). It is apparently a Vaishṇava inscription; the object of it being to record the sanction of the

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[1] But he wrongly attached No. 30 above, with the date of 197, to the first plate of this grant, and took the second plate of this grant as the continuation of No. 29 above.

[2] See page 93 above, and note 3.

Mahârâja Sarvanâtha to the transfer, among private grantees, of two villages named **Vyâghrapallika** and **Kâcharapallika** in the **Maṇinâga** *pêṭha*, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pishṭapurikâdêvî at the town of **Mânapura.**

This town of **Mânapura** is possibly the modern **Mânpur,**[1] near the river Sôṇ, about forty-seven miles in a south-easterly direction from Uchaharâ, and thirty-two miles south-east of Kârîtalâî. And, if this identification is accepted, we have here another item of evidence tending to connect the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa with the part of the country in which their grants are found. But it is obviously not of as much force as the two points to which I have previously drawn attention ; *viz.* the existence of the inscription of Hastin and Śarvanâtha on the pillar at Bhumarâ, No. 24 above, page 110; and the mention of the river Tamasâ, in Śarvanâtha's grant of the year 193, No. 28 above, page 125, in such a way as to shew that he had actual territorial ownership over at any rate a certain village on the northern bank of that river. As regards the present passage, it is not so conclusive, because a *Mahârâja* might very well make a grant of land within his territory to a temple outside it. At the same time, that temple would not be far distant from his own domains.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Ôm Svasty=**Uchchakalp[â*]n**=mahârâj-**Aughadêvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtô mahâdêvyâ[ṁ*]

2 **Kumâradêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Kumâradêvas**=tasya putt[r*]as=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtô

3 mahâdêvyâ[ṁ*] **Jayasvâminyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Jayasvâmî** tasya puttras=tat-pâd-â-

4 nudhyâtô mahâdêvyâṁ **Râmadêvyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Vyâghras**=tasya putt[r*]as=tat-pâd-ânudhyâ-

5 tô mahâdêvyâm=**Ajjhitadêvyâm**=utpan[n*]ô mahârâja-**Jayanâthas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânu-

6 dhyâtô mahâdêvyâ[ṁ*][3] **Muruṇḍasvâminyâm**=utpannô mahârâja-**Śarvvanâthaḥ** kuśalî **Maṇi-**

7 **nâga**-pêṭhê **Vyâghrapallika-Kâcharapallika**-grâmayô[r*]=brâhmaṇ-âdît(n)=prativâsinaḥ[4]

8 samâjñâpayati [l*] Vidita[ṁ*] vô=stu yath=aisha(tau) grâmau mayâ s-ôdraṅgau s-ôparikarau

9 a-châṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêśyô(śyau) râj-âbhâvya-sarva-kara-pratyây-ê(ô)tpannak-ôtpadya-mânaka-samô(mê)-

10 tau â-chandr-ârkka-samakâlikau chôra-ta(da)ṇḍa-varjjitau Pulinda[5]bhaṭasya pras[â*]dîkritau

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[1] The 'Manpoor, Manpora, and Mánpur,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 23° 46′ N.; Long. 81° 11′ E.

[2] From the original plates.

[3] See page 131 above, note 1.

[4] This *visarga* is imperfect, only the upper part of it having been engraved.

[5] The stroke at the bottom of this *nda*, which gives it somewhat of the appearance of *ndra*, seems to be due to a slip of the engraver's tool.

11 tên=âpi **Mânapurê** kâritaka-dêvakul[ê*] bhagavatyâḥ Pashṭha[1]purikâ-dêvyâḥ pûjâ-ni-

12 mittaṁ khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pratisaṁskâraṇâya cha Kumârasvâminê putra-pautr-ânvay-ôpa-

13 bhôjyô(jyau) pratipâditau [I*] may=âpi bhûmichchhidrâ(dra)-nyâyêna tâmra-śâsan[ê*]n=ânumôditau [I*]

14 Tê yûyam=êv=ôpalabhy=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyâ bhûtvâ samuchita-bhâgabhôga-kara-hiraṇy-â-

15 vât-ây-[â*]di-pratyâyân=upanêshyatha [I*]

Second Plate.

16 Y[ê*] ch=âsmad-vaṅś-ôtpadyamânaka-râjânas=tair=iyaṁ datti[r*]=nna vilôpyâ yathâ-kâla[ṁ*] sa[ṁ*]varddha-

17 nîy=ânumôdanîyâ paripâlanîyâ cha [*] râj-âbhâvya-kara-pratyâyâ[ḥ*] sarvvê na grâhyâ[h*] [I*]

18 Yaś=ch=aitâṁ dattiṁ lôpayêt=saḥ=pañchabhir[2]=mahâpâtakair=upapâtakaiś=cha saṁyuktô bhûyâ-

19 d=Uktañ=cha Mahâbhâratê śatasâhasry[â*]ṁ saṅhitâyâṁ param-arshiṇâ Parâśara-sutêna

20 vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna [I*] Pûrvva[3]-dattâṁ dvijâtibhyô yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira mahî[ṁ*] mahi-

21 vatâ[4] śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam [II*] Prâyêṇa hi narêndrâṇâṁ vidyatê n=[â*]-śubhâ

22 gatiḥ pûyattê(ntê) tê tta(tu) satataṁ prayachchhantô vasu[ndharâm*] [II*] [Bahubhir=vvasu*]dhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhi[ḥ*]

23 yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [II*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi

24 svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âkshêptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vaset [II*] Sva-da-

25 ttâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâ[ṁ*] śva-vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhis=saha

26 majjati [II*] A-pânîyêshv=araṇyêshu śushka-kôṭa[ra*]-vâsinah kṛishṇ-âhayô hi jâ-

27 yaṁtê pûrvva-dâyaṁ haranti yê [II*] Likhitaṁ[5] sa[ṁ*]vatsara-śata-dvayê chaturddaś-ôttarê

28 Pausha-mâsa-divasê shapṭhê(shṭhê) Phalgudatt-âmatya-pranapt[r*]â Varâha-din[n*]a-napt[r*]â

29 Manôratha-sutêna sândhiviggrahika-**Nâthêna** [I*] Dûtakô **Dhṛiti-svâmikaḥ** [II*]

Read *pishṭa*.

[2] Read *sa pañchabhir*.

[3] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following five verses.

[4] Read *mahimatâṁ*.

[5] Supply *śâsanam*

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! From **Uchchakalpa**; — (*There was*) the *Mahârâja* **Ôghadêva.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Kumâradêva,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Kumâradêvî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Jayasvâmin,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Jayasvâminî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Vyâghra,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Râmadêvî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Jayanâtha,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Ajjhitadêvî.**

(Line 6.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahârâja* **Śarvanâtha,**—begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Muruṇḍasvâminî,**[1]—being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brâhmaṇs, at the villages of **Vyâghrapallika** and **Kâcharapallika** in the **Maṇinâga** *pêṭha*:—

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that these two villages were bestowed, as a mark of favour, upon Pulindabhaṭa,—with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; (*with the privilege that they were not to be*) entered by the irregular or the regular troops; with whatever had (*by custom*) accrued or might accrue in connection with the tribute of all the taxes which should not belong to the king; to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; (*but*) with the exception of (*the right to*) fines imposed on thieves. And now they are granted by him to Kumârasvâmin, to be enjoyed by the succession of (*his*) sons and sons' sons, for the purpose of the worship of the divine goddess Pishṭapurikâdêvî at the temple which he has caused to be built at (the town of) **Mânapura,** and for the purpose of repairing whatever may become broken or torn. And, by (*this*) copper-plate charter, they have been assented to by me, according to the rule of *bhûmichchhidra*.[2]

(L. 14.)—"You yourselves, understanding (*this*), (*and*) being obedient to (*their*) commands, shall render the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, *âvâta*,[3] revenue,[4] &c

(L. 16.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this gran should not be confiscated, (*but*) according to opportunity should be increased (*and*) assented to and preserved. And none of the tribute of the taxes which should not belong to the king, should be taken.

(L. 18.)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant, he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins.

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[1] In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called Muruṇḍadêvî. In No. 29 above, line 6, page 131, the termination of her name is *svâminî*, as here.

[2] *bhûmichchhidra*, *lit.* 'a fissure (furrow) of the soil,' is a technical fiscal expression of constant occurrence in inscriptions. Dr. Bühler has recently discovered the meaning of it, in Yâdavaprakâśa's *Vaijayantî*, in the *Vaiśyâdhyâya*, verse 18, where it is explained by *krishya-yôgyâ bhûḥ*, 'land fit to be ploughed or cultivated.'

[3] *âvâta* is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not apparent. It is derived either from *vâ*, 'to blow, or *vai*, 'to become dried or withered,' in composition with the prefix *â*.—The more usual expression is simply *vâta*; e.g. *sa-vâta-bhûta-dhânya-hirany-âdêya* in line 26 of the Mâliyâ grant of Dharasêna II., No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.

[4] *âya*, *lit.* 'that which comes in; income,' is now a technical fiscal term for 'the customary dues of the hereditary village-officers and servants.' It is, however, not quite certain that it had this special meaning in the early inscriptions.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM.

Vol. III.

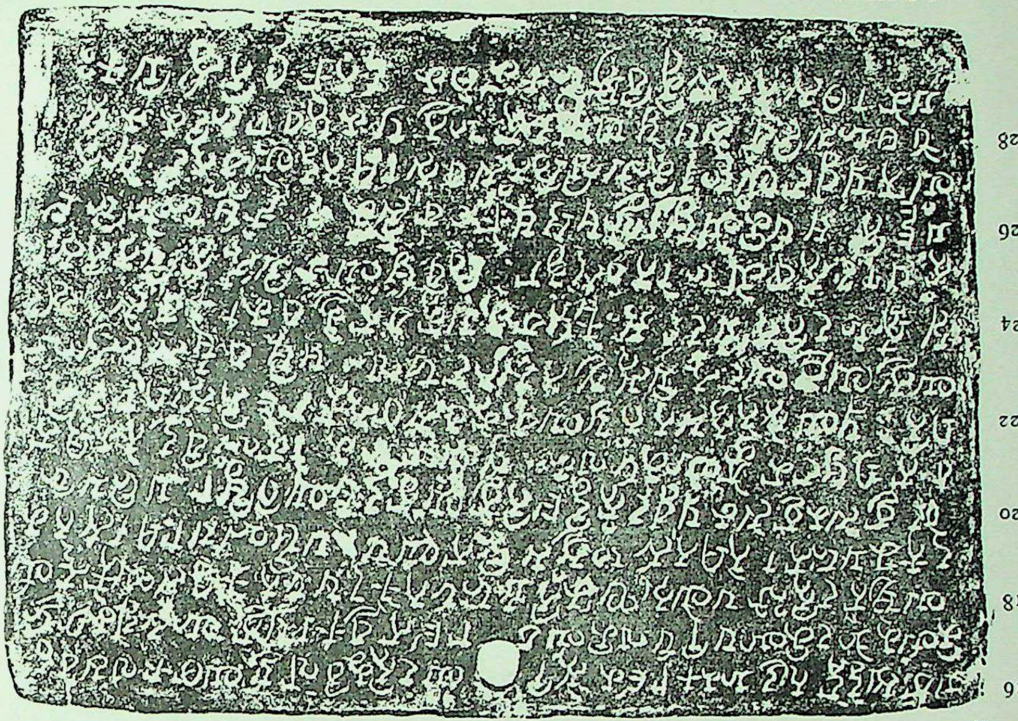
Plate xx

Khoh Plate of the Maharaja Sarvanatha. — The Year 214.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE .75

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.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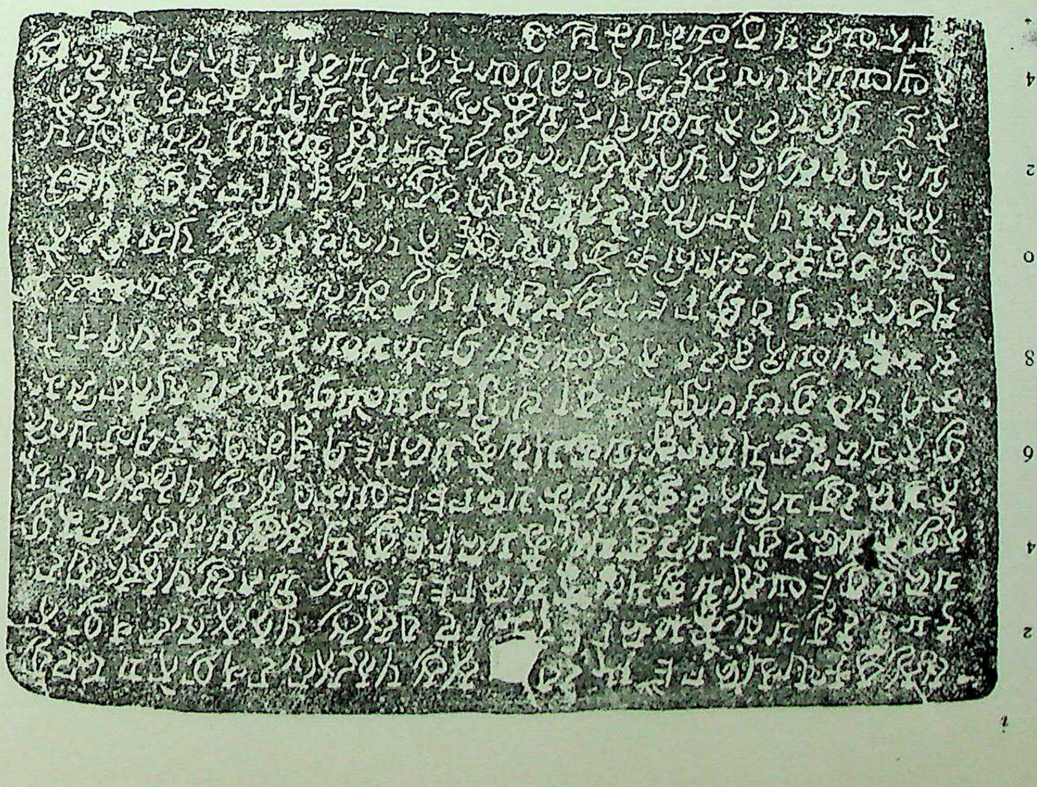
ii


14
12
10
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2

i

(L. 19.)—And it has been said in the Mahâbhârata, in the *Śatasâhasrî-Saṁhitâ*, by Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas, the supreme sage, the son of Parâśara,—"O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by [many*] kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another,—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (*into hell*) together with his ancestors! Those who confiscate a previous grant, are born (*again*) as black serpents, inhabiting the dried-up hollows of trees, in desert places destitute of water!"

(L. 27.)—(*This charter*) has been written in two centuries of years, increased by fourteen, on the sixth day of the month Pausha, by the *Sâṁdhivigrahika* **Nâtha**, the great-grandson of the *Amâtya* Phalgudatta; the grandson of Varâhadinna; (*and*) the son of Manôratha. The *Dûtaka* (*is*) **Dhṛitisvâmika**.

No. 32; PLATE XXI A.

MEHARAULI POSTHUMOUS IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc* Vol. III. p. 494. where Mr. James Prinsep published a lithograph of it (*id.* Plate xxx.), reduced from a facsimile made in 1831 by Lieutenant William Elliot, 27th Regiment N. I. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it does not represent a single letter of the original correctly, and is quite unintelligible from beginning to end.—In 1838, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 629 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published a much improved lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxiii.), reduced from an ink-impression made in the same year by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own reading of the text and a translation of it.[1]—And finally, in 1875, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 63 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published a revised version of the text and translation, including the correct reading of the king's name as Chandra, with a lithograph which appears to have been reduced from a copy on cloth made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.[2]

Mêharaulî, or **Mêṁharaulî**,[3]—an evident corruption of **Mihirapurî**,—is a village nine miles almost due south of Dehli, the chief town of the Dehli District in the Pañjâb. The inscription is on the west side of a tapering iron column, sixteen inches in diameter at the base and twelve at the top, and twenty-three feet eight inches high, standing near the well-known Kutb Minâr in the ancient fort of Rây Pithôrâ within the limits of this village.

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[1] The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 320 f.

[2] This paper was published in 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 13th April 1871.

[3] The 'Maharoli, Manroli, and Muhroulee,' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 31′ N.; Long. 77° 14′ E.—The pillar has always been known as the "Dehli Pillar;" and I think the name of the village in which it really stands, so important because of its obvious derivation, *viz.* Mihirapurî, 'the city of the sun, or of the Mihiras,' was not put on record, in connection with the inscription, until I noticed it (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 362.)

The **writing,** which covers a space of about $2'\ 9\frac{1}{2}''$ broad by $10\frac{1}{2}''$ high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout, owing, of course, to the nature of the substance on which it is engraved. The bottom line of the inscription is about $7'\ 2''$ above the stone platform round the lower part of the column. The engraving is good; but, in the process of it, the metal closed up over some of the strokes, which gives a few of the letters a rather imperfect appearance in the lithograph; this is especially noticeable in the *sy* of the opening word *yasyô*, and in the *r* of *urasâ* in the same line.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{5}{16}''$ to $\frac{1}{2}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving in so hard a substance as the iron of this column, they approximate in many respects very closely to those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i. But, as a distinguishing feature, we have to notice the very marked *mâtrâs*, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, which we have already observed in the Bilsaḍ pillar inscription of Kumâragupta, No. 10 above, page 43, and Plate v. — The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *prânśu*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *śattru*, line 1; and (3) the very unusual omission of the second *t*, which is formative and not due to the preceding *r*, in *mûrtyâ* for *mûrttyâ*, and *kîrtyâ* for *kîrttyâ*, line 3.

The **inscription** is a posthumous eulogy of the conquests of a powerful king named **Chandra,** as to whose lineage no information is given. It is not dated.[1] It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and the object of it is to record the erection of the pillar, which is called a *dhvaja*, or 'standard,'[2] of the god Vishṇu, on a hill called **Vishṇupada,** *i.e.* "(the hill that is marked with) footprints of Vishṇu."

As regards this hill named **Vishṇupada,** and the question whether it should be identified with that part of **the Dehli Ridge** on which the column stands,—the actual position of the column is in a slight depression, with rising ground on both sides; a position which hardly answers to the description of its being on a *giri* or 'hill.' And this, coupled with the tradition that the column was erected, in the early part of the eighth century A.D., by Anaṅgapâla, the founder of the Tômara dynasty,[1] lays it quite open to argument whether this is the real original position of the column, or whether, like the Aśôka columns at Dehli, and possibly the Aśôka (and Gupta) column at Allahâbâd, it was brought to where it now stands from some other place. But the fact that the underground supports of the column include several small pieces ot metal "like bits of bar-iron,"[2] is in favour of its being now in its original position; as they would probably have been overlooked, and left behind. in the process of a transfer.

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[1] Mr. Prinsep allotted this inscription to the third or fourth century A.D.; and Dr. Bhau Daji, to a period later than the time of the Guptas. Mr. Fergusson (*Indian Architecture*, p. 508), drawing special attention to the Persian form of the capital, expressed a conviction that the inscription is of one of the Chandraguptas of the Early Gupta dynasty, and consequently belongs to A.D. 363 or 400.—My own impression at first, on independent grounds, was to allot it to Chandragupta I., the first *Mahârâjâdhirâja* of the family, of whose time we have as yet no inscriptions; and I should not be surprised to find at any time that it is proved to belong to him. The only objection that I can see, is that it contains no reference to the Indo-Scythians, by overthrowing whom the Early Guptas must have established themselves. But, having regard to the name of the village at which the pillar is, it is also possible that the inscription is one of the younger brother of Mihirakula, whose name is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

[2] Compare *dhvaja-stambha*, 'flag-staff,' as applied to the Êraṇ column in line 9 of No. 19 above. There is another iron column, at Dhâr, the ancient Dhârâ, now the chief town of the Dhâr State in Central India. But there is no ancient inscription on it; unless it is completely hidden under, and destroyed by, a Persian inscription that was engraved on it when the Musalmâns conquered that part of the country.

TEXT.[3]

1 Yasy[4]=ôdvarttayataḥ pratîpam=urasâ śattrûn=samêty=âgatân=**Vaṅgêshv**=âhava-
vártinô=bhilikhitâ khaḍgêna kîrttir=bhujê
2 tîrtvâ sapta mukhâni yêna samarê **Sindhôr**=jjitâ **Vâhlikâ**[5] yasy=
âdyâpy=adhivâsyatê jalanidhir=vvîryy-ânilair=ddakshiṇaḥ [II*]
3 Khinnasy=êva visṛijya gâṁ narapatêr=ggâm=âśritasy=êtarâṁ mûrt[t*]yâ
karmma-jit-âvaniṁ gatavatah kîrt[t*]yâ sthitasya kshitau
4 śântasy=êva mahâ-vanê hutabhujô yasya pratâpô mahân=n=âdyâpy=
utsṛijati praṇâśita-ripôr=yyatnasya śêshaḥ kshitim [II*]
5 Prâptêna sva-bhuj-ârjjitañ=cha suchirañ=ch=aikâdhirâjyaṁ kshitau **Chandr-**
âhvêna samagra-chandra-sadṛiśîṁ vaktra-śriyaṁ bibhratâ
6 tên=âyaṁ praṇidhâya bhûmipatinâ dhâvêna[6] Vishṇô(shṇau) matiṁ prânśur=
Vvishṇupadê girau bhagavatô Vishṇôr=dhvajaḥ sthâpitaḥ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in the **Vaṅga** countries, he kneaded (*and turned*) back with (*his*) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (*him*);—he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) **Sindhu**, the **Vâhlikas**[7] were conquered;—he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed;—

(Line 3.)—He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (*his*) enemies, like (*the remnant of the great glowing heat*) of a burned-out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth; though he, the king, as if wearied, has quitted this earth, and has gone to the other world, moving in (*bodily*) form to the land (*of paradise*) won by (*the merit of his*) actions, (*but*) remaining on (*this*) earth by (*the memory of his*) fame;—

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[1] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 171.

[2] *id.* Vol. IV. p. 28, and Plate v.

[3] From the original pillar.

[4] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita, throughout.

[5] Prinsep also read *vâhlikâ*; but Bhau Daji, varying in also the first syllable, read *bâlhikâ*.— In the first *akshara*, the *v* is imperfect on the right side, through the closing up of the metal. In the second *akshara*, the *h* is turned in the opposite direction to that in which it is turned in *âhava*, line 1 and *mahâvanê* and *mahân*, line 4. But, that the *akshara* is *hli*, not *lhi*, is certain; because *l* can only be formed to the left; whereas, at this period, *h* was formed sometimes to the left and sometimes to the right; and, in the present inscription, it is turned to the right, as here, again in *hutabhujô*, line 4, and *âhvêna*, line 5.

[6] See page 142 below, note 2.

[7] See note 5 above.

(L. 5.)—By him, the king,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty[1] in the world, acquired by his own arm and (*enjoyed*) for a very long time; (*and*) who, having the name of **Chandra**, carried a beauty of countenance like (*the beauty of*) the full-moon,—having in faith[2] fixed his mind upon (the god) Vishṇu, this lofty standard of the divine Vishṇu was set up on the hill (*called*) **Vishṇupada.**

No. 33; PLATE XXI B.

MANDASOR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN.

THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 253 ff., is another record from **Mandasôr**,[3] or more properly **Dasôr**, the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India. With the inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 above, page 79, and Plate xi., it was discovered in 1884, in the search made under my direction, in consequence of my having seen the hand-copy of the next inscription, No. 34, that had been sent by Mr. Arthur Sulivan to General Cunningham in 1879; the present inscription had escaped Mr. Sulivan's notice. Like the next inscription, it is on one of a pair of magnificent monolith columns,[4] apparently of very close-grained and good sandstone, lying in a field immediately on the south side of a small collection of huts, known by the name of Sôdaṇî or Sôndaṇî, but not shewn in the maps as a separate village, between two and three miles to the south-east of Mandasôr.

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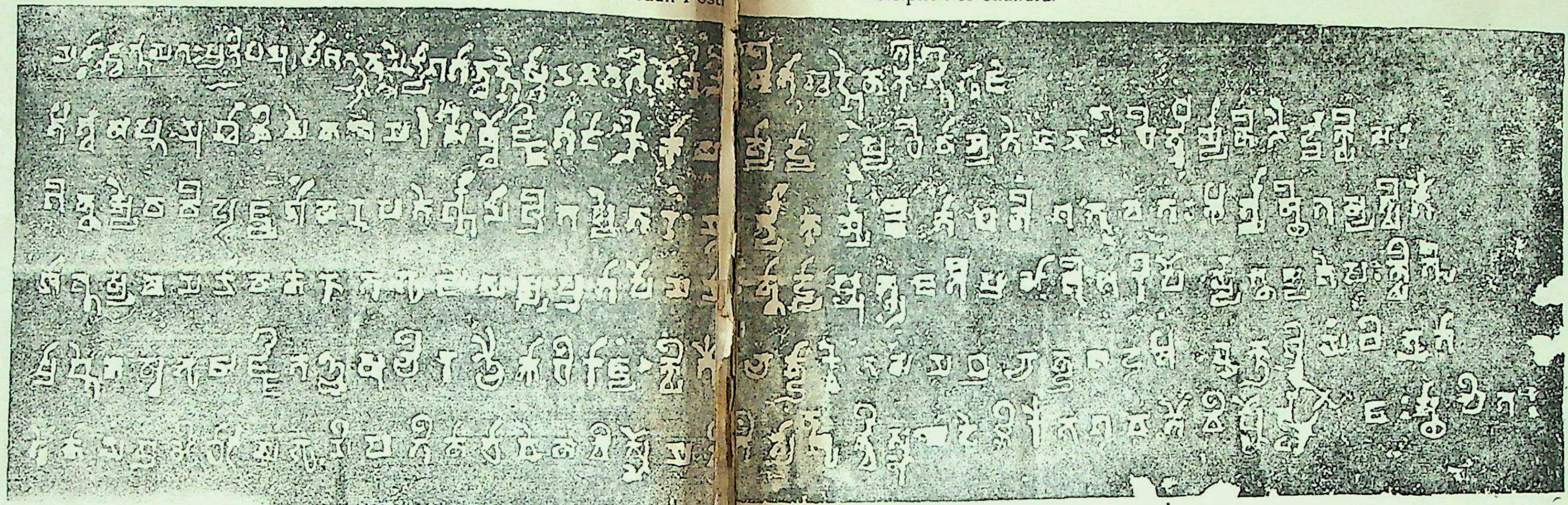
[1] *aikâdhirâjya*; *lit.* 'the condition of being the sole *Adhirâja*.'—*Adhirâja*, *lit.* 'supreme king,' is a technical feudatory title, probably denoting the same rank as *Mahârâja*. It occurs, for instance, in line 5 of the Byânâ inscription of the *Adhirâja* Vijaya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10). Its derivative, *dhirâjya*, however, is here used in a general and non-technical sense, in accordance with its original etymological meaning.

[2] In line 6, *dhâvêna*, as read by Prinsep, is what is really engraved; not *bhâvêna*, as read by Bhau Daji. But, as *dhâva*, 'cleansing, washing, making bright, polishing,' appears to be used only in composition, the word seems to be a mistake for *bhâvêna*, which is equivalent to the *bhaktyâ* of, for instance, line 5 of No. 6 above, page 35; and this is borne out by the position of the word in the text.—The engraving of the rest of the inscription, however, is so very correct, that it is just possible that future researches may even yet shew that Dhâva is a proper name here, as it was interpreted by Prinsep. In that case, Dhâva, as another name of a king called Chandra, might be compared with Kâcha, which I have intimated (page 27 above, note 4) may be a familiar and less formal name of Samudragupta.—In line 5 I have arranged my translation according to the order of the words in the text. But, assuming that the composer's arrangement of them was due to metrical exigencies, we might translate—"(and) who, carrying a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full-moon, had (in consequence) the name of Chandra:" and thus obtain a hint that the king's original name was not Chandra.

[3] See page 79 above, and note 1.

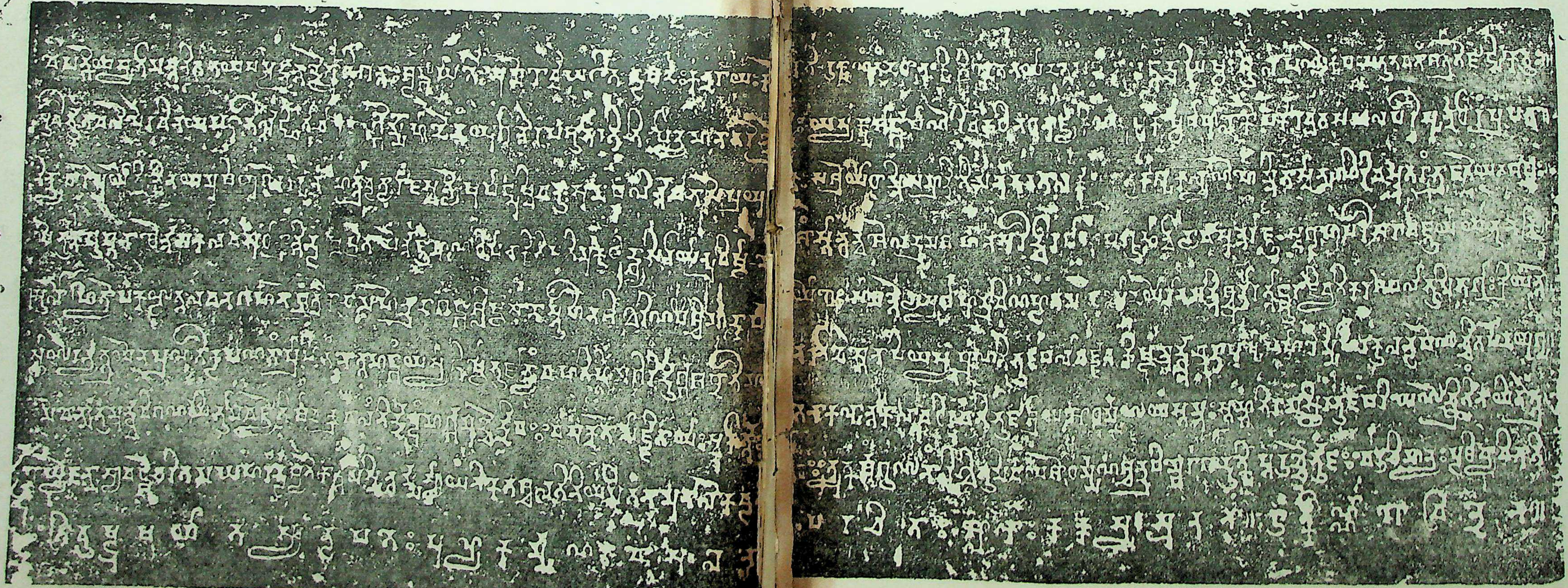
[4] About fifty yards away to the west of these two inscribed columns, in the next field, I turned up the lower part of another large sandstone column. The base is rectangular, about 3′ 6″ high by 3′ 4″ square. The shaft, of which only a length of about 2′ 0″ remains attached to the base, is circular about 3′ 4″ in diameter; and, instead of being plain like the two inscribed columns, it is carved all over with cross-lines into diamond-shaped knobs. I had the field excavated all round this column, but could find no traces of the rest of the shaft, or of the other parts of it. From its different pattern, it can have no connection with the two inscribed columns.

A.—Meharauli Posthumous Pillar Inscription of Chandra.



SCALE ·33

B.—Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman.



SCALE ·40

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

The column with the present inscription lies, partially buried, north and south, with the top to the north. The base of it is rectangular, about 3′ 4″ square by 4′ 5″ high; and, as there is no socket at the bottom to indicate that it was fitted into any masonry foundation, this part must have been buried when the column stood upright. From this base there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8½″ broad where it starts from the base; part of the shaft, about 17′ 0 in length, is still connected with the base, making the length of this fragment about 21′ 5″; and the present inscription, occupying five of the sixteen faces, is on this fragment, the bottom line being about 2′ 2″ above the top of the base. Immediately in continuation of this, there lies the remainder of the shaft, about 17′ 10″ long; at the upper end of this, the faces are each about 7″ broad, shewing that the column tapers slightly from bottom to top. The upper end of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews these two fragments make up the entire shaft, the total length of which was thus about 39′ 3″, or 34′ 10″ above the base. This column appears to have broken naturally in falling, and not to have been deliberately divided, as the other was, in the manner described below. The next part of this column, the lower part of the capital, lies about forty yards away to the north, close up to the hedge of the hamlet, and is a fluted bell, about 2′ 6″ high and 3′ 2″ in diameter almost identical in design with the corresponding part of a small pillar from an old Gupta temple at Sâñchi, drawn by General Cunningham in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. Plate xxii. No. 1. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11″ in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. About twenty-five yards south of this, and fifteen yards north of the column, I found a flat stone buried in the ground, just level with the surface; and, on excavating it, it proved to be the next portion, the square upper part of the capital. It measures about 2′ 8″ high by 3′ 10″ square; the vertical corner edges are trimmed off. I could not get at the bottom of it; but there must be there a socket-hole, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came below it. I only exposed one side of it; but this was sufficient to shew that it is a lion-capital, exactly like the capital of the other column, noticed more fully below. On the top surface of it, there is in the centre a circular socket-hole about 11½″ in diameter and 4″ deep, with eight other rectangular socket-holes round it, one in the centre of each side, and one opposite each corner. The total length of this column, up to the top of the lion-capital, is about 44′ 5″; or forty feet above the ground, if it stood with the entire base buried. The square lion-capital must have been surmounted by a statue or statues, of the same kind as that which stands on the summit of the column at Êraṇ[1] which has on it Budhagupta's inscription, No. 19 above, page 88; but I cannot feel sure of having found it. I found, indeed, in the same field, towards the west side, in three pieces, a very well executed sandstone bas-relief slab, 9′ 0″ high, with a rectangular pedestal 3′ 2″ broad by 1′ 8″ deep and 8″ high, of a male figure, standing, somewhat larger than life-size, wearing a *kirîṭa* or high head-dress, with necklace and armlets, and draped from the waist downwards, with a small figure standing by the right leg. And close by this there were, in two pieces, the *kirîṭa* and the head and shoulders of another figure of the same size, evidently a duplicate of the above. Unless, however. there were some intervening parts that have been altogether lost, these slabs cannot belong to the columns, since their pedestals have no sockets to fit into the socket-holes on the tops of the lion-capitals.[1]

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[1] See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 81, and Plate xxvi.

The other column, with the fragmentary duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC., stood, as is shewn by the present position of its base, about twenty yards north of the column that I have just described. When overthrown, it fell east and west, with the top towards the west. The base is rectangular, about 3′ 3″ square by 3′ 11″ high. Differing from the first column, the base here is followed by a concave circular part, about 1′ 0″ high. From this there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8″ broad where it starts from the base. But the portion of the shaft that remains attached to the base is only about 1′ 1″ long; and a row of chisel-marks all round the column here, shews that it was deliberately broken by the insertion of wedges. The next piece of the column,—or rather a remnant of it, as it is broken vertically, and part of it has been lost,—lies about three yards to the north of the base, and parallel with it, but in an inverted position, with the upper end to the east. This piece is about 9′ 0″ long; and the remnant of the duplicate inscription is here, on two of the faces; the bottom line of it being about 2′ 9½″ above the square base. The next piece of the shaft is missing altogether, and is supposed to be entirely buried somewhere in this field. The remainder of the shaft, about 6′ 9″ in length, lies, almost entirely buried, a few yards to the west of the portion including the base and the commencement of the shaft. Each face here is about 7″ broad at the top; shewing that this column also tapers slightly from bottom to top. The top of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews that we have here the end of the shaft. Immediately west of this fragment, there lies the fluted bell part of the capital, about 3′ 0″ high and 3′ 3″ in diameter, similar in design to the same part of the capital of the other pillar. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11″ in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. Just to the west of this there lies, upside down and partially buried, the next portion of the capital, the square upper part, measuring about 3′ 0″ high and 3′ 10″ square; the vertical corner edges are trimmed off. The bottom, and one entire side and parts of two others, are exposed; and enough is visible to shew that each side consists of a bas-relief sculpture of two lions, each sitting on its haunches and facing to the corner, where it merges into the corresponding corner lion on the next side;[2] with the head of a conventional *siṁha* or mythological lion in the centre, over the backs of the lions. In the bottom of this stone there is a socket-hole, about 10½″ in diameter, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came just below it. And I dug under one of the corners of the top enough to find there a rectangular socket-hole, which justifies us in assuming that the top has one circular and eight rectangular socket-holes, just as in the top of the lion-capital of the first column. As in the case of the first column, I cannot feel sure of having found the statue or statues which must have stood on the top of it.

The two inscribed columns were evidently intended as a pair, though the full measure of the second cannot be taken. From the distance between them; from the difference in the detailed measures; and from the analogous instance of the Êraṇ column, as shewing the way in which they must have been finished off at the top,—they can hardly have been connected by a beam, after the fashion of a *tôraṇa* or arched gateway; and there are no traces of any temple to which they can have belonged. They are evidently an actual instance of two *raṇastambhas* or "columns of victory in war," such as the Kauthêṁ[1] grant of Vikramâditya V., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 930 (A.D. 1008-9) expired, speaks of as having been set up by the Râshṭrakûṭa king Karkara or Kakka III., and as having then been cut asunder in battle by the Western Châlukya king Taila II.

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[1] There are some similar bas-relief slabs set up in a group under some palm-trees in another field, about fifty yards away to the east from where the inscribed columns lie; but these, again, do not appear to belong to the columns.

[2] Compare the lions on the upper part of the square portion of the capital of the Êraṇ column.

To return to the inscription on the first column,—the **writing,** which covers a space of about $3' 2\frac{1}{2}''$ broad by $1' 2\frac{1}{2}''$ high, has suffered a good deal from the weather; and, owing to the difficulty of obtaining lights and shades, partly in consequence of the letters being rather shallow, and partly because of the natural light colour of the stone, it is rather difficult to read on the original column; but, in the ink-impression and the lithograph, it can easily be read with certainty throughout.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}''$ to $\frac{3}{8}''$. Differing from the Mandasôr inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 above, page 79, Plate xi., the **characters** here belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are a development, in some respects, of the type of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and, in others, of that of the Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 above, Plate iiiB. They include the rather rare lingual *ḍh*, in *upagûḍha*, line 4. In *vîrya*, line 4, and *sâmantair=yasya*, line 5, the *r* is formed on the line of writing, with only a single *y* below it; in combination with other consonants, *e.g.* in *sumêrôr=vvighaṭita*, line 1, and *dharmmasya*, line 8, the *r* is formed above the top line of writing, and the consonant is doubled, in the usual way.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the two words at the end, recording the engraver's name, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmânîya* in *śikhariṇaḫ=paśchimâd*, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *aṅśu*, line 5, and *vaṅśa*, line 8; and before *s*, in *têjâṅsi*, line 1, and *pâṅsu*, line 3; (3) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *âkkrânti*, line 4; *chakkra*, line 7; *mâttra* and *yattra*, line 3; *anyattra*, line 6; and *nâyitô=ttra*, line 7; but not in *kriyantê*, line 5, and *śatru*, line 1; and (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *addhyâsinî*, line 4.

The **inscription** is one of a king named **Yaśôdharman,**[2] whose dominions are described as including the whole of the northern part of India, from the river **Lauhitya,** or the **Brahmaputra,** to the **Western Ocean,** and from the **Himâlayas** to the mountain

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 18.

[2] Having regard to the frequency with which, in the period of this inscription, *varman* occurs as the termination of proper names, and to the rarity of *dharman*,—there might be some temptation to suggest that Yaśôdharman should be corrected into Yaśôvarman. But the *dh* is very distinct in line 7 here, and in the corresponding place in line 7 of the remnant of the original duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC.; and again in line 8 below; and again in the same name in line 4 of the inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.—The form *dharman* is not of frequent occurrence. But we do meet with it in other proper names; *e.g.* Kṛitadharman, Kshattradharman, Kshêmadharman, Jayadharman, and Sudharman. And it also occurs in ordinary composition; *e.g.* in *Manv-âdi-praṇîta-vidhi-vidhâna-dharmmâ*, in line 5 of the Mâliyâ grant of the *Mahârâja* Dharasêna II. of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.; and in *têjôbhir=âditya-samâna-dharmmâ*, in line 29 of the Kauthêṁ grant of Vikramâditya V. of Śaka-Saṁvat 930 expired (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22).

Mahêndra.[1] We have an important allusion in the statement that he possessed countries which not even the **Guptas** and the **Hûṇas** could subdue; and a still more important record, in connection with the general history of the period, to the effect that homage was done to him by even the famous king **Mihirakula.** It is not dated. But **Yaśôdharman's** date is now known from the Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Śaṁvat 589 (A.D. 532-33) expired, No. 35 below, which mentions him and Vishṇuvardhana; and the present inscription, having been engraved by the same person, Gôvinda, must fall within a few years on either side of that date. Also, the use of the present tense almost throughout, coupled with the record that **Yaśôdharman** himself erected the column, shews that the inscription is one of his own time, not posthumous. The opening verse contains a Śaiva invocation; which is in accordance with the boast, in line 6, that Yaśôdharman never bowed his head to any save the god Śiva. But the record itself is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to narrate the erection of the column, for the purpose of reciting the king's glory and power.

TEXT.[2]

1 Vêpantê[3] yasya bhîma-stanita-bhaya-samudbhrânta-daityâ digantâḥ śṛiṅg-âghâtaiḥ Sumêrôr=vvighaṭita-dṛishadaḥ kandarâ yaḥ karôti | ukshâṇaṁ taṁ dadhânaḥ kshitidharatanayâ-datta-pañch-âṅgul-âṅkaṁ drâghishṭhaḥ Śûlapâṇêḥ kshapayatu bhavatâṁ śatru-têjâṅsi kêtuḥ ||

2 Avirbhût-âvalêpair=avinaya-paṭubhir=llaṅghit-âchâra-mârggair=mmôhâd=aidaṁ-yugînair=apa-śubha-ratibhiḥ pîḍyamânâ narêndraiḥ | yasya kshmâ Śârṅgapâṇêr=iva kaṭhına-dhanur-jyâ-kiṇ-âṅka-prakôshṭhaṁ bâhuṁ lôk-ôpakâra-vrata-saphala-parispanda-dhîraṁ prapannâ ||

3 Nindy-âchârêshu yô=smin=vinaya-mushi yugê kalpanâ-mâttra-vṛit[t*]yâ râjasv=anyêshu pâṅsushv=iva kusuma-balir=nn=âbabhâsê prayuktaḥ | sa śrêyô-dhâmni samrâḍ=iti Manu-Bharat-Âlarkka-Mândhâtṛi-kalpê kalyâṇê hêmni bhâsvân=maṇir=iva sutarâṁ bhrâjatê yattra śabdaḥ ||

4 Yê bhuktâ **Gupta**-nâthair=nna sakala-vasudh-âkkrânti-drishṭa-pratâpair=nn=âjñâ **Hûṇ**-âdhipânâṁ kshitipati-mukuṭ-âddhyâsinî yân=pravishṭâ | dêśâṁs=tân=dhanva-śaila-druma-śa(ga)hana-sarid-vîrabâh-ûpagûḍhân=vîry-âva-skanna-râjñaḥ sva-gṛiha-parisar-âvajñayâ yô bhunakti ||

5 Â **Lauhity**-ôpakaṇṭhât=tala-vana-gahan-ôpatyakâd=â **Mahêndrâd**=â **Gaṅg**-âślishṭa-sânôs=**tuhinaśikhariṇaḥ**=**paśchimâd**=â **payôdhêḥ** | sâmantair=yasya bâhu-draviṇa-hṛita-madaiḥ pâdayôr=ânamadbhiś=chûḍâratn-âṅśu-râji-vyatikara-śabalâ bhûmi-bhâgâḥ kriyantê ||

6 Sthânôr=anyattra yêna praṇati-kṛipaṇatâṁ prâpitaṁ n=ôttamâṅgaṁ yasy=âślishṭô bhujâbhyâṁ vahati **himagirir**=durgga-śabd-âbhimânam |

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[1] It is doubtful whether this denotes here the famous Mahêndragiri or Mahêndrâchala in the Gañjâm District, among the Eastern Ghauts; or another mountain of the same name, not so well known, which appears to be mentioned also in line 2 of an earlier Nâsik inscription of the nineteenth year of Siri-Puḷumâyi (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. No. 14, pp. 108, 109), and in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, xiv. vv. 11-16 (Kern's Translation, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 83), and must be located somewhere in the Western Ghauts.

[2] From the ink-impression.

[3] Metre, Sragdharâ; and in the next seven verses

nîchais=tên=âpi yasya praṇati-bhuja-bal-âvarjjana-klishṭa-mûrddhnâ chûḍâ-pushp-ôpahârair=**Mmihirakula**-nṛipêṇ=ârchchitaṁ pâda-yugmaṁ ॥

7 [Gâ]m=êv=ônmâtum=ûrddhvaṁ vigaṇayitum=iva jyôtishâṁ chakkravâlaṁ nirddêshṭuṁ mârggam=uchchair-ddiva iva sukṛit-ôpârjjitâyâḥ sva-kîrttêḥ । tên=â-kalpânta-kâl-âvadhir=avanibhujâ **śrî-Yaśôdharmmaṇ**=âyaṁ stambhaḥ stambh-âbhirâma-sthira-bhuja-parighêṇ=ôchchhritiṁ nâyitô=ttra ॥

8 Ś[l]âghyê janm=âsya vaṅśe charitam=agha-haraṁ dṛiśyatê kântam=asmin=dharmmasy=âyaṁ nikêtaś=chalati niyamitaṁ n=âmunâ lôka-vṛittam [।*] ity=utkarshaṁ guṇânâṁ likhitum=iva **Yaśôdharmmaṇaś**=chandra-bimbê râgâd=utkshipta uchchair-bhuja iva ruchimân=yaḥ pṛithivyâ vibhâti ॥

9 Iti[1] tushṭûshayâ tasya nṛipatêḥ puṇya-karmmaṇaḥ । Vâsulên=ôparachitâḥ ślôkaḥ Kakkasya sûnunâ ॥ Utkîrṇṇâ[2] Gôvindêna ॥

TRANSLATION.

May that very long banner of (the god) Śûlapâṇi destroy the glory of your enemies;—(that banner) which bears (*a representation of*) the bull (Nandi), marked by the five fingers (*dipped in some dye and then*) placed on him by (Pârvatî) the daughter of the mountain (Himâlaya), who causes the distant regions, in which the demons are driven wild with fear by (*his*) terrible bellowings, to shake; (*and*) who makes the glens of (the mountain) Sumêru to have their rocks split open by the blows of his horns!

(Line 2.)—He, to whose arm, as if (*to the arm*) of (the god) Śârṅgapâṇi,—the fore-arm of which is marked with callous parts caused by the hard string of (*his*) bow, (*and*) which is steadfast in the successful carrying out of vows for the benefit of mankind,—the earth betook itself (*for succour*), when it was afflicted by kings of the present age, who manifested pride; who were cruel through want of proper training; who, from delusion, transgressed the path of good conduct; (*and*) who were destitute of virtuous delights:—

(L. 3.)—He who, in this age which is the ravisher of good behaviour, through the action simply of (*his good*) intentions shone gloriously, not associating with other kings who adopted a reprehensible course of conduct,—just as an offering of flowers (*is beautiful when it is not laid down*) in the dust;—he in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue, (*and so*) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Mândhâtṛi, the title of "universal sovereign"[3] shines more (*than in any other*), like a resplendent jewel (*set*) in good gold:—

(L. 4.)—He who, spurning (*the confinement of*) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys those countries,—thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes, (*and*) having (*their*) kings assaulted by (*his*) prowess,—which were not enjoyed (*even*) by the lords of the **Guptas,** whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (*remainder of the*) earth, (*and*) which the command of the chiefs of the **Hûṇas,** that established itself on the tiaras of (*many*) kings, failed to penetrate:—

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[1] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[2] Supply *praśastiḥ*.

[3] *samrâj*; 'a sovereign who rules over kings and has performed the *râjasûya*-sacrifice.'—For a description of the *râjasûya*, which is a great sacrifice or religious ceremony performed, at the coronation of a supreme sovereign or universal monarch, by the king himself and his tributary princes, see the *Râjasûya-Parva* in the *Sabhâ-Parva* of the Mahâbhârata; Protap Chandra Roy's Translation, page 95 ff.

(L. 5.)—He before whose feet chieftains,[1] having (*their*) arrogance removed by the strength of (*his*) arm, bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) **Lauhitya** up to (the mountain) **Mahêndra,**[2] the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (*and*) from **(Himâlaya)** the mountain of snow, the table-lands of which are embraced by the (river) **Gaṅgâ,** up to the **Western Ocean,**—by which (*all*) the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (*their*) heads:[3]—

(L. 6.)—He by whom (*his*) head has never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthâṇu;—he, through the embraces of whose arms **(Himâlaya)** the mountain of snow carries no longer[4] the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult of access;—he to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (*his*) head, by even that (*famous*) king **Mihirakula,** whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (*his*) arm in (*the act of compelling*) obeisance:—

(L. 7.)—By him, the king, the glorious **Yaśôdharman,**[5] the firm beams of whose arms are as charming as pillars, this column, which shall endure to the time of the destruction of the world, has been erected here,—as if to measure out the earth; as if to enumerate on high the multitude of the heavenly lights; (*and*) as if to point out the path of his own fame to the skies above, acquired by good actions;—(this column) which shines refulgent, as if it were a lofty arm of the earth, raised up in joy to write upon the surface of the moon the excellence of the virtues of **Yaśôdharman,** to the effect that—"His birth (*is*) in a lineage that is worthy to be eulogised; there is seen in him a charming behaviour that is destructive of sin; he is the abode of religion; (*and*) the (*good*) customs of mankind continue current, unimpeded (*in any way*) by him."

(L. 9.)—From a desire thus to praise this king, of meritorious actions, (*these*) verses have been composed by Vâsula, the son of Kakka. (*This eulogy*) has been engraved by Gôvinda.

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[1] *Sâmanta, lit.* 'bordering, neighbouring; a neighbour, a feudatory prince, the chief of a tributary district,' is a technical official title, denoting a rank next below that of the *Mahâsâmanta*, which title occurs, for instance, in several places in the Nirmaṇḍ grant of the *Mahâsâmanta* and *Mahârâja* Samudrasêna, No. 80 below, Plate xliv.—*Sâmanta* is of constant occurrence, in other inscriptions, in its technical sense; but it is here used only in a general way, and is translated accordingly.

[2] See page 146 above, note 1.

[3] *chûḍâ* is a single lock or tuft of hair left on the crown of the head after the ceremony of tonsure, which is performed in early childhood.

[4] To complete the sense, we must apparently supply, in connection with *vahati*, the negative particle *na* from the first *pâda* of the verse.

[5] See page 145 above, note 2.

No. 34; PLATE XXIC.

MANDASOR DUPLICATE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN.

THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 257 f., is the remnant, mentioned above, of the original duplicate copy of the inscription of Yaśôdharman on the second inscribed column, described at page 144 above, at **Mandasôr,**[1] or more properly **Dasôr,** the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions, in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India. It was discovered by Mr. Arthur Sulivan, who forwarded his hand-copy of it to General Cunningham in 1879. And it was this that led to the search which was made under my direction in 1884, and which resulted in the discovery of the entire copy of this inscription No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxiB., and of the inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman of the Mâlava years 493 and 529, No. 18 above, page 79, and Plate xi.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 1′ 1″ broad by 1′ 2″ high, is in some respects in a state of rather better preservation than the entire copy; but nearly three-quarters of the full inscription is lost here, through the column having cracked vertically and part of it being now not forthcoming.—The **size** of the letters varies from ¼″ to ⅜″. The **characters** belong, as before, to the northern class of alphabets, and were engraved by the same person, Gôvinda, who engraved the entire copy, No. 33 above; and this record appears to have been in all essential details an exact reproduction of the copy that has been preserved entire. We have the lingual *ḍh* in *upagûḍha*, line 4. And the two methods of forming *r* in combination with a following consonant, are very well illustrated by *vîrya*, line 4, and *ôpahârair=mmihirakula*, line 6.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1), as before, the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *aṅśu*, line 5; and before *s*, in *têjâṅsi*, line 1; and (2) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *yattra*; line 3, and *nâyitô=ttra*, line 7; and also in *śattru*, line 1, where it is not doubled in the entire copy.

This fragmentary **inscription** preserves the names of **Yaśôdharman** and **Mihirakula.** But the passage mentioning the **Guptas** and the **Hûṇas** has been lost: and also that which gives the boundaries of Yaśôdharman's dominions.

TEXT.[2]

1 .... [da]tta[3]-pañch-âṅgul-âṅkaṁ drâghishṭhaḥ Śûlapâṇêḥ kshapayatu
bhavatâṁ śattru-têjâṅsi kêtuḥ ǁ
2 .... jy[â]-kiṇ-âṅka-prakôshṭhaṁ bâhuṁ lôk-ôpakâra-vrata-saphala-
parispanda-dhîraṁ prapannâ ǁ
3 .... [Â]larkka-Mândhâtṛi-kalpê kalyâṇê hêmni bhâsvân=maṇir=iva
sutarâṁ bhrâjatê yattra śabdaḥ ǁ
4 .... [vî]ra-bâh-ûpagûḍhân=vîry-âvaskanna-râjñaḥ sva-gṛiha-parisar-âvajñayâ
yô bhunakti ǁ

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[1] See page 79 above, and note 1.

[2] From the ink-impression.

[3] Metre, Sragdharâ; and in the next seven verses.

5 .... pâdayôr=ânamadbhiś=chûḍâratn-âṅśu-râji-vyatikara-śabalâ bhûmi-bhâgâḥ kriyantê ॥

6 .... [âvar]jjana-klishṭa-mûrddhnâ chûḍâ-pushp-ôpahârair=**Mmihirakula**-nṛipêṇ=ârchchitaṁ pâda-yugmaṁ ॥

7 .... [śrî]-**Yaśôdharmmaṇ**=âyaṁ stambhaḥ stambh-âbhirâma-sthira-bhuja-parighêṇ=ôchchhritiṁ nâyitô=ttra ॥

8 .... **[Yaśôdha]rmmaṇaś**=chandra-bimbê râgâd=utkshipta uchchair-bhuja iva ruchimân=vaḥ pṛithivyâ vibhâti ।

9 .... [Ka]kkasya[1] sûnunâ ॥ Utkîrṇṇâ[2] Gôvindêna ॥

TRANSLATION.

[It is unnecessary to offer a translation of this fragment, as the contents of it are fully explained by the translation of the entire copy, at page 147 above. It is sufficient to note that we have the name of **Yaśôdharman**,[3] complete in line 7, and partially preserved in line 8; the name of **Mihirakula**, very clearly legible, in line 6; and, in line 9, the name of Gôvinda, the engraver of the record.]

No. 35; PLATE XXII.

MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN AND VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE MALAVA YEAR 589.

THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 222 ff., is from a stone-tablet, which, when shewn to me in 1885, was in the possession of Sir Michael Filose, K.C.S.I., at Ujjain, but which had come originally from an old well, somewhere in the lands of **Mandasôr**,[4] or more properly **Dasôr**, the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India, where it was found, in the course of repairs, built up with the inscribed surface inside. I could obtain no accurate information on the point; but possibly this is a large and ancient well, which immediately attracts attention, just inside the eastern entrance of the Fort.

The stone is a smooth and beautifully engraved tablet, apparently of slate-stone, measuring about 1′ 11″ broad by 1′ 6½″ high and 2½″ thick. There are no **sculptures** on it, connected with the inscription. But, on the back, which is divided into two compartments by what seems to be either a spear with a curved handle, or a shepherd's crook, there are engraved in outline, very roughly,—at the upper corners, the sun on the proper right, and the moon on the proper left; and, lower down, on each side, a man on horseback, facing towards the central dividing sculpture; the horseman on the proper right side carries in his left hand either a *chaurî* or fly-flap made from the bushy tail of the Bos Grunniens, or a *śaṅkha* or conch-shell; the other horseman carries something in his right hand, but I could not distinguish the object. These sculptures were engraved, of course, when the tablet was fixed in the position in which it was discovered, with the inscribed

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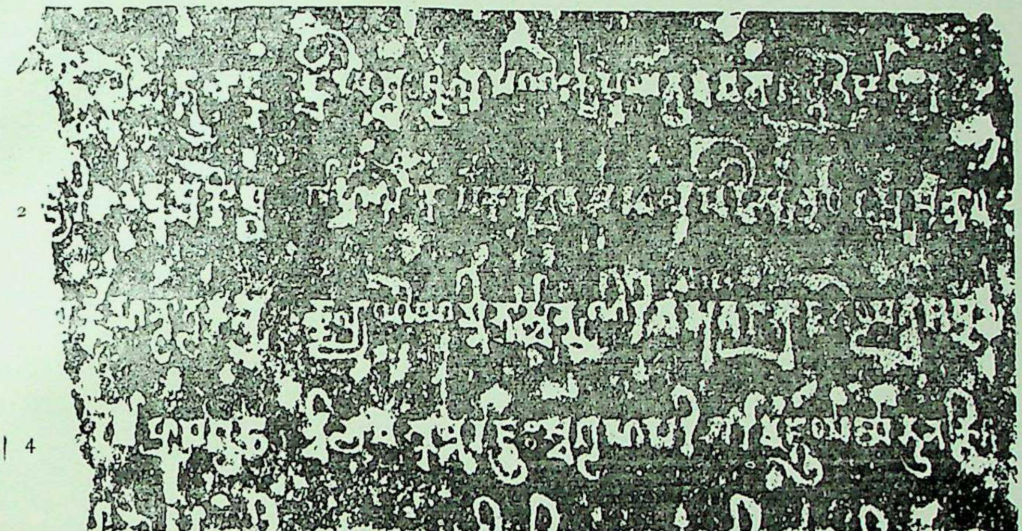
[1] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[2] Supply *praśastiḥ*.

[3] See page 145 above, note 2

[4] See page 79 above, and note 1.

C—Mandasor Duplicate Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman



surface inwards; and it is owing to this position, that the inscription has remained in so perfect a state of preservation.—The **writing** covers the entire surface of the stone, with a margin of from 1″ to 1½″; and is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout, though there are just a few letters from which it was impossible to clear out the hard incrustation of lime, with which the writing was blocked up from beginning to end, sufficiently for them to come out quite perfectly in the ink-impression, and so in the lithograph. At the ends of lines 1, 2, and 3, a few letters have been lost by the edges of the stone being chipped here; and at some other places a few letters have been damaged in the same way. But the only place where the missing letters cannot be supplied, is at the commencement of line 16.—The average **size** of the letters is about ¼″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type, being in fact engraved by the same hand, with those of the Mandasôr duplicate pillar inscriptions of Yaśôdharman, No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxiB., and No. 34, page 149, and Plate xxiC. They include the very rare initial *au*, in *aulikara*, line 5; and the lingual *ḍh*, in *udûḍha* and *gâḍha*, line 7; *rûḍha*, line 11; and *ûḍha*, line 18.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, and the two words at the end recording the name of the engraver, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vaṅśa*, lines 6 and 9; *aṅśu*, line 9; *aṅśa*, line 11; and *abhraṅśin*, line 12; (2) the use of the dental nasal, before *s*, in *bhûyânsi*, line 2, and *yaśânsi*, line 4; though we have the more usual *anusvâra* in *manâṁsi*, line 22; (3) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *śattru*, line 4; *kalattra*, line 11; and *pâriyâttra*, line 16; and (4), the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y* and *v*, in *addhyâsita*, line 16-17, and *addhvani*, line 18, though not in other places.

The inscription refers itself, in the first instance, to the time of **Yaśôdharman,**[1] here called a tribal ruler,[2] whose name is already on record from his duplicate pillar inscriptions at Mandasôr, No. 33 above, page 142, and No. 34, page 149. It then mentions a king[3] named **Vishṇuvardhana,** who, though he had the titles of *Râjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*, would appear to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yaśôdharman. **Vishṇuvardhana's** family is mentioned as the lineage that had the *aulikara*-crest.[4] The inscription is dated, in words, when the year five hundred and eighty-nine had expired from the tribal constitution of the **Mâlavas,** and, therefore, when the year five hundred and ninety (A.D. 533-34) was current; but no further details of the date are given. The opening invocations are addressed to the god Śiva. But the record itself is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the construction of a large well by a person named **Daksha,** the younger brother of Dharmadôsha, who was a minister of Vishṇuvardhana, in memory of their deceased uncle Abhayadatta, who had formerly held the same office for the tract of country bounded by the **Vindhyas** and the **Pâriyâtra** mountain, and the **(Western) Ocean.**

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[1] See page 145 above, note 2.

[2] *janêndra*; *lit.* 'a lord of a people or tribe.'

[3] *narâdhipati*; *lit.* 'a chief ruler of men.'

[4] *aulikara-lâñchhana.*—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the word *aulikara*; but it seems to denote either 'the hot-rayed (sun),' or 'the cool-rayed (moon).'—As regards *lâñchhana*, 'a mark, sign, token, spot,' which I render by 'crest,' it is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, and is quite distinct from the emblem on their *dhvajas* or banners. Thus, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Beḷgaum had the *suvarṇa-garuḍa-dhvaja* or 'banner of a golden Garuḍa,' but the *sindhura-lâñchhana* or 'elephant-crest' (*e.g.* line 43 of the Têrdâḷ inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1045, &c.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 18, and p. 24, note 24). So also the Kâdambas of Banawâsi, and also those of Goa, had the *śâkhâcharêndra-dhvaja* or *vânara-mahâdhvaja*, 'the banner of a monkey, or of (Hanumat) the king of monkeys,' but the *siṁha-lâñchhana*, or 'lion-crest,' which latter appears on the seals of their grants and on their coins (*e.g.* line 28-29 of the Kargudari inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1030, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252; and line 9 of the Golihaḷḷi inscription, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 296; see also, for the seals of their grants, *id.* p. 230, No. 8, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 288; and, for their coins, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. xxiv.) The Chalukyas, in all their branches, had the *varâha-lâñchhana*

The genealogy of this family of ministers is given; and it includes a somewhat noticeable name in that of **Bhânuguptâ,** the wife of Daksha's grandfather, Ravikîrtti. Her date would be just about one generation before that of the king **Bhânugupta,** for whom we have the date of Gupta-Saṁvat 191 (A.D. 510-11) from the Êraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gôparâja, No. 20 above, page 91, and Plate xiiB.; and the coincidence of name and time is such, that it is almost impossible not to imagine some family connection between him and her. Bhânugupta, of course, must have been a Kshatriya; and Bhânuguptâ's husband, Ravikîrtti, was evidently a Brâhmaṇ. But the ancient Hindu law authorised the marrying of Kshatriya wives by Brâhmaṇs. And we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Ghaṭôtkacha cave inscription of Hastibhôja, a minister of the Vâkâṭaka *Mahârâja* Dêvasêna; it tells us that Hastibhôja's ancestor, the Brâhmaṇ Sôma, "in accordance with the precepts of revelation and of tradition" married a Kshatriya wife, through whom Hastibhôja was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brâhmaṇ caste, whose sons, and their descendants, applied themselves to the study of the Vêdas.[1]

TEXT.[2]

1 Siddham [॥*] Sa[3] jayati jagatâṁ patiḥ Pinâkî smita-rava-gîtishu yasya danta-kântiḥ । dyutir=iva taḍitâṁ niśi sphurantî tirayati cha sphuṭayaty=adaś=cha viśvam ॥ Svayaṁbhûr[4]=bhûtânâṁ sthiti-laya-[samu]-

2 tpatti-vidhishu prayuktô yên=âjñâṁ vahati bhuvanânâṁ vidhṛitayê । pitṛitvaṁ ch=ânîtô jagati garimâṇaṁ gamayatâ sa Śambhur=bhûyânsi pratidiśatu bhadrâṇi bhava[tâm] ॥ Phaṇa[5]-maṇi-guru-bhâr-[âkk]r[â]-

3 nti-dûr-âvanamraṁ sthagayati rucham=indôr=mmaṇḍalaṁ yasya mûrdhnâm [।*] sa śirasi vinibadhnan=randhriṇîm=asthi-mâlâṁ sṛijatu bhava-sṛijô vaḥ klêśa-bhaṅgaṁ bhujaṅgaḥ ॥ Shashṭyâ[6] sahasraiḥ Sagar-âtmajânâṁ khâta[ḥ]

'boar-crest,' which appears on the seals of all their charters, and on their coins; and the special connection of the *lâñchhana* with the *śâsana* or 'charter,' is shewn by a passage in lines 73 ff. of the Korumelli grant of Râjarâja II., "on whose charter the mighty form, that of the first boar, of (the god) Vishṇu, which lifted up the entire circle of the earth on the tip of (its right-hand) tusk, became in a pleasing way the crest" (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 85)

[1] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 140 and note.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Metre, Pushpitâgrâ.

[4] Metre, Śikhariṇî.

[5] Metre, Mâlinî.

[6] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

4 kha-tulyâṁ rucham=âdadhânaḥ I asy=ôdapan-âdhipatêś=chirâya yaśânsi pâyât=payasâṁ vidhâtâ II Atha[1] jayati janêndraḥ śrî-**Yaśôdharmma-**nâmâ pramada-vanam=iv=ântaḥ śattru-sainyaṁ vigâhya vraṇa-

5 kisalaya-bhaṅgair=yyô=ṅga-bhûshâṁ vidhattê taruṇa-taru-latâ-vad=vîra-kîrttîr=vvinâmya II Âjau[2] jitî vijayatê jagatîm=punaś=cha śrî-**Vishṇuvarddhana-**narâdhipatiḥ sa êva I prakhyâta Aulikara-lâñchhana âtma-

6 vaṅśô yên=ôdit-ôdita-padaṁ gamitô garîyaḥ II Prâchô nṛipân=su-bṛihataś=cha bahûn=udîchaḥ sâmnâ yudhâ cha vaśa-gân=pravidhâya yena [I*] nâm=âparaṁ jagati kântam=adô durâpaṁ râjâdhirâja-paramê-

7 śvara ity=udûḍham II Snigdha[3]-śyâm-âmbud-âbhaiḥ sthagita-dinakṛitô yajvanâm=âjya-dhûmair=ambhô-mêghyaṁ Maghôn=âvadhishu vidadhatâ gâḍha-sampanna-sasyâḥ I saṁharshâd=vâṇinînâṁ kara-rabhasa-hṛit-ô-

8 dyâna-chût-âṅkur-âgrâ râjanvantô ramantê bhuja-vijita-bhuvâ bhûrayô yêna dêśâḥ II Yasy[4]=ôtkêtubhir=unmada-dvipa-kara-vyâviddha-lôdhra-drumair=uddhûtêna van-âdhvani dhvani-nadad-**Vindhyâdri**-randhrair=bbalaiḥ bâlê-

9 ya-chchhavi-dhûmarêṇa rajasâ mand-âṅśu saṁlakshyatê paryâvṛitta-śikhaṇḍi-chandraka iva dhyâmaṁ ravêr=mmaṇḍalam II Tasya[5] prabhôr=vvaṅśa-kṛitâṁ nṛipâṇâṁ pâd-âśrayâd=viśruta-puṇya-kîrttiḥ I bhṛityaḥ sva-naibhṛitya-jit-â-

10 ri-shaṭka âsîd=vasîyân=kila Shashṭhidattaḥ II Himavata[6] iva Gâṅgas=tuṅga-namraḥ pravâhaḥ śaśabhṛita iva Rêvâ-vâri-râśiḥ prathîyân [I*] param=abhigamanîyaḥ śuddhimân=anvavâyô yata udita-gari-

11 mnas=tâyatê Naigamânâm II Tasy[7]=ânukûlaḥ kulajât=kalattrât=sutaḥ prasûtô yaśasâṁ prasûtiḥ I Harêr=iv=âṅśaṁ vaśinaṁ var-ârhaṁ Varâhadâsaṁ yam=udâharanti II Sukṛiti[8]-vishayi-tuṅgaṁ rûḍha-mûlaṁ

12 dharâyâṁ sthitim=apagata-bhaṅgâṁ sthêyasîm=âdadhânam [I*] guru-śikharam=iv=âdrês=tat-kulaṁ sv-âtma-bhûtyâ ravir=iva Ravikîrttiḥ su-prakâśaṁ vyadhatta II Bibhratâ[9] śubhram=a-bhraṅśi smârttaṁ vartm=ôchitaṁ satâm [I*] na visaṁbvâ(va)-

13 ditâ yêna Kalâv=api kulînatâ II Dhuta-dhî-dîdhiti-dhvântân=havirbhuja iv=âdhvarân [I*] Bhânuguptâ tataḥ sâdhvî tanayâṁs=trîn=ajîjanat II Bhagavaddôsha ity=âsît=prathamaḥ kâryya-vartmasu I âla-

14 mbanaṁ bândhavânâm=Andhakânâm=iv=Ôddhavaḥ II Bahu[10]-naya-vidhi-Vêdhâ gahvarê=py=artha-mârggê Vidura iva vidûraṁ prêkshayâ prêkshamâṇaḥ I vachana-rachana-bandhê saṁskṛita-prâkṛitê yaḥ kavibhir=udi-

15 ta-râgaṁ gîyatê gîr-abhijñaḥ II Praṇidhi-dṛig-anugantrâ yasya bauddhêna ch=âkshṇâ na niśi tanu davîyô v=âsty=a-dṛishṭaṁ dharittryâm [I*] padam=udayi dadhânô=nantaraṁ tasya ch=âbhût=sa bhayaṁ=Abhayadattô nâma

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[1] Metre, Mâlinî.

[2] Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.

[3] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[4] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[5] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[6] Metre, Mâlinî.

[7] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[8] Metre, Mâlinî.

[9] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next two verses.

[10] Metre, Mâlinî; and in the next verse.

16 chi[nva?]n=prajânâm II **Vindhyasy**[1]=âvandhya-karmmâ śikhara-taṭa-patat-pâṇḍu-**Rêv**-âmbu-râśêr=ggôlâṅgûlaiḥ sa-hêlaṁ pluti-namita-tarôḥ **Pâriyâttrasya** ch=âdrêḥ I â **sindhôr**=antarâlaṁ nija-śuchi-sachiv-âddhyâ-

17 sit-ânêka-dêśâṁ râjasthânîya-vṛit[t*]yâ suragurur=iva yô varṇṇinâṁ bhûtayê=pât II Vihita[2]-sakala-varṇṇ-âsaṅkaraṁ śânta-ḍîmbaṁ Kṛita iva kṛitam=êtad=yêna râjyaṁ nirâdhi I sa dhuram=ayam=idânîṁ

18 Dôshakumbhasya sûnur=guru vahati tad-ûḍhâṁ dharmmatô Dharmmadôshaḥ II Sva-sukham=an-ativâchchha(ñchha)n=durggamê=ddhvany=a-saṅgâṁ dhuram=ati-guru-bhârâṁ yô dadhad=bhartur=arthê I vahati nṛipati-vêshaṁ kêvalaṁ lakshma-mâttraṁ

19 valinam=iva vilambaṁ kambalaṁ bâhulêyaḥ II Upahita-hita-rakshâ-maṇḍanô jâti-ratnair=bhuja iva prithul-âṁsas=tasya **Dakshaḥ** kanîyân [I*] mahad=idam=udapânaṁ khâtayâm-âsa bibhra-

20 ch=chhruti-hṛidaya-nitânt-ânandi nirddôsha-nâma II Sukh[3]-âśrêya-chchhâyaṁ pariṇati-hita-svâdu-phala-daṁ gajêndrêṇ=ârugṇaṁ drumam=iva Kṛitântêna balinâ I pitṛivyaṁ prôddiśya priyam=Abhayadattaṁ pṛi-

21 thu-dhiyâ prathîyas=tên=êdaṁ kuśalam=iha karmm=ôparachitaṁ II Pañchasu[4] śatêshu śaradâṁ yâtêshv=êkân-na-navati-sahitêshu I **Mâlava**-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśât=kâla-jñânâya likhitêshu II Ya-

22 smin[5]=kâlê kala-mṛidu-girâṁ kôkilânâṁ pralâpâ bhindant=îva Smara-śara-nibhâḥ prôshitânâṁ manâṁsi I bhṛiṅg-âlînâṁ dhvanir=anu-vanaṁ bhâra-mandraś=cha yasminn=âdhûta-jyaṁ dhanur=iva nadach=chhrûyatê pushpa-

23 kêtôḥ II Priyatama[6]-kupitânâṁ râmayan=baddha-râgaṁ kisalayam=iva mugdhaṁ mânasaṁ maninînâṁ [I*] upanayati nabhasvân=mâna-bhaṅgâya yasmin=kusuma-samaya-mâsê tattra nirmmâpitô=yam II

24 Yavat[7]=tuṅgair=udanvân=kiraṇa-samudayaṁ saṅga-kântaṁ taraṅgair=âliṅgann=indu-bimbaṁ gurubhir=iva bhujaiḥ saṁvidhattê suhṛittâm [I*] bibhrat=saudh-ânta-lêkhâ-valaya-parigatiṁ muṇḍa-mâlâm=iv=âyaṁ sat-kûpas=tâvad=â-

25 stâm=amṛita-sama-rasa-svachchha-vishyandit-âmbuḥ II Dhîmâṁ(n)[8] **Dakshô** dakshiṇaḥ satya-sandhô hrîmâṁch=chhûrô vṛiddha-sêvî kṛitajñaḥ I baddh-ôtsâhaḥ svâmi-kâryyêshv=a-khêdî nirddôshô=yaṁ pâtu dharmmaṁ chirâya II Utkîrṇṇâ[9] Gôvindêna II

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Pinâkin, the lord of (*all*) the worlds,—in whose songs, hummed with smiles, the splendour of (*his*) teeth, like the lustre of lightning sparkling in the night, envelops and brings into full view all this

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[1] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[2] Metre, Mâlinî; and in the next two verses.

[3] Metre, Śikhariṇî.

[4] Metre, Âryâ.

[5] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

[6] Metre, Mâlinî.

[7] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[8] Metre, Śâlinî.

[9] Supply *praśastiḥ*.

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Mandasor Inscription of Yasodharman and Vishnuvardhana.—The Malava Year 589.

universe! May he, (the god) Śaṁbhu, confer many auspicious gifts upon you,—employed by whom in the rites of (*effecting the*) continuance and the destruction and the production of (*all*) things that exist, (the god) Svayaṁbhû, is obedient to (*his*) commands, for the sake of the maintenance of (*all*) the worlds; and by whom, leading (*him*) to dignity in the world, he has been brought to the condition of being the father (*of the universe*)! May the serpent of the creator of existence[1] accomplish the allayment of your distress,—(that serpent) the multitude of whose foreheads, bowed down afar by the pressure of the heavy weight of the jewels in (*their*) hoods, obscures the radiance of the moon (*on his master's forehead*); (*and*) who (*with the folds of his body*) binds securely on (*his master's*) head the chaplet of bones which is full of holes (*for stringing them*)! May the creator of waters,[2] which was dug out by the sixty thousand sons of Sagara, (*and*) which possesses a lustre equal to (*that of*) the sky, preserve for a long time the glories of this best of wells!

(Line 4.)—Now, victorious is that tribal ruler,[3] having the name of the glorious **Yaśôdharman**,[4] who, having plunged into the army of (*his*) enemies, as if into a grove of thornapple-trees, (*and*) having bent down the reputations of heroes like the tender creepers of trees, effects the adornment of (*his*) body with the fragments of young sprouts which are the wounds (*inflicted on him*).

(L. 5.)—And, again, victorious over the earth is this same[5] king of men,[6] the glorious **Vishṇuvardhana,** the conqueror in war; by whom his own famous lineage, which has the *aulikara*-crest,[7] has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and higher. By him, having brought into subjection, with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many (*kings*) of the north, this second name of "supreme king of kings[1] and supreme lord,"[2] pleasing in the world (*but*) difficult of attainment, is carried on high. Through him, having conquered the earth with (*his own*) arm, many countries,—in which the sun is obscured by the smoke, resembling dense dark-blue clouds, of the oblations of the sacrifices; (*and*) which abound with thick and thriving crops through (the god) Maghavan pouring cloudfuls of rain upon (*their*) boundaries; (*and*) in which the ends of the fresh sprouts of the mango-trees in the parks are eagerly plucked in joy by the hands of wanton women,—enjoy the happiness of being possessed of a good king. Through the dust, grey like the hide of an ass,—stirred up by his armies, which have (*their*) banners lifted on high; (*and*) which have the *lôdhra*-trees[3] tossed about in all directions by the tusks of (*their*) infuriated elephants; (*and*) which have the crevices of the **Vindhya** mountains made resonant with the noise of (*their*) journeying through the forests,—the orb of the sun appears dark (*and*) dull-rayed, as if it were an eye in a peacock's tail reversed.[4]

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[1] *bhava-sṛij.*—Originally, Brahman was the creator; Vishṇu, the preserver; and Śiva, the destroyer. But of course the Vaishṇavas and the Śaivas invested their own special gods with all three attributes. As regards Śiva, we may also refer to line 51 of the Alînâ grant of Śîlâditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv., where, under the name of Paramêsvara, he is again clearly referred to as the creator. While, as regards Vishṇu, in the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, book I, chap. ii. (Hall's edition of Wilson's Translation, Vol I. p. 41), he is described as himself becoming Brahman, and so engaging in the creation of the universe.—That *bhava-sṛij* here denotes Śiva, is shewn by the general purport of the preceding two verses, and especially by the mention of the chaplet of bones in this verse. He is always represented with a necklace of skulls, a serpent hanging round his neck, and the crescent moon on his forehead.

[2] The ocean. The allusion in this verse is to the legend that the bed of the ocean was excavated by the sons of Sagara in their search for their father's *aśvamêdha*-horse, which was stolen from their custody by the sage Kapila, and was only found by them when they had dug down through the earth into the lower regions. Kapila, in his anger, reduced them to ashes; but subsequently restored the horse on the intercession of Aṁśumat, the grandson of Sagara. The obsequies, however, of the sons of Sagara remained unperformed, and their transfer to heaven was barred, until Bhagîratha, the grandson of Aṁśumat, brought the river Ganges down from heaven, and led it over the earth to the chasm made by the sons of Sagara. Flowing down through this, it washed their bones and ashes; by which they were raised to heaven. And, as such of its waters as remained in the chasm constituted the ocean, the latter was called *sâgara* in commemoration of Sagara and his descendants.

[3] *janêndra*; see page 151 above, note 2.

[4] See page 145 above, note 2.

[5] This expression looks at first sight as if Yaśôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana were one and the same person. But the general structure of this verse, as well as the use of the two distinct titles *janêndra* and *narâdhipati* and of the expression *âtma-vaṅśô*, shews that this is not the case. "This same" simply means "this reigning king," in whose time and territory the inscription is written.

[6] *narâdhipati*; see page 151 above, note 3.

[7] *aulikara-lâñchhana*; see page 151 above, note 4.

(L. 9.)—The servant of the kings who founded the family of that lord, was Shashṭhidatta,—the fame of whose religious merit was known far and wide through the protection of (*their*) feet; who by his resoluteness conquered the six enemies (*of religion*);[5] (*and*) who was indeed very excellent. As the torrent, flowing high and low, of (the river) Gaṅgâ (*spreads abroad*) from (the mountain) Himavat, (*and*) the extensive mass of the waters of (the river) Rêvâ from the moon,—(*so*) from him, whose dignity was manifested, there spreads a pure race of Naigamas, most worthy to be sought in fellowship.

(L. 11.)—Of him, from a wife of good family, there was born a son, resembling him (*in good qualities*), the source of fame,—whom, (*being named*) Varâhadâsa, (*and*) being full of self-control (*and*) of great worth, people speak of as if he were an (*incarnate*) portion of (the god) Hari.

(L. 11.)—As if it were the sun (*illumining*) the mightly summit of a mountain, Ravikîrtti with the wealth of his character illumined that family, which was made eminent by men who combined good actions with worldly occupations; which had its foundations well established in the earth; (*and*) which maintained a very firm position of endurance that was free from (*any risk of*) being broken;—(Ravikîrtti), by whom, sustaining the pure (*and*) undeviating path of traditional law that is acceptable to good people, nobility of birth was not made a thing of false assertion (*even*) in the Kali age. From him, (*his*) chaste wife Bhânuguptâ gave birth to three sons, who dispelled the darkness (*of ignorance*) with the rays of (*their*) intellects,—as if (*she had produced three*) sacrifices from a fire.

(L. 13.)—The first was Bhagavaddôsha, the prop of his relatives in the paths of religious actions, just as Uddhava (*was*) of the Andhakas,—who was a very Vêdhas in displaying much prudence in the hard-to-be-traversed path of the meaning (*of words*); who, like Vidura,[6] always looked far ahead with deliberation; (*and*) who is with great pleasure sung of by poets, in Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit construction of the arrangement of sentences, as being well versed in speech.

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[1] *Râjâdhirâja*; see page 35 above, note 7. [2] *Paramêśvara*; see page 10 above, note 3.

[3] *lôdhra*, also *rôdhra*; the tree Symplocos Racemosa.

[4] *i.e.* "looked at from the wrong side of the feathers."

[5] The *ari-shaṭka* or *ari-shaḍ-varga*, 'the aggregate of six hostile things,' *viz.* desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride, and envy, which impede the practice of religion.

[6] An epic hero, the younger brother of Dhṛitarâshṭra and Pâṇḍu, described as the wisest of all prudent and sagacious people.

(L. 15.)—And after him there came that (*well-known*) Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position on the earth, (*and*) collecting (*in order to dispel it*) the fear of (*his*) subjects (?);—by whose eye of intellect, which served him like the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remote, remained undetected, (*even*) at night;—(Abhayadatta), of fruitful actions, who like (Bṛihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the (*four recognised*) castes, with the functions of a *Râjasthânîya*[1] protected the region, containing many countries presided over by his own upright counsellors, which lies between the **Vindhya** (mountains), from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of (the river) **Rêvâ,** and the mountain **Pâriyâtra,** on which the trees are bent down in (*their*) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys, (*and stretches*) up to the (*western*) **Ocean.**

(L. 17.)—Now he, Dharmadôsha, the son of Dôshakumbha,—by whom this kingdom has been made, as if (*it were still*) in the Kṛita-age, free from any intermixture of all the castes, (*and peaceable through*) having hostilities allayed, (*and*) undisturbed by care,—in accordance with justice proudly supports the burden (*of government*) that had (*previously*) been borne by him;[2]— (Dharmadôsha), who,—not being too eager about his own comfort, (*and*) bearing, for the sake of his lord, in the difficult path (*of administration*), the burden (*of government*), very heavily weighted and not shared by another,—wears royal apparel only as mark of distinction (*and not for his own pleasure*), just as a bull[3] carries a wrinkled pendulous dew-lap.

(L. 19.)—His younger brother, **Daksha,**—invested with the decoration of the protection of friends, as if he were (*his*) broad-shouldered (*right*) arm (*decorated*) with choice jewels; (*and*) bearing the name of "the faultless one," which causes great joy to the ear and heart,—caused to be excavated this great well. This great (*and*) skilful work was achieved here by him, who is of great intellect, for the sake of his paternal uncle, the beloved Abhayadatta, who was cut off (*before his time*) by the mighty (god) Kṛitânta, just as if he were a tree, the shade of which is pleasant to resort to (*and*) which yields fruits that are salutary and sweet through ripeness, (*wantonly*) destroyed by a lordly elephant.

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[1] *Râjasthanîya, lit.* 'one who belongs to a *Râjasthâna* or king's abode;' or perhaps 'one who occupies the position of a *Râja*,' is a technical official title, the exact grade of which remains to be determined. The explanation of the word in Kshêmêndra's *Lôkaprakâśa*, iv., as given by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 207) is *prajâ-pâlan-ârtham=udvahati rakshayati cha sa râjasthânîyaḥ*, "he who carries out the object of protecting subjects, and shelters them, is called a *Râjasthânîya*, *i.e.* 'a viceroy.'" But, though 'viceroy' is a fair enough rendering of the word on etymological grounds, it seems to be in reality too exalted a title to be a suitable equivalent. In line 21 of the Mâliyâ grant of the *Mahârâja* Dharasêna II. of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv., and in line 9 of the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB. (where Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to render it by 'political agent, or regent'), the *Râjasthânîya* is mentioned rather low down in the list of officials; so also in line 33 of the Bhagalpur grant of Nârâyaṇapâla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 306), and in the passage in connection with which it was explained by Dr. Bühler.

[2] *i.e.* Abhayadatta.—Dôshakumbha, the father of Dharmadôsha, must be the younger brother of Abhayadatta, and the third and youngest of the sons of Ravikîrtti and Bhânuguptâ.

[3] *bâhulêya*; this meaning is not given in Monier Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary; and I owe it, and the explanation of one or two other passages in this inscription, to Pandit Durga Prasad, of Jaypur.

(L. 21.)—Five hundred autumns, together with ninety less by one, having elapsed from (*the establishment of*) the supremacy[1] of the tribal constitution of the **Mâlavas,** (*and*) being written down in order to determine the (*present*) time;—in the season[2] in which the songs, resembling the arrows of (the god) Smara, of the cuckoos, whose utterances are low and tender, cleave open, as it were, the minds of those who are far away from home; and in which the humming of the flights of bees, sounding low on account of the burden (*that they carry*), is heard through the woods, like the resounding bow of (the god Kâmadêva) who has the banner of flowers, when its string is caused to vibrate;—in the season in which there is the month of the coming on of flowers, when the wind, soothing the affectionate (*but*) perverted thoughts of disdainful women who are angry with their lovers, as if they were charming fresh sprouts arrayed in colours, devotes itself to breaking down (*their*) pride,—in that season this (*well*) was caused to be constructed.

(L. 24.)—As long as the ocean, embracing with (*its*) lofty waves, as if with long arms, the orb of the moon, which has its full assemblage of rays (*and is more*) lovely (*than ever*) from contact (*with the waters*), maintains friendship (*with it*),—so long let this excellent well endure, possessing a surrounding enclosure of lines at the edge of the masonry-work, as if it were a garland worn round a shaven head, (*and*) discharging pure waters the flavour of which is equal to nectar!

(L. 25.)—May this intelligent **Daksha** for a long time protect this act of piety,—(*he who is*) skilful, true to (*his*) promises, modest, brave, attentive to old people, grateful, full of energy, unwearied in the business-matters of (*his*) lord, (*and*) faultless.! (*This eulogy*) has been engraved by Gôvinda.

No. 36; PLATE XXIII A.

ERAN STONE BOAR INSCRIPTION OF TORAMANA.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 631 ff., where Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,[3] accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxx.), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt.—And in 1861, in the same Journal, Vol. XXX. p. 20 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it.

This is another inscription from **Êraṇ**[4] in the Khurâî Sub-Division of the Sâgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the chest of a colossal red-sandstone statue of a Boar, about eleven feet high, representing the god Vishṇu in his incarnation as such, that stands, facing east, in the portico of a ruined temple at the south end of the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village.[5]

The Boar is covered all over with elaborate sculptures, chiefly of Ṛishis or saints clinging to its mane and bristles.[1] It has the earth, represented as a woman, hanging on, in accordance with the legend, to its right-hand tusk; and over its shoulders there is a small four-sided shrine, with a sitting figure in each face of it. There are several very serious cracks in the Boar; one of which, right through the centre of it from front to back, shews in the lithograph published herewith. The surface on which the inscription is, is slightly concave.—**The writing,** which covers a space of about 2′ 9″ broad by 10¾″ high, has in one or two places suffered a good deal from the weather; but, except where a few letters have been entirely destroyed through the stone breaking away at the edges of the crack mentioned above, it can be read with certainty throughout. The bottom line is about 6′ 0″ above the level of the ground.—The average **size** of the letters is about ⅜″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are very similar in type to those of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19 above, Plate xiiA. The two methods of forming the letter *r*, in combination with a following consonant, are illustrated, on the one hand, by *paryanta*, line 5. and, on the other, by *ghûrṇṇita*, line 1, *pûrvvâyâṁ*, line 3, and *artha*, line 7.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in verse as far as the end of the date in line 3, and the rest in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *k*, *t*, and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *r*; *e.g.* in *kkriyêṇa*, line 6; *maittrâyaṇîya*, line 3; *pauttrasya*, line 4; (but not in *bhrâtrâ*, line 6); and *mahîddhraḥ*, line 1.

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[1] *vaśât*; but it is very difficult to find a really satisfactory meaning for this word in this passage.

[2] *i.e.* the spring.

[3] The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol I. p. 249 f.

[4] See page 18 above, and note 1.

[5] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. page 82 ff., and Plates xxv. and xxvi.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of **Tôramâṇa.** It is dated, in words, in the first year of his reign, without any reference to an era; and on the tenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Phâlguna (February-March). It is a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the building of the temple, in which the Boar stands, by **Dhanyavishṇu,** the younger brother of the deceased *Mahârâja* **Mâtṛivishṇu.**

The mention of Mâtṛivishṇu in this inscription as deceased, is of importance, as shewing that **Tôramâṇa** comes, so far as his possession of Eastern Mâlwa is concerned, shortly after **Budhagupta,** in whose time Mâtṛivishṇu, then alive, in conjunction with Dhanyavishṇu set up the column that bears Budhagupta's inscription of the year 165, No. 19 above, page 88.

TEXT.[2]

1 Ôṁ [II*] Jayati[3] dharaṇy-uddharaṇê ghana-ghôṛ-âghâta-ghûrṇṇita-mahîddhraḥ
dêvô varâha-mûrttis=trailôkya-mahâ-gṛiha-stambhaḥ [II*] Varshê[4] prathamê
pṛithivîm

2 pṛithu-kîrttau pṛithu-dyutau mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Tôramâṇê praśâsati I(II)
Phâlguna-divasê[5] daśamê I ity=êvaṁ râjyavarsha-mâsa-dinaiḥ [I*] êtasyâṁ

3 pûrvvâyâm I sva-lakshaṇair=yukta-pûrvvâyâm[6] I(II) Sva-karmm-âbhiratasya
kratu-yâjinô=dhîta-svâdhyâyasya vipr-arshêr=Mmaittrâyaṇîya-vṛishabhasy=
Êndravishṇôḥ prapauttrasya I

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[1] I noticed a similar boar, almost entirely buried, by the roadside, about half way between Sâñchi and Udayagiri; but I had no means of raising it to ascertain whether there is any inscription on it.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Metre, Âryâ.

[4] This sentence is in prose, though it commences like a verse in the Âryâ metre.

[5] Metre, Âryâ.

[6] Supply *tithau*

4 pitur=guṇ-ânukâriṇô Varuṇavishṇôḥ pauttrasya pitaram=anu-jâtasya sva-vaṁśa-vṛiddhi-hêtôr=Harivishṇôḥ puttrasy=âtyanta-bhagavad-bhaktasya Vidhâtur=ichchhayâ I[1]

5 svayaṁvaray=êva râja-lakshmy=âdhigatasya chatuḥ-samudra-paryanta-prathita-yaśasaḥ akshîṇa-mâna-dhanasy=ânêka-śattru-samara-jishṇôḥ mahâr[â*]ja-**Mâtṛivishṇôḥ**

6 svar-ggatasya bhrâtr=ânujêna I tad-anuvidhâyinâ tat-prasâda-parigṛihîtêna[2] **Dhanyavishṇunâ** tên=aiva [sa]h=âvibhakta-puṇya-kkriyêṇa mâtâpittrôḥ

7 puṇy-âpyâyan-ârtham=êsha bhagavatô varâha-mûrttêr=jagat-parâyaṇasya Nârâyaṇasya śilâ[3]-prâs[âdaḥ] sva-vishay[ê]=sminn=**Airikiṇê** kâritaḥ I(II)

8 Svasty=astu gô-brâhmaṇa-purôgâbhyaḥ sarvva-prajâbhya [i]ti II

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Victorious is the god (Vishṇu), who has the form of a Boar,[4]—who, in the act of lifting up the earth (*out of the waters*), caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of (*his*) hard snout; (*and*) who is the pillar (*for the support*) of the great house which is the three worlds![5]

(Line 1.)—In the first year; while the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Tôramâṇa,** of great fame (*and*) of great lustre, is governing the earth;—

(L. 2.)—On the tenth day of (the month) Phâlguna;—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the regnal year and month and day, (*and*) invested as above with its own characteristics;—

(L. 3.)—By **Dhanyavishṇu,**—the younger brother, obedient to him (*and*) accepted with favour by him, of the *Mahârâja* **Mâtṛivishṇu,** who has gone to heaven; who was excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vidhâtṛi, was approached (*in marriage-choice*) by the goddess of sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing (*him*) of her own accord (*to be her husband*); whose fame extended up to the borders of the four oceans; who was possessed of unimpaired honour and wealth; (*and*) who was victorious in battle against many enemies;—who was the son of the son's son of Indravishṇu, who was attentive to his duties, who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (*of the scriptures*); who was a Brâhmaṇ saint; (*and*) who was the most excellent (*of the followers*) of the Maitrâyaṇîya (*śâkhâ*);—who was the son's son of Varuṇavishṇu, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (*his*) father;—(*and*) who was the son of Harivishṇu, who was the counterpart of (*his*) father in meritorious qualities,[6] (*and*) was the cause of the advancement of his race;—

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[1] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

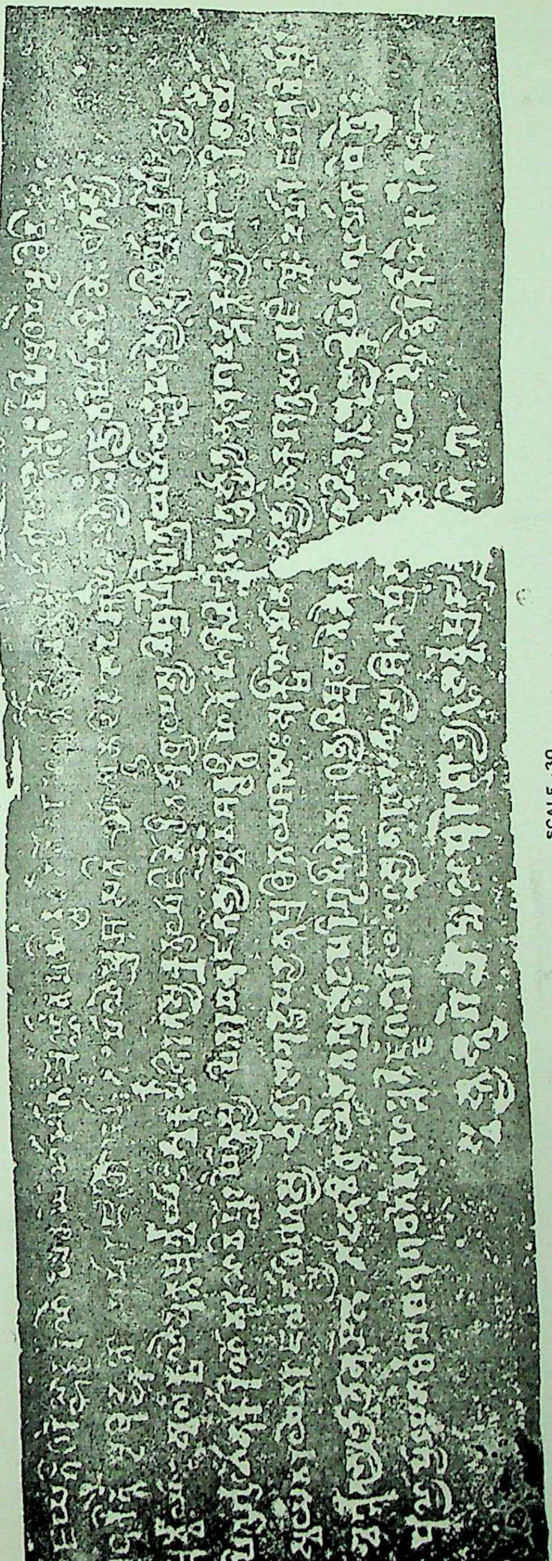
[2] This word is followed by a cross-mark, which indicates that *tên=aiva [sa]h=âvibhakta-puṇya-kkriyêṇa* should have stood here, before *dhanyavishṇunâ*.

[3] Prinsep read *nârâyaṇasy=âśîrṇa*; and Hall, *nârâyaṇasy=âśîrṇaḥ*. They were led into this by the engraver having run the right stroke of the *l* in *śilâ* too high up, probably through his tool slipping.

[4] The allusion is to his incarnation as a boar, when he plunged into the great ocean and rescued the earth, which had been carried off and hidden there by the demon Hiraṇyâksha.

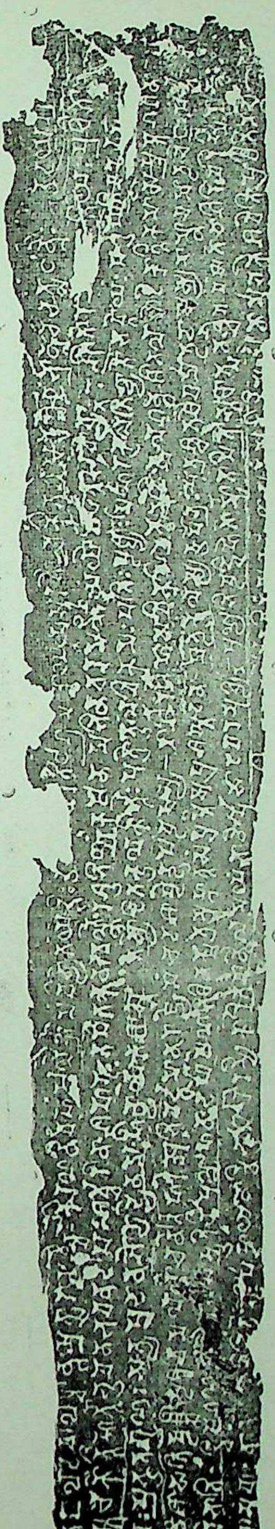
[5] Compare the similar invocation of Śiva, in Śaiva inscriptions, as "the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city which is the three worlds;" *e.g.* in line 1 f. of the Aihoḷe inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1091 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 97)

[6] *pitaram=anu-jâtasya*; see page 90 above, note 3.



A.—Eran Boar Inscription of Toramana.

SCALE .30



B.—Gwalior Inscription of Mihirakula.

(L. 6.)—(By this **Dhanyavishṇu**), accomplishing, in unison with (*the previously expressed wishes of*) him,[1] a joint deed of religious merit, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents, this stone temple of the divine (god) Nârâyaṇa, who has the form of a Boar (*and*) who is entirely devoted to (*the welfare of*) the universe, has been caused to be made in this his own *vishaya* of **Airikiṇa.**

(L. 8.)—Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brâhmaṇs!

No. 37; PLATE XXIII B.

GWALIOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF MIHIRAKULA.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 267 ff., where Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from an ink-impression taken by General Cunningham, of which, in the following year,—as an accompaniment to Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's paper on "Vestiges of the kings of Gwâlior," in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 391 ff.,—a reduced lithograph was published (*id.* Plate i. No. 1).

The inscription is on a broken red-sandstone slab, now measuring about 2′ 8¼″ broad by 5⅝″ high, that was found built into the wall in the porch of a temple of the sun in the fortress at **Gwâlior**[2] (properly Gwâlhêr), the capital of the dominions of Scindia in Central India; it is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. When the stone was first found, two or three letters had already been broken away and lost at the beginning of each line; and, since then, it has suffered a still more serious injury, in part of line 7, and the whole of lines 8 and 9, being cut away and destroyed in trimming the stone and fixing it, I suppose, in some other building, after the time when it was first found and before its rescue and transfer to the Museum.

The **writing,** which covers the entire face of the stone, except for a margin of about an inch at the top and on the right side, is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout.—The average **size** of the letters is about ⅜″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, though differing a little in actual execution, are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of Tôramâṇa. The two methods of forming *r*, in combination with a following consonant, are illustrated, on the one hand, by *śauryâd*, line 3, and, on the other, by *chakrô=rtti-harttâ*, line 2, and *abhivarddhamâna*, line 4.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** all that calls for special notice is the use of the *upadhmânîya* once, in *aṁśubhiḥ=paṁkajânâm*, line 2.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of **Mihirakula.** It is dated, in words, in the fifteenth year of his reign, without any reference to an era; and in the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November), but without any specification of the day of the fortnight or month. It is an inscription of solar worship. And the object of it is to record the building of a temple of the Sun, by a person named **Mâtṛichêṭa,** on the mountain called **Gôpa,** *i.e.* the hill on which the fortress of Gwâlior stands.[1]

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[1] *i.e.* the deceased Mâtrivishṇu.

[2] The 'Gwalior' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 51. Lat. 26° 13′ N.; Long. 78° 12′ E.—For the ancient names of the place, see the next note.

TEXT.[2]

1 [Ôm] [||*] [Ja]yati[3] jalada-vâla-dhvântam=utsârayan=svaiḥ kiraṇa-nivaha-jâlair=
vyôma vidyôtayadbhiḥ u[daya-gi]r[i]-taṭ-âgra[ṁ] maṇḍayan[4] yas=
tura[ṁ*]gaiḥ chakita-gamana-khêda-bhrânta-chaṁchat-saṭ-ântaiḥ |(||) Udaya-
g[i]r[i]-
2 [◡ — —]grasta-chakrô=rtti-harttâ bhuvana-bhavana-dîpaḥ śarvvarî-nâśa-hêtuḥ
tapita-kanaka-varṇṇair=aṁśubhiḥ=paṁkajân[â*]m=abhinava-ramaṇîyaṁ yô
vidhattê sa vô=vyât |(||) Śrî[5]-**Tôram[âṇa** i]ti yaḥ prathitô
3 [bhûcha]kra(?)-paḥ prabhûta-guṇaḥ satya-pradâ(dhâ)na-śauryâd=yêna mahî
nyâyata[ḥ*] śâstâ [||*] Tasy=ôdita-kula-kîrttêḥ putrô=tula-vikramaḥ patiḥ
prithvyâḥ **Mihirakul**-êti-khyâtô=bhaṅgô yaḥ **Paśupatim**[◡ — —[6]] [||*]
4 [Tasmin=râ]jani śâsati pṛithvîṁ pṛithu-vimala-lôchanê=rtti-harê abhi-
varddhamâna-râjyê paṁchadaś-âbdê nṛipa-vṛishashya |(||) Śaśi-raśmi-
hâsa-vikasita-kumud-ôtpala-gandha-śîtal-âmôdê Kârttika-mâsê prâpt[ê*]
gagana-
5 [patau(?) ni]rmmalê bhâti |(||) Dvija-gaṇa-mukhyair=abhisaṁstutê cha
puṇy-âha-nâda-ghôshêṇa tithi-nakshatra-muhûrttê saṁprâptê supraśasta-
dinê |(||) Mâtṛitulasya tu pautraḥ putraś=cha tath=aiva Mâtṛidâsasya
nâmnâ cha **Mâtṛichêṭaḥ** parvva-
6 [ta] .... vastavyaḥ [||*] Nânâ-dhâtu-vichitrê **Gôp**-âhvaya-nâmni
bhûdharê ramyê kâritavân=śailamayaṁ bhânôḥ prâsâda-vara-
mukhyam |(||) Puṇy-âbhivṛiddhi-hêtôr=mmâtâpitrôs=tath=âtmanaś=ch=aiva
vasatâ[ṁ*] cha giri-varê=smi[n*] râjñaḥ
7 .....pâ(?)dêna [||*] Yê kârayanti bhânôś=chandr-âṁśu-sama-prabhaṁ
gṛiha-pravaraṁ têshâṁ vâsaḥ svarggê yâvat=kalpa-kshayô bhavati ||
Bhaktyâ ravêr=vvirachitaṁ sad-dharmma-khyâpanaṁ su-kirttimayaṁ
nâmnâ cha Kêśav-êti-prathitêna cha |[7]

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[1] Dr. R. Mitra read the name here (line 6) as Giripa; but quite wrongly.—Other forms of the ancient Sanskrit name of the hill, and of the fortress on it, are (1) Gôpagiri; *e.g.* in line 1 of the Gwâlior inscription of Bhôjadêva of Vikrama-Saṁvat 933 (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 407); (2) Gôpâchaladurga, *e.g.* in an inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1497 on the pedestal of a colossal figure of Âdinâtha at Gwâlior (*id.* p. 422); (3) Gôpâdri, and Gopâdridurga; *e.g.* in lines 4 and 14 of the Gwâlior inscription of Mahîpâla of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. pp. 36, 37); and (4) Gôpâlikêra; in line 2 of a Gwâlior inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1161 (*id.* p. 202).—Dr. Hultzsch (*id.* p. 202, note 5) has pointed out that the last form, Gôpâlikhêra, seems to be the one that is the immediate source of the modern name Gwâlhêr.

[2] Lines 1 to 6, and the last part of line 7, from the original stone; and, the lower part of the stone being now broken off and lost, the rest from Gen. Cunningham's lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's paper in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 391 ff.

[3] Metre, Mâlinî; and in the next verse.

[4] This *n* was omitted in its proper place, and was then inserted below the line.

[5] Metre, Âryâ; and in the next nine verses.

[6] We require here a verb, supplying the antithesis to (*a*)*bhaṅgô*, 'without breaking; unbroken.' But the *aksharas* are much damaged by a crack in the stone; and I am unable to supply them.

[7] This mark of punctuation appears to have been inserted unnecessarily, to fill up the space at the end of the line.

8 . . . .di(?)tyêna ‖ Yâvach[1]=Chharvva-jaṭâ-kalâpa-gahanê vidyôtatê chandramâ
divya-strî-charaṇair=vvibhûshita-taṭô yâvach=cha Mêrur=nagaḥ yâvach=
ch=ôrasi nîla-nîrada-nibhê Vishṇur=vvi(bbi)bharty=uj[j*]valâṁ Śrîṁs=
tâvad[2]=giri-mûrdhni tishṭhati
9 [śilâ(?)-prâ]sâda-mukhyô ramê ‖

TRANSLATION.

[Ôm !] May he (the Sun) protect you, who is victorious,—dispelling the darkness of the banks of clouds with the masses of the multitude of his rays that light up the sky; (*and*) decorating the top of the side of the mountain of dawn with (*his*) horses, which have the tossing ends of (*their*) manes dishevelled through the fatigue (*induced*) by (*their*) startled gait;—(*and*) who,—having (*his*) chariot-wheels (?) swallowed (?) . . . . the mountain of dawn; dispelling distress; (*being*) the light of the house which is the world; (*and*) effecting the destruction of night,—creates the fresh beauty of the water-lilies by (*his*) rays which are of the colour of molten gold!

(Line 2.)—(*There was*) a ruler of [the earth], of great merit, who was renowned by the name of the glorious **Tôramâṇa**; by whom, through (*his*) heroism that was specially characterised by truthfulness, the earth was governed with justice.

(L. 3.)—Of him, the fame of whose family has risen high, the son (*is*) he, of unequalled prowess, the lord of the earth, who is renowned under the name of **Mihirakula,** (*and*) who, (*himself*) unbroken, [broke the power of[3]] **Paśupati.**

(L. 4.)—While [he], the king, the remover of distress, possessed of large and pellucid eyes, is governing the earth; in the augmenting reign, (*and*) in the fifteenth year, of (*him*) the best of kings; the month Kârttika, cool and fragrant with the perfume of the red and blue waterlilies that are caused to blossom by the smiles of the rays of the moon, having come; while the spotless moon is shining;[4] and a very auspicious day,—heralded by the chiefs of the classes of the twice-born[5] with the noise of the proclamation of a holy day, (*and*) possessed of the (*proper*) *tithi* and *nakshatra* and *muhûrta*,—having arrived;—

(L. 5.)—The son's son of Matṛitula, and the son of Mâtṛidâsa, by name **Mâtṛichêṭa,** an inhabitant of . . . . on the hill, has caused to be made, on the delightful mountain which is speckled with various metals and has the appellation of **Gôpa,**[6] a stone-temple, the chief among the best of temples, of the Sun, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself, and of those who, by the . . . . of the king, dwell on this best of mountains.

(L. 7.)—Those who cause to be made an excellent house of the Sun, like in lustre to the rays of the moon,—their abode is in heaven, until the destruction of all things!

(L. 7.)—(*This*) very famous proclamation of the true religion[7] has been composed through devotion to the Sun, by him who is renowned by the name of Kêśava and by . . . . ditya.

(L. 8.)—As long as the moon shines on the thicket that is the knot of the braided hair of (the god) Śarva; and as long as the mountain Mêru continues to have (*its*) slopes adorned by the feet of the nymphs of heaven; and as long as (the god) Vishṇu bears the radiant (goddess) Śrî upon (*his*) breast which is like a dark-blue cloud;—so long (*this*) chief of [stone]-temples shall stand upon the delightful summit of the hill!

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[1] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[2] Read *śrîṁ tâvad*.

[3] See page 162 above, note 6.

[4] *i.e.* in the bright fortnight of the month.

[5] *i.e.* by the Brâhmaṇs.

[6] See page 162 above, note 1.

[7] *i.e.* this inscription.

No. 38; PLATE XXIV.

MALIYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA DHARASENA II.

THE YEAR 252.

THIS inscription,[1] which was originally brought to notice by me in 1884, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 160 ff., is from some copper-plates that were found at **Mâliyâ,**[2] the chief town of the Mâliyâ Mahâl or Sub-Division of the Junâgaḍh State in the Kâṭhiâwâḍ Peninsula in the Bombay Presidency. The original plates are, I understand, in the possession of the Junâgaḍh Darbâr. I obtained them, for examination, through the kindness of the Diwâṇ, Mr. Haridas Viharidas.

The **plates,** which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about $11\frac{3}{8}''$ by $7\frac{3}{4}''$. The edges of them were raised into rims, to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; but the letters are deep, and shew through very distinctly on the backs of them. The engraving is well executed; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—The plates are connected by two **rings,** passing through holes in the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second. Both of the rings had already been cut, when the grant came under my notice. One of them is a plain copper ring, roughly circular in shape, about $\frac{3}{16}''$ thick and $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. The other is of the same thickness, but of an irregular oval shape, as is customary with the rings of the Valabhî seals. The ends of it are secured in a **seal,** the front of which is roughly oval, about $1\frac{3}{4}''$ by $2\frac{1}{8}''$, and which has, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, a bull, recumbent to the proper right, the usual emblem on the Valabhî seals; and below it, separated by two horizontal lines, the **legend** *Śrî-Bhaṭakkaḥ*, for *Śrî-Bhaṭârkkaḥ*, *i.e.* "the illustrious Bhaṭârka."—The **weight** of the two plates is 3 lbs. 1 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, $12\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total, 3 lbs. $13\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{8}''$ to $\frac{3}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include, *e.g.* in *chûḍâ*, line 3, *khaḍga*, line 10, and *ḍombhi*, line 24, a separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, borrowed from the northern alphabet. They furnish a very good specimen of what may be called the Saurâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâḍ alphabet of the sixth century A.D. They include, in line 36, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 2, 5, 10, 50, and 200.—The **language** is Sanskṛit ; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the *upadhmânîya*, once, in *pâdâvarttâḥ=pañchadaśa*, line 23 ; and (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, once, in *ashṭâviṅśati*, line 25.

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[1] The inscriptions of this family that have already been discovered, are too numerous to be all included in the present volume; and they will, it is hoped, be some day disposed of by themselves in a separate collection. Meanwhile, the family is concerned so closely in the history of the period with which the present volume deals, that my book would be incomplete without a specimen or two of the Valabhî grants, as an accompaniment to the necessary historical chapter. I therefore give two of the inscriptions of this family; the present one, to illustrate the standard form according to which most of the earlier charters were drafted; and the next, partly as an illustration of the form of the later charters, and partly because it is the latest inscription of the family at present known of, and introduces the well-known and important name of Dhrûbhaṭa or Dhruvabhaṭa, as a title of Śîlâditya VII.

[2] The 'Mâlia and Mallia' of maps, &c.; about twenty-three miles south by west of Junâgaḍh. It is also called 'Mâliyâ-Hâtti,' to distinguish it from another Mâliyâ, called 'Mâliyâ-Miâna,' in the north of Kâṭhiâwâḍ.

The **inscription** is one of the *Mahârâja* **Dharasêna II.**, of the family of the **Kings of Valabhî**; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city of **Valabhî**, the modern **Walâ**,[1] the chief town of the Walâ State in the Gôhilwâḍ Prânt or Division of Kâṭhiâwâḍ. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 571-72); and the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription ; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by the *Mahârâja* **Dharasêna II.**, to a Brâhmaṇ, for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites, of some lands at the villages of **Antaratrâ, Ḍombhigrâma,** and **Vajragrâma.**

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Ôm Svasti **Valabhîtaḥ** prasabha-praṇat-âmitrâṇâṁ **Maitrakâṇâm**=atula-bala-sa[ṁ*]panna-maṇḍalâbhôga-saṁsakta-saṁprahâra-śata-labdha-pratâpaḥ

2 pratâp-ôpanata-dâna-mân-ârjjav-ôpârjjit-ânurâg-ânurakta-maulabhṛita-mitra-śrêṇî-bal-âvâpta-râjya-śrîḥ paramamâhêśvaraḥ śrî-sênâpati-

3 **Bhaṭârkkaḥ** [II*] Tasya sutas=tat-pâda-rajô-ruṇ-âvanata-pavitrîkṛita-śirâḥ śirôvanata-śatru-chûḍâmaṇi-prabhâ-vichchhurita-pâda-nakha-paṅkti-dîdhitir=ddî-

4 n-ânâtha-kṛipaṇa-jan-ôpajîvyamâna-vibhavaḥ paramamâhêśvaraḥ śrî-sênâpati-**Dharasênas**=Tasy=ânujas=tat-pâda-praṇâma-praśastatara-vimala-

5 maṇir[3]=Mmanv-âdi-praṇîta-vidhi-vidhâna-dharmmâ Dharmmarâja iva vihita-vinaya-vyavasthâ-paddhatir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-âbhôg-aika-svâminâ parama-svâminâ

6 svayam=upahita-râjy-âbhishêkaḥ mahâ-viśrâṇan-âvapûta-râjya-śrîḥ parama-mâhêśvarô mahârâja-**Drôṇasiṁhaḥ** siṁha iva [II*] Tasy=ânujaḥ sva-bhuja-

7 bala-parâkramêṇa para-gaja-ghaṭ-ânîkânâm=êka-vijayî śaraṇ-aishiṇâṁ śaraṇam=avavôbdhâ[4] śâstr-ârtha-tatvânâṁ kalpatarur=iva suhṛit-pra-

8 ṇayinâṁ yathâbhilashita-kâma-phal-ôpabhôga-daḥ paramabhâgavataḥ śrî-mahârâja-**Dhruvasênas**=Tasy=ânujas=tach-charaṇâravinda-praṇati-pra-

9 vidhaut-âśêsha-kalmashaḥ suviśuddha-bhya(sva)-charit-ôdaka-prakshâlita-sakala-Kali-kalaṅkaḥ prasabha-nirjjit-ârâti-paksha-prathita-mahimâ

10 paramâdityabhaktaḥ śrî-mahârâja-**Dharapaṭṭas**=Tasy=âtmajas=tat-pâda-saparyy-âvâpta-puṇy-ôdaya[ḥ*] śaiśavât=prabhṛiti khaḍga-dvitîya-bâhur=ê-

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[1] The 'Vala, Wala, Waleṁ, and Wulleh,' of maps, &c.; eighteen miles west by north from Bhâwnagar. Lat. 21° 52 N.; Long. 71° 57′ E.

[2] From the original plates.

[3] The Jhar grant of the same *Mahârâja* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 187 f.), drawn up from the same standard draft, gives here the fuller and better reading of *praśastatara-vimala-mauli-maṇir*.

[4] Read *avabôddhâ*.

11 va samada-para-gaja-ghaṭ-âsphôṭana-prakâśita-sat[t*]va-nikashaḥ tat[1]-prabhâva-
praṇat-ârâti-chûḍâratna-prabhâ-saṁsakta-sakhya(vya)-pâ-

12 da-nakha-raśmi-saṁhati[ḥ*] sakala-smṛiti-praṇîta-mârgga-samyak-paripâlana-prajâ-
hṛidaya-rañjanâd=anvartha-râja-śabdô rûpa-kânti-sthairyya-

13 gâmbhîryya-buddhi-saṁpadbhiḥ Smara-śaśâṅk-âdri(dri)râj-ôdadhi-tridaśaguru-
Dhanê[śâ*]n=atiśayânâ(nô)=bhaya-pradâna[2]-paratayâ tṛiṇa-va-

14 vad=apâst-[â*]śêsha-sva-kâryya-phalaḥ pâdachâr=îva sakala-bhuvanamaṇḍal-
âbhôga-pramôdaḥ paramamâhêśvaraḥ śrî-mahârâ-

15 ja-**Guhasênaḥ** [॥*] Tasya sutas=tat-pâda-nakha-mayûkha-saṁtâna-nirvṛitta-
Jâhnavî-jal-ô(au)gha-vikshâlit-âśêsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-śata-

16 sahasr-ôpajîvya-bhôga-saṁpat rûpa-lôbhâd=iv=âśṛi(śri)tas=sa-rasam=âbhigâmikair=
guṇai[ḥ*] sahaja-śakti-śikshâ-viśêsha-vismâ-

17 pit-âkhila-dhanurdharaḥ prathama-narapati-samatisṛishṭânâm=anupâlayitâ
dharmmya(rmma)-dâyânam=apâkarttâ

18 praj-ôpaghâta-kâriṇâm=upaplavânâṁ darśayitâ śrî-sarasvatyôr=êk-âdhivâsasya
saṁhat-ârâti-

Second Plate.

19 paksha-lakshmî-parikshôbha[3]-daksha-vikramaḥ kram-ôpasaṁprâpta-vimala-
pârtthiva-śrîḥ paramamâhêśvaraḥ mahârâja-

20 śri(śrî)-**Dharasênaḥ** kuśalî sarvvân=êv=âyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drâṅgika-
mahattara-châṭa-bhaṭa-dhruvâdhikaraṇika-dâṇḍapâśika-

21 râjasthânîya-kumârâmâty-âdîn=anyâṁś=cha yathâ-saṁbadhyamânakân samâ-
jñâpayaty=Astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ mayâ mâtâ-

22 pitrôḥ[4] puṇy-âpyâyanây=âtmanaś=ch=aihik-âmushmika-yathâbhilashita-phal-âvâptayê
Antaratrâyâṁ Śivaka-padrakê Vîrasêna-

23 dantika-pratyaya-pâdâvartta-śataṁ êtasmâd=aparataḥ pâdâvarttâḥ=pañchadaśa
tathâ apara-sîmni Skambhasêna-pratyaya-pâdâvartta-śataṁ viṁś-âdhikaṁ[5]

24 pûrvva-sîmni pâdâvarttâ daśa **Ḍombhigrâmê** pûrvva-sîmni Varddhaki-
pratyaya-pâdâvarttâ navati[ḥ*] **Vajragrâmê**=para-sîmni grâma-śikhara-
pâdâvartta-śataṁ

25 Vî(?)ki(?)[6]dinna-mahattara-pratyayâ ashṭâviṅśati-pâdâvartta-parisarâ vâpî ।
Bhumbhusa-padrakê kuṭumvi(mbi)-Bôṭaka-pratyayâ(ya)-pâdâvartta-śataṁ

26 vâpî cha । êtat=s-ôdraṅgaṁ s-ôparikaraṁ sa-vâta-bhûta-dhânya-hiraṇy-
âdêyaṁ s-ôtpadyamâna-vishṭî(shṭi)kaṁ samasta-râjakîyânâm=a-

27 hasta-prakshêpaṇîyaṁ bhûmichchhidra-nyâyêna **Unnata**nivâsî(si)-Vâja-
sanêyî(yi)Kaṇva-Vatsasagôtra-brâhmaṇa-Rudrabhûtayê bali-charu-vaiśva-

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[1] This *t* was at first omitted, and was then inserted rather above its proper position.

[2] The Jhar grant, mentioned above, gives here the better reading of *atiśayânaḥ śaraṇâgat-abhaay-pradâna*; so also in No. 39 below, Plate xxv. line 5.

[3] The Jhar grant gives here the better reading of *paribhôga*; so also in No. 39 below, line 10.

[4] This *visarga* was forced rather low down by the size of the *sthâ* above it.

[5] These ten *aksharas* are engraved over something else that had been previously engraved.

[6] The vowels of these two *aksharas* are quite distinct; but the consonants are very doubtful. There seems to be some fault in the copper here, which prevented the engraver from forming these two *aksharas* properly, and induced him then to leave a blank space before *vâpî*, at the beginning of the next line.

28 dêv-âgnihôtr-âtithi-paṁchamahâyajñikânâṁ kriyâṇâṁ samutsarppaṇ-ârttham=
â-chandr-ârkk-ârṇṇava-sarit-kshiti-sthiti-samakâlînaṁ putra-pau-
29 tr-ânvaya-bhôgyaṁ udaka-sarggêṇa nisṛishṭaṁ [I*] Yatô=sy=ôchitayâ
brahmadêya-sthityâ bhuṁjataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pradiśato vâ
30 na kaiśchit=pratishêdhê varttitavyam [I*] [Â*]gâmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhiś=ch=
âsmad-vaṁśa-jair=a-nityâny=aiśvaryyâṇy=a-sthiram mânushyaṁ sâmânyaṁ
cha bhûmi-
31 dâna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir=ayam=asmad-dâyô=numantavyaḥ paripâlayitavyaś=
cha [I*] Yaś=ch=ainam=âchchhiṁdyâd=âchchhidyamânaṁ v=ânu-
32 môdêta sa paṁchabhir=mmahâpâtakai[ḥ*] II[1] s-ôpapâtakai[ḥ*] II[2] sa[ṁ*]-
yuktas=syâd=ity=Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna II(I)
33 Shashṭiṁ[3] varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ
ch=ânumantâ cha I[4] tâny=êva narakê vasêt II Pûrvva-dattâṁ
34 dvijâtibhyô yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira II(I) mahî[ṁ*] mahimatâṁ
śrêshṭha II[5] dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam II Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ
35 râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ II(I) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ
phalam=itiḥ[6] I(II) Likhitaṁ[7] s[â*]ndhivigrahika-**Skandabhaṭêna** II
36 Sva-hastô mama mahârâja-śrî-**Dharasênasya** II Dû[8] **Chirbbira[ḥ*]** II Saṁ
200 50 2 Vaiśâkha ba 10 5 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From (the city of) **Valabhî**:[9]—(*There was*) the illustrious *Sênâpati*[10] **Bhaṭârka**, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara,—who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the **Maitrakas**, who had by force bowed down (*their*) enemies;[11] (*and*) who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (*his*) hereditary servants and friends, who had been brought under subjection by (*his*) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (*to him*) by affection.

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[1] and [2] In each case, the engraver seems to have formed the mark of punctuation by mistake for a *visarga*.

[3] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses

[4] and [5] In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[6] Read *iti*. [7] Supply *śâsanam*. [8] i.e. *dûtakaḥ*.

[9] The proper context is "the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious Dharasêna, being in good health, issues a command," &c., in line 19 ff. The intervening genealogy is by way of a parenthesis.

[10] *Sênâpati*, *lit.* 'lord or chief of the army; a general,' is a technical military title.—The next grade above this was that of the *Mahâsênâpati*, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the Bijayagaḍh inscription of the Yaudhêyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxviB.

[11] The correct interpretation of this important passage was first conclusively pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, in re-editing the Walâ grant of Śîlâditya I. of the year 286 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 328 f.) Dr. Bhau Daji, however, evidently had an idea as to the proper meaning; since he wrote (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 244 f.)—"A sentence in the copper-plate, which has hitherto not been translated correctly, shows that they" (the rulers of Valabhî) "triumphed over a sun-worshipping people (Maitrakas)." Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's translation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 14) was—"(Bhaṭârka), who obtained greatness by a hundred wounds received in the midst of a circle of friends of matchless might, who with main force had subjugated their enemies." Dr. Bühler's (*id.* Vol. IV. p. 106) was—"Bhaṭârka, who obtained an empire through the matchless power of his friends that humbled his enemies by main force;—who gained glory in a hundred battles fought at close quarters." Mr. V. N. Mandlik, following Dr. Bhau Daji, translated (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 346)—"(Bhaṭârka), who had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the

(Line 3.)—His son, whose head was purified by being bowed down in the red dust of his feet, (*was*) the illustrious *Sênâpati* **Dharasêna (I.),** a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara,—the rays of the lines of the nails of whose feet diffused themselves among the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (*his*) enemies when they bowed down with (*their*) heads (*before him*); (*and*) whose wealth was the sustenance of the poor, the helpless, and the feeble.

(L. 4.)—His younger brother, whose spotless jewel [in the lock of hair on the top of (*his*) head*] was made more lustrous (*than before*) by the performance of obeisance to (*his*) feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâja* **Drôṇasiṁha,** like unto a lion, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara,—who had as (*his*) law the rules and ordinances instituted by Manu and other (*sages*); who, like (Yudhishṭhira) the king of justice, adhered to the path of the maintenance of good behaviour; whose installation in the royalty by besprinkling was performed by the paramount master in person, the sole lord of the circumference of the territory of the whole earth; (*and*) the glory of whose royalty was purified by (*his*) great liberality.

(L. 6.)—His younger brother (*was*) the illustrious *Mahârâja* **Dhruvasêna (I.),** a most devout worshipper of the Divine One,—who was victorious, by himself alone, through the prowess of his own arm, over the troops of the array of the elephants of (*his*) enemies; who was the asylum of those who sought for protection; who was the teacher of the real meaning of the sacred writings; (*and*) who, like the *kalpa*-tree,[1] granted the enjoyment of fruits which were the desires, in accordance with (*their*) wishes, of (*his*) friends and favourites.

(L. 8.)—His younger brother, whose sins were all washed away by doing obeisance to the waterlilies that were his feet, (*was*) the illustrious *Mahârâja* **Dharapaṭṭa,** a most devout worshipper of the Sun,—by the water of whose very pure actions all the stains of the Kali age were washed away; (*and*) who forcibly conquered the renowned greatness of the ranks of (*his*) enemies.

(L. 10.)—His son, who acquired an increase of religious merit by doing service to his feet, was the illustrious *Mahârâja* **Guhasêna,** a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara,—whose sword was verily a second arm (*to him*) from childhood;[2] the test of whose strength was manifested by clapping (*his*) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (*his*) foes; who had the collection of the rays of the nails of (*his*) left foot interspersed with the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (*his*) enemies who were made to bow down by his prowess; whose title of 'king' was obvious and suit-

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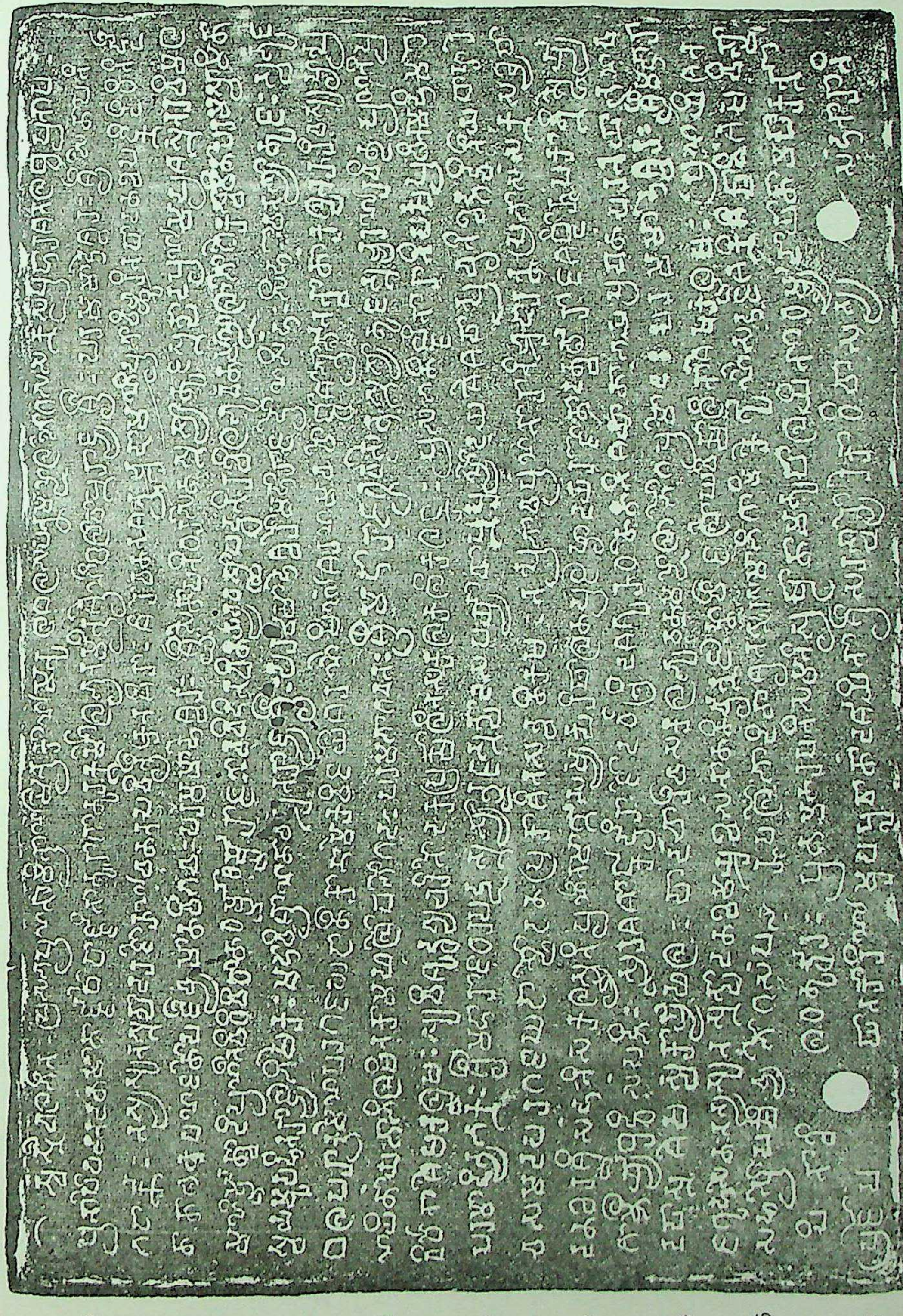
wide extent of territories of Maitrakas, who were endowed with incomparable courage, and who had forcibly reduced their enemies to submission." My own original translation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 303) was—"(In the lineage) of the Maitrakas, who by force compelled their enemies to bow down before them, there was Bhaṭârka, who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought within the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength."

[1] *kalpa*-tree; one of the trees in Indra's paradise, which granted all desires.

[2] Or, perhaps, "who even from childhood carried a sword with his second arm;" *i.e.* "who could wield a sword with both arms at the same time."

Maliya Grant of the Maharaja Dharasena II.—The Year 252.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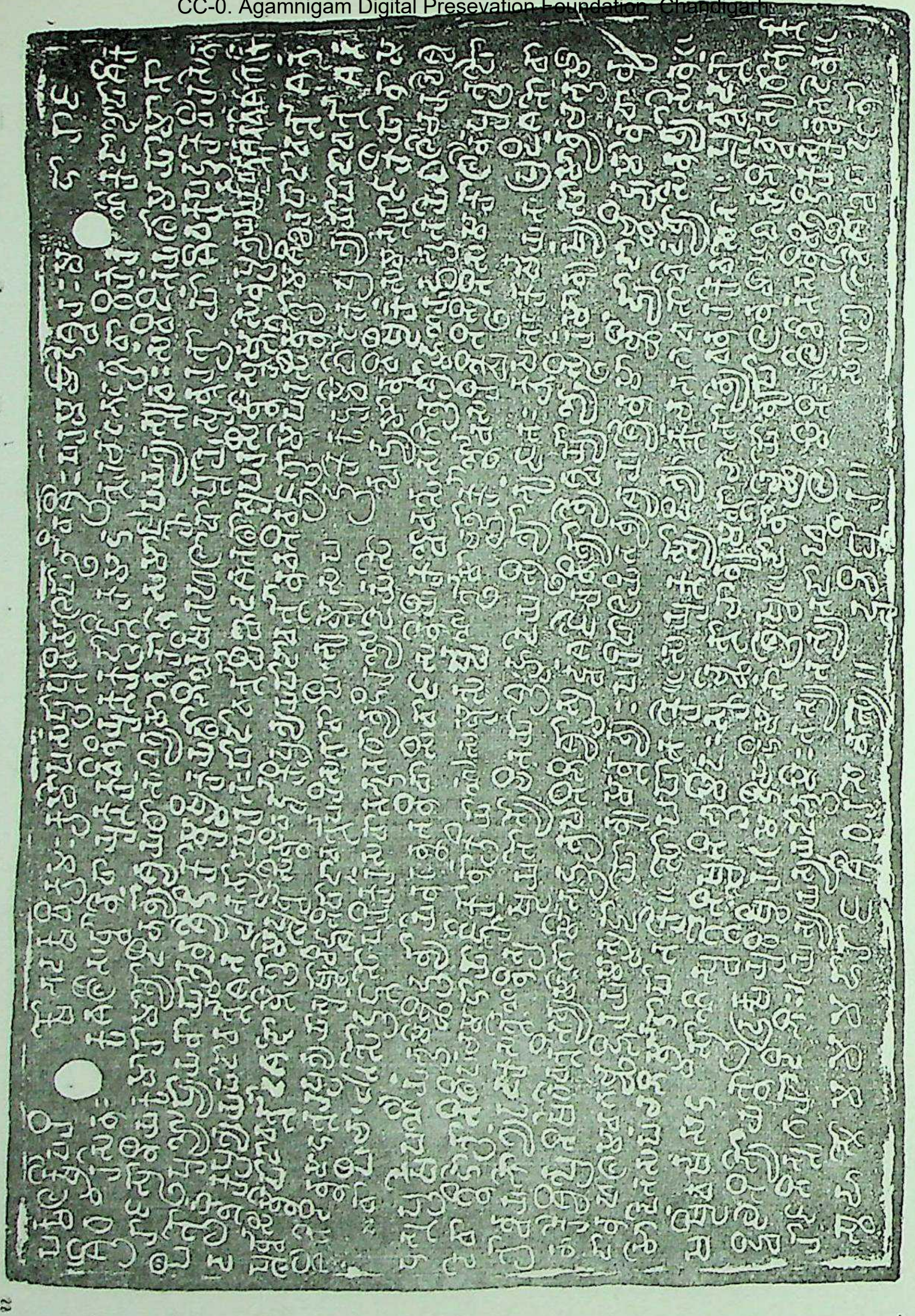
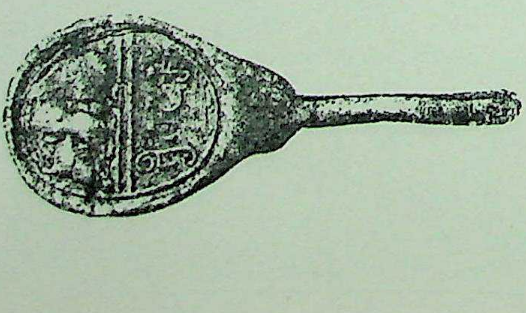
J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE .80

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

ii





able, because he pleased the hearts of (*his*) subjects by properly preserving the path prescribed by all the traditionary laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and wealth, surpassed (*respectively*) (the god) Smara, the moon, (Himâlaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Bṛihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, and (the god) Dhanêśa; who, through being intent upon giving freedom from fear [to those who came for protection*], was indifferent to all the (*other*) results of his actions, as if they were (*of as little value as*) straw; (*and*) who was, as it were, the personified[1] happiness of the circumference of the whole earth.

(L. 15.)—His son, whose sins have been all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jâhnavî that was constituted by the diffusion of the rays of the nails of his feet,—whose wealth and riches are the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who is with appreciation, as if from a desire for (*his*) beauty, resorted to by (*all*) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind;[2] who astonishes all archers by the speciality of (*his*) innate strength and (*skill acquired by*) practice; who is the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averts calamities that would afflict (*his*) subjects; who is the exponent of (*the condition of being*) the one (*joint*) habitation of wealth and learning; whose prowess is skilful in causing annoyance to[3] the goddess of the fortunes of the compact ranks of (*his*) enemies; (*and*) who possesses a spotless princely glory, acquired by inheritance,—(*is*) the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Dharasêna (II.)**, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, who, being in good health, issues a command to all the *Âyuktakas*,[4] *Viniyuktakas*,[5] *Drâṅgikas*,[6] *Mahattaras*,[7] irregular and regular troops, *Dhruvâdhika-*

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[1] *pâda-chârin*, *lit.* 'moving on feet or legs;' see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's translation of line 7 of the grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 326 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 14.)

[2] The *âbhigâmikâ guṇâḥ* are explained by Kâmandaka in the *Nîtisâra*, iv. vv. 6 to 8 (Calcutta edition, p. 78), as quoted by V. N. Mandlik in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 348, note; they are—good birth, steadfastness in misfortune and prosperity, youth, a good disposition, civility, absence of dilatoriness, speech that is not contradictory, truthfulness, reverence for the aged, gratitude, the state of being favoured by destiny, wisdom, being independent of trifles, capability of subduing hostile neighbouring chiefs, firmness in attachment, far-sightedness, energy, purity, having great aims, modesty, and firm devotion to religion and justice.

[3] *parikshôbha*; other grants, drafted from the same form, and also No. 39 below, line 10, give *paribhôga*, '(skilful in) enjoyment (of);' which is a better reading.

[4] This, and the following, are technical official terms, for which suitable translations have not yet been fixed.—With the present term, *Âyuktaka*, we may compare the expression *âyukta-purusha* in line 26 of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, No. 1, page 8 above.

[5] *Viniyuktaka*; compare the use of *niyuj*, 'to appoint; to commission,' in line 9 of the Junâgaḍh rock inscription, No. 14 above, page 59; also compare *tan-niyukta* in line 76 of No. 39 below, Plate XXV.

[6] *Drâṅgika*; other forms are *draṅgika* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 205, line 14; where, however, it may be a mistake for *drâṅgika*), and *drâṅgin* (*id.* Vol. IV. p. 105, line 15). The present form, *drâṅgika*, occurs again in *id.* Vol. IV. p. 175, line 6; and, in line 10 of the same grant, we have *draṅga*, which is the origin of these terms, in Maṇḍalîdraṅga. Dr. Bühler, in the places quoted, proposed to render *draṅga* by 'township,' and *drâṅgika*, &c., by 'heads of towns;' and Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *draṅga* as meaning 'a town, a city.'

[7] *Mahattara* is the comparative formation of *mahat*, 'great,' and is given by Monier Williams in the special sense of 'the head or oldest man of a village.'—In other inscriptions we have the superlative formation, *Mahattama*, used in the same technical way.

ranikas,[1] *Dâṇḍapâśikas*,[2] *Râjasthâniyas*, *Kumârâmâtyas*, and others, according as they are concerned :—

(L. 21.)—"Be it known to you, that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) parents, and in order that I myself may obtain the reward that is wished for both in this world and in the next, there is given by me, with libations of water, in accordance with the rule of *bhûmichchhidra*, to the Brâhmaṇ Rudrabhûti, an inhabitant of **Unnata**, (*a student*) of the Vâjasanêyi-Kaṇva (*śâkhâ*), and a member of the Vatsa *gôtra*,—for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva*, *agnihôtra*, and *atithi*; to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth; (*and*) to be enjoyed by the succession of (*his*) sons and sons' sons,—at (the village of) **Antaratrâ,** in the common-land[3] called Śivakapadraka, one hundred *pâdâvartas*[4] (*of land*), (*known as*) the holding[5] of Vîrasênadantika; (*and*) fifteen *pâdâvartas* on the west of this; also, in the western boundary, one hundred *pâdâvartas*, increased by the twentieth,[6] (*known as*) the holding of Skambhasêna, (*and*) ten *pâdâvartas* in the eastern boundary;—in the village of **Ḍombhigrâma,** in the eastern boundary, ninety *pâdâvartas*, (*known as*) the holding of Vardhaki;—in the village of **Vajragrâma,** in the western boundary, one hundred *pâdâvartas* in the highest part[7] of the village, (*and*) an irrigation-well with an area of twenty-eight *pâdâvartas*, (*known as*) the holding of the *Mahattara* Vîkidinna;[8] (*and*) in the common-land called Bhumbhusapadraka, one hundred *pâdâvartas*, (*known as*) the holding of the cultivator Bôṭaka, and an irrigation-well;—(*the whole of*) this (*being given*) together with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; with the *vâta*,[9] *bhûta*, grain, gold, and *âdêya*; with (*the right to*) forced labour as the occasion for it occurs; (*and with the privilege that it is*) not to be (*even*) pointed at with the hand (*of undue appropriation*) by any of the king's people.[1]

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[1] *Dhruvâdhikaraṇika*; 'one who has the superintendence of the *Dhruvas*.'—*Dhruva* has been explained by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 205) as being still used in Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Kachh to denote "a person who, on the part of a *Râja*, superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue."

[2] *Dâṇḍapâśika*, or *daṇḍapâśika*, is explained by Monier Williams in his Sanskṛit Dictionary as meaning 'one who holds the fetters or noose of punishment; a policeman.'

[3] *padraka* seems to be a fuller form of *padra*, which is given in Monier Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary as meaning 'a village; the entrance into a village; the earth; a particular district.' Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 337) has explained it as being the modern *pâdr*, 'a grazing-place.' I do not know what authority he has for this meaning. But, in H. H. Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms*, *pâdar* (i.e. *pâdr*) is explained by 'common-land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated.' And this seems more likely to be the correct meaning.

[4] *pâdâvarta*, *lit.* 'the turning round of a foot,' is given by Monier Williams in his Sanskṛit Dictionary as meaning 'a square foot.' But it seems more likely that such an expression as 'a hundred *pâdâvartas*' means 'a plot of ground measuring a hundred feet square each way, *i.e.* ten thousand square feet,' rather than only 'one hundred square feet,' which would measure only ten feet each way, and would be rather a small area for a grant; to say nothing of the still smaller areas mentioned further on.

[5] *pratyaya*; in other passages, the form *pratyâya* occurs.

[6] *i.e.* "one hundred and twenty *pâdâvartas*."

[7] *śikhara*; *lit.* 'peak, top, summit.'

[8] See page 166 above, note 6.

[9] The meaning of *vâta*, *bhûta*, and *âdeya*, is not apparent.—*vâta* is derived either from *vâ*, 'to blow,' or from *vai*, 'to become dried or withered;' compare *âvâta* in line 14 f. of No. 31 above, page 137.—*bhûta* is the past participle of *bhû*, 'to be, to become;' but no suitable meaning suggests itself.—*âdêya* seems to mean either 'that which is to be given,' from *â* in composition with *dâ*, 'to give;' or 'that which is to be cut, reaped, or mown,' from *â* with *dô*. But it is possible that, instead of the prefix *â*, we have the negative particle *a*, and that the word means 'that which is not to be given.

(L. 29.)—"Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (*it*) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brâhmaṇ, (*and*) cultivating (*it*), (*or*) causing (*it*) to be cultivated, or assigning (*it to another*).

(L. 30.)—"And this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future pious kings, born of Our lineage, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (*both to him who makes it and to him who continues it*). And he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins, together with the minor sins, who may confiscate this (*grant*), or assent to its confiscation."

(L. 32.)—And it has been said by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas:—The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)!

(L. 35.)—(*This charter*) has been written by the *Sâṁdhivigrahika* **Skandabhaṭa.** (*This is*) the sign-manual[2] of me, the *Mahârâja,* the illustrious **Dharasêna.** The *Dûtaka* (*is*) **Chirbira.** The year 200 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 2; (the month) Vaiśâkha; the dark fortnight; (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

No. 39; PLATE XXV.

ALINA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SILADITYA VII.

THE YEAR 447.

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr. Harivallabh, Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector, Kaira and Broach; and was first brought to notice in 1878, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 79 ff., where Dr. Bühler published his reading of the text, with remarks. It is on some copper-plates that were found either at, or in the neighbourhood of, **Alînâ** or **Aliṇâ,** a village about fourteen miles north-east of Naḍiâd,[3] the chief town of the Naḍiâd Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Kaira (Khêḍâ) District in Gujarât in the Bombay Presidency.

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cut, reaped, or mowed.'—Instead of *vâta-bhûta,* we sometimes have *bhûta-vâta,* in reversed order; *e.g.* in line 67 of No. 39 below, Plate xxv.

[1] *samasta-râjakîyânâm=a-hasta-prakshêpaṇîya.* This is the customary expression in the Valabhî grants. From the south, we have (1) the almost identical expression *râjakîyânâm=an-aṅguli-prêkshaṇîya, e.g.* in line 45 of the Goa grant of Shashṭhadêva II. of Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4348, (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 291); and (2) the variant *râja-râjapurushair=apy=an-aṅguli-nirdêśya,* in line 61 of the Paiṭhan grant of Râmachandra of Śaka-Saṁvat 1193 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 317).

[2] *sva-hasta*; *lit.* 'the own hand.'—Occasionally an actual representation of a sign-manual is given: *e.g.* at the end of the grant of Sîlâditya VII., No. 39 below, Plate xxv., and at the end of the Barôda grant of Dhruva II. of Śaka-Saṁvat 757 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 198 f. and Plate).

[3] The 'Nadiád, Nariad, and Neriad' of maps, &c.

When they first came to light, they had been lying for some time in a merchant's shop at Alînâ. They are now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, to which they were presented by Dr. Bühler.

The **plates,** which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 1′ 2$\frac{5}{8}$″ by 1′ 1$\frac{1}{8}$″, and the second, which is rather irregular in shape, about 1′ 3$\frac{1}{8}$″ by 1′ 0$\frac{7}{8}$″. The edges of them were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. The surfaces of the plates, however, have suffered very much from corrosion ; and in some places the letters, though not destroyed, are so choked up with a hard deposit of rust, which I found it impossible to remove, that they fail to appear in the lithograph. But the inscription is for the most part legible enough on the original plates ; the only part that has really suffered being at the top, especially towards the right corner, of the second plate. The plates are thick, and very substantial ; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them. The engraving, as displayed where the plates have not suffered much injury, is fairly well executed ; but the interiors of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—There are holes for two **rings,** in the bottom of the first plate and the top of the second ; but the rings, with the **seal** on one of them, are not forthcoming.—The **weight** of the two plates is 17 lbs. 3$\frac{3}{4}$ oz.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{8}$″ to $\frac{1}{4}$″. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets ; they are a later development of the type of those of the preceding grant of the *Mahârâja* Dharasêna II. of the year 252, No. 38 above, page 164, and Plate xxiv., and illustrate what may be called the Saurâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâḍ alphabet of the eighth century A.D. They include, from northern sources, a separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, *e.g.* in *chûḍâ*, line 4 ; also the rather rare lingual *ḍh* in *uḍûḍha*, line 11, and *samupôḍha*, line 56. They also include, in line 78, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 5, 7, 40, and 400.—The **language** is Sanskṛit ; and, except for four stanzas in lines 58 to 63, and for some of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 72 to 75, the inscription is in prose throughout. As is the case with all the later grants of this family, the inscription was engrossed with great carelessness and inaccuracy ; and there are a few passages, the proper reading of which can hardly yet be determined with certainty. —In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the occasional use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vañśa*, lines 45 and 62, and *nistriñśa*, line 51 ; (2) the use of *siṅgha* for *siṁha*, in line 56 ; (3) the use, once, of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *s*, in *ansa*, line 11 ; (4) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *vikkrama*, line 11 ; and once in conjunction with a following *ṛi*, a very exceptional occurrence, in *prakkṛiti*, line 26-27 ; and (5) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, lines 10, 14, 19, 23, 50, 53, 54-55, and 58.

The **inscription** is one of **Śîlâditya VII.,** who also had the title of **Dhrûbhaṭa,** *i.e.* **Dhruvabhaṭa,**[1] of the family of the **Kings of Valabhî ;** and the charter recorded in it is issued from his camp at the town of **Anandapura.** It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year four hundred and forty-seven (A.D. 766-67), on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by **Śîlâditya VII.** himself, to a Brâhmaṇ, for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and other rites, of the village of **Mahilabalî** or **Mahilâbalî** in the **Uppalahêṭa** *pathaka*[1] in the **Khêṭaka** *âhâra*.[2]

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[1] As pointed out by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 80), Dhruvabhaṭa is the full and correct form of the name ; and the first two syllables have been contracted in this inscription, partly because the metre required one long syllable, not two short ones, and partly because *Dhrû* was no doubt at that time, just as now, the vernacular Gujarâtî form of *Dhruva*, especially in its meaning, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Kachh (*id.* Vol. V. p. 205), as a technical official title denoting "persons who, on the part of the *Râja*, superintend the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue ; their duty is to see that he" (? the *Râja*, or a farmer) "does not collect more than his proper share."

Of the places mentioned in this grant, **Khêṭaka** is of course the modern **Khêḍâ** or **Kaira**[3] itself. **Uppalahêṭa** is evidently the modern **Uplêṭ** or **Uplêṭâ,** in the Ṭhâsrâ Tâlukâ, about thirty-five miles almost due east of Kaira. And **Anandapura** must be the modern **Ânand,** the chief town of the Ânand Tâlukâ, about twenty-one miles south-east of Kaira.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 Ôm Svasti Śrîmad-**Ânandapura**-sam[â*]vâsita-jayaskandhâvârê[5] prasabha-praṇat-âmitrâṇâṁ **Maitrakâṇâm**=atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍalâbhô[ga-saṁsa]kta-samprahâra-śata-labdha-pratâpâ-

2 t=pratâp-ôpanata-dâna-mân-ârjjav-ôpârjjit-ânurâgâd=anuraktâ[6]-maulabhṛitaḥ[7]-śrêṇî-bal-âvâpta-râjya-śriyaḥ paramamâhêśvaraḥ[8]-śrî-**Bhaṭârkkâd**=â(a)vyava-chchhinna-vaṁśân=mâ-

3 tâpitṛi-charaṇâravinda-praṇati-pravivikt-âśêsha-kalmashaḥ śaiśavât=prabhṛiti khaḍga-dvitîyaḥ[9]-bâhur=êva samada-para-gaja-ghaṭ-âsph[ô]ṭana-prakâśita-[sattva-ni]kashaḥ tat-p[r*]a-

4 [bhâ]va-praṇat-ârâti-chûḍâra[t*]na-prabhâ-sa[ṁ*]sakta-pâda-nakha-raśmi-saṁhatiḥ sakala-smṛiti-praṇîti(ta)-mârggaḥ[10]-samyak-kriyâ-pâlanaḥ[11]-prajâ-hṛidaya-raṁjanâ[d=a*]nvarttha-râja-śab[d]ô rûpa-kâ-

5 nti-sthai[r*]yya-gâmbhîryya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ Smara-śaś[â]ṅk-âdrirâj-ôdâ(da)dhi-tṛiâ(tri)daśagusa(ru)-Dhanêśân=atiśayânaḥ śaraṇâgat-âbhaya-pradânaḥ[12]-paratayâ triṇa-vad=vapâst[13]-â[śêsha-sva]-vîryya-

6 phalaḥ prârtthan-âdhik-ârttha-prad[ân-â]nandita-vidvat-suhṛit-praṇayi-hṛidaya[ḥ*] pâdachâr=îva sakala-bhuvanamaṇḍal-âbhôga-pram[ô*]da[ḥ] parama-

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[1] *pathaka* is a technical territorial term, a suitable translation for which has not yet been determined. It is evidently connected with *pathin*, *patha*, 'a path, a road.'

[2] *âhâra* is another technical territorial term, a suitable rendering of which has not yet been determined.—In line 25 f. of the Alînâ grant of Dharasêna II. of the year 270 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p. 72), we have the expression *Khêṭak-âhâra-vishayê*; which seems to shew that the term *âhâra* is synonymous with *vishaya.*—There is another term, *âharaṇî*, which is evidently a synonym of *âhâra*, since the Hastavapra *âharaṇî* is mentioned in line 21 of the Walâ grant of Dharasêna II. of the year 269 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 12); while the Hastavapra *âhâra* is spoken of in a grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 326 (*id.* Vol. I. p. 45).

[3] Lat. 22° 44′ N.; Long. 72° 44′ E.

[4] From the original plates.

[5] Read *skandhâvârât.*—In *ndhâ*, the engraver first formed *dhâ*, and then corrected it into *ndhâ*.

[6] Read *ânurâg-ânurakta.*

[7] Read *bhṛita.*

[8] Read *mâhêśvara.*

[9] Read *dvitîya.*

[10] Read *mârgga*

[11] Read *pâlana.*

[12] Read *pradâna.*

[13] Read *apâst.*

7 mâhêśvaraḥ śrî-**Guhasênaḥ** [II*] Tasya sutaḥ tat-pâda-nakha-[mayûkha*]-saṁtâna-visṛija(ta)-Jâhnavî-jal-augha-prakshâlit-âśêsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-śata-sa-

8 hasr-ôpajîvyamâna-saṁpad=rûpa-lôbhâd=i[v=â]śri(śri)taḥ sarabhâ(bha)sam=âbhigâmikaiḥ guṇaiḥ sahaja-śaktiḥ[1]-śikshâ-viśêsha-vismâpita-labdha[2]-dhanurddharaḥ prathama-[na]-

9 rapati-samatisṛishṭânâm=anupâlayitâ[3] dharmma[dâyâ]nâm=api(pâ)karttâ praj-ôpaghâta-kâriṇâṁ upaplavânâṁ śamayitâ[4] śrî-sarasvatyôr=êk-âdhivâsasya sahôpapati[5]-pa-

10 ksha-lakshmî-paribhôga-daksha-vikkramaḥ vikram-ôpama-saṁp[r]âpta[6]-vimala-pârtthiva-śrîḥ paramamâhêśvaraḥ śrî-**Dharasênaḥ** [II*] Tasya sutaḥ tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtaḥ sakala-jagad-ânandan-âtyâ(tya)dbhu-

11 ta-guṇa-samudra[7]-sthagita-samagra-digmaṇḍalaḥ samara-śata-vijaya-śôbhâ-sanâtha-maṇḍalâgra-dy[u*]ti-bhâsur-ânsa-pîṭh-ôvyû(dû)ḍha-guru-manôratha-mahâbhâva(ra)ḥ sarvva-vidyâ-pâra-parama-

12 bhâg-âdhigama-vimala-matir=api sarvvataḥ subhâshita-lavên=âpi sv[8]-ôpapâdanîya-par[i*]tôshaḥ samagra-lôk-âgâdha-gâṁbhîryya-hṛidayô=pi savya(chcha)rit-âtiśaya-suvyakta-parama-

13 kalyâṇa-svabhâvaḥ kh[i*]lîbhûta-Kṛitayuga-nṛipati-patha-viśôdhan-âdhigat-ôdagra-kîrttiḥ dharmm-ânugâ(rô)dh-â(ô)jj[v*]alatarîkṛit-ârttha-sukha-sa[ṁ]pad-u[pa*]-sêvâ-nirahaḍha[9]-**Varjmâditya**[10]-tvi(dvi)tîya-nâmâ

14 pâ(pa)ramam[â*]h[ê*]śvaraḥ grî(śrî)-**Gî(śî)lâdityaḥ**[11] [II*] Tasya sutaḥ[12] tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtaḥ svayav(m)=Upêndra-guruṇ=êpa(va) guruḥ[13] guruṇ=âtyâdaravatâ samabhilashaṇîyâṇâm[14]=api râja-lakshmî[ṁ*]

15 skandh-âsakt[âṁ] parama-bhadrâṇâṁ[15] dhu[r*]yyas=tad-âj[ñ*]â-sa[ṁ*]pâdan-ê(ai)ka-rasatay=ôdvâhana[16] khêda-sukharatibhyâṁ anâyâsita-[sattva*]-saṁpatti[ḥ*] prabhâva-sâ(sa)ṁpad-vâ(va)śîkṛita-nṛipati-śata-śirô-

16 ratnâ(tna)-vnâ(chchhâ)y-ôpagûha(ḍha)-pâdapîṭhô=pi parâm-âvajñ[17]-âbhimâna-sahas[18]-ânâli[ṁg*]ita-manôvṛittiḥ praṇatîrôkâ[19] parityajya prakhyâta-paurush-âbhimânair=â(a)py=â(a)râtibhir=anâsâ[di]-

17 ta-prakṛitay[20]-ôpâyaḥ kṛita-nikh[i*]la-bhuvan-âmâ(mô)da-vimala-guṇa-sa[ṁ]hatiḥ prasabha-vighaṭita-sakala-Kali-vilas[i*]ta-gatir=mattra[21]-jan-âbhidrô(rô)hibhir=âśashaiḥ[22] dôshair=anâmṛi-

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[1] Read *śakti*. [2] Read *vismâpita-sarvva*, or *vismâpit-âkhila*.

[3] Here, and after *śamayitâ* in this line, and in other places, there follows a mark which may perhaps be intended for a mark of punctuation. It is the same as the *anusvâra* (except that it is not in the proper place for the *anusvâra*), or half a *visarga*.

[4] Read *darśayitâ*. [5] Read *saṁhat-ârâti*.

[6] Read *ôpasaṁprâpta*, or *ôpakrama-saṁprâpta*. [7] Read *samudaya*.

[8] Read *sukh*. [9] Read *nirûḍho* [10] Read *dharmmâditya*.

[11] This *visarga* is imperfect, only the lower part being engraved.

[12] Read *tasy=ânujaḥ*; on the authority of line 15-16 of the next grant of certain date after this generation; that of Dhruvasêna II. of the year 310 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 14); and of later grants also (e. g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 149, line 17, and Vol. VII. p. 74, line 18.)

[13] Omit this word. [14] Read *samabhilashaṇîyâm*. [15] Read *paramabhadra iva*.

[16] Read *ôdvahan*. [17] Read *par-âvajñ*. [18] Read *ras*.

[19] Read *praṇatim=êkâṁ*. [20] Read *pratikriy* [21] Read *nnîcha*. [22] Read *aśêshaiḥ*.

18 [shṭ-â*]tyunnata-hṛidaya[ḥ*] prakhyâta-paurushaḥ śâstra-kôṭal[1]-âtiśay[ô*]
guṇa[2] - gaṇatitha - vipaksha - kshitipati - lakshmî - svayaṁsvayaṁ[3]grâhê(ha) -
prakâśita-praviâ(vî)ra-purusha-prathamaḥ[4]-[saṁkhy-â]-

19 dhigamaḥ[5] ya(pa)ramam[â*]hêśvaraḥ śrî-**Kharagrahaḥ** [||*] Tasya sutaḥ
tat-pâd-[â*]nuddhyâtaḥ sa[r*]vva-v[i*]dy-âdhigamaḥ-pahita[6]-nikhila-vidvaj-
jana-manaḥ-paritôshit[7]-âtisha(śa)ya[ḥ*] sat[t*]va-

20 sa[ṁ*]pat-tyâgaiḥ śauryyêṇa cha vigat-ânusa[ṁ*]dhâna-samâhit-ârâti-
paksha-manôratha-rathâksha-bhaṁgaḥ samyag-upalakshit-ânêka-śâstra-kalâ-
lôkacharita-gahvara-vi-

21 bhâgô-pi parama-bhadra-prâ(pra)kṛitir=akṛitṛi(tri)ma-praśrayô=pi vibha(na)ya-
śôbhâ-vibhûsanâḥ[8] samara-śata-jayapatâk-âharaṇa-pratyay-ôdagra-bâhu-daṇḍa-
vidhvaṁsita-pra[tipa]ksha-

22 darpp-ôdayaḥ sva-dhanu[ḥ*]-prâ(pra)bhâva-[pari*]bhût-âstrakauśal-âbhimâna-
sakala-nṛipati-maṇḍa[l-â*]bhinandita-śâsanâ(na)ḥ para[mamâ]hêśvaraḥ
grî(śrî)-**Dharasâ(sê)naḥ** [||*] Tasy=ânujaḥ ta[t]-p[âd-ânu]-

23 ddhyâtaḥ sachcharit-[â*]tiru(śa)yita-sakala-pû[r*]vva-narapatiḥ dus-
sâdhanâ[nâ*]m=api prasâdhayitâ vishay[â*]ṇâm mû[r]tt[i]m[â*]n=iva
purushakâraḥ parivṛiddha-gu[ṇ-â]nurâga-[nirbbha]-

24 ra-chitta-vṛitti[bhi*]ḥ Manur=iva svâ(sva)yam-abhyupapannaḥ prakṛitibhir=
avi(dhi)gata-kalâ-kalâpa[ḥ*] kânti-tiraskṛita-salâchhanaḥ[9]-kumudâ(da)-
nâtha[ḥ*] prâjya-pratâpa-sthagita-diga[n]tarâla[ḥ]

25 pradhvaṁsita-dhvânta-râśiḥ satat-ôdita-savitâ prakṛitibhya[ḥ*] para[ṁ*] pra-
tyayam=artthavantam=atipa(ba)hutitha-prayôjan-ânubaṁdhamam[10]=[â*]gama-
paribhû(pû)rṇṇa[ṁ*] vidadhâma(na)ḥ sandhi-vigraha-

26 samâsa-niśchaya-nipuṇa[ḥ*] sthânam=anupadêśaṁ dadaṁtaṁ[11] guṇa-vṛiddhi-
râjadinita[12]-sa[ṁ*]sk[â*]ra-sâdhûnâṁ râjya-Śâlâtu[r]îya-tantrayôr=ubhayôr=api
nishṇâtaḥ prakkṛi-

27 ti-vikramô=pi karuṇâ-mṛidu-hṛidayaḥ śrutavân=apy=i(a)-garvv[i*]taḥ kântô=pi
praśami(mî) śi(sthi)ra-sauh[â*]rddô=pi nirasitâ dôshadôsha[13]vatâm=
udaya-samupajan[i]-

28 ta-jan-ânurâga-parivṛi[ṁ*]hita-bhuvana-samartthita-prathita-**Bâlâdityi(tya)**-dvitîya-
nâm[â*] paramamâhagvana[14] grî(śrî)-**Dharasanaḥ**[15] [||*] Tasya sutaḥ
tat-pâdaradêla[16]-praṇâ-

29 ma-dharaṇi-kashaṇa-di(ja)nita-kiṇa-lâṁchhana-lalâṭa-chandra-sa(śa)kala[ḥ*] śiśu-
bhâva êva śravaṇa-nihita-mauktik-âlaṁkâra-vibhram-âmala-śruta-viśô(śê)-
sha[ḥ*] pradâna-sa-

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[1] Read *kauśal.*

[2] Omit this word.

[3] Omit this second *svayaṁ.*

[4] Read *prathama.*

[5] This *visarga* is imperfect, only the upper part being engraved.

[6] Read *âdhigama-vihita.*

[7] Read *paritôsh.*

[8] Read *vibhûshaṇaḥ.*

[9] Read *salâñchhana.*

[10] Read *ânubaṁdham.*

[11] Read *sthân-ânurûpam=âdêśaṁ dadatâṁ.*

[12] Read *vidhâna-janita.*

[13] Omit this second *dôsha.*

[14] Read *mâhêśvara.*

[15] Read *dhruvasênaḥ*, on the authority of line 9-10 of his own grant of the year 310 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 15), and of subsequent inscriptions.

[16] Read *pâdakamala.*

30 lila-kshâlit-âgrahastâravindaḥ Vyâsa[1] iva mṛidu-kara-grahaṇâd=amandîkṛit-
ânanda-vidhiḥ vasu[ṁ*]dharâyâḥ râ(kâ)rmmurâ(ka)-dhanurvv[ê*]da iva
sabhâvinâśapra[2]-lakshya-kalâpa[ḥ*] pra-

31 ṇata - samasta - sâmanta - maṇḍal - âpamônirbhṛita - chûḍâmaṇaniyamana[3] - śâsanaḥ
parama[mâhê*]śvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahâr[â*]jâdhirâja-param[ê*]śvara-
chakravartti-śrî[4]-**Dha-**

32 **rasênaḥ** [||*] Tat-pitâmaha-bhrâtṛi-śrî-**Sîlâdityasya** Vâ(śâ)rṅgapâṇêr=iv=
âgrajanmanô[5] bhakti-bandhur-âvayava-[kalpita-praṇatê]r=ati-dhavalayâ tat-
pâdâravinda-prapṛi(vṛi)ttayâ charaṇa-nakha-maṇi-

33 [ru]châ Mandâkiny=êva nityâ(tya)m=amalit-ôttamâmva(ga)desasy=Ava(ga)-
styasy=[ê*]va râjakchô(rshê)ḥ d[â*]kshiṇyam=ânatanvânasya[6] prabala-
dhavalivnô(mnâ) yaga(śa)sâṁ valay[ê*]na ma-

34 [ṇḍita]-kakubhâ navayâtharalitâśêpiḥkhaḍgaparivama[7]-maṇḍalasya payê(yô)da-
śyâma-śikhara-chûchura-kachi-sama-vinyasta-stana[8]-yugâyâḥ kshit[ê]ḥ
paty[u]ḥ śrî-**[Dêrabha]ṭa-**

35 **sy**=âgrajaḥ[9] kshiti[pa*]-sa[ṁ]hatêḥ charu vibhâgasya[10] gu(śu)chir=yyagô-
ṅguka[11]-bhṛitaḥ svayaṁvar-âbhilâshiṇîm=iva râj[y]a-śriyam=arppayantyâḥ
kṛita-par[i*]graha[ḥ śauryyam=apratiha]-

36 ta-pratâp-ânamita[12]-prachaṇḍa-ripu-maṇḍalaṁ maṇḍalâgram=apâlaṁpadhuânaḥ[13]
śaradi prasabham-[â*]kṛishṭa-śilîmukha-pâ(bâ)ṇâsan-âpâdita-prasâdha[nânâṁ]

37 para-bhuvâṁ vidhivad-âcharita-kara-grahaṇaḥ pûrvvam=[ê*]va vividha-varn(rṇ)-
ôj[j*]valêna gru(śru)t-âtiśay[ê*]n=ô[dbhâ]sita-śravaṇa-yugalaḥ puna[ḥ-punar-
uktên=êva ratn-â]-

38 [la]ṅ[k]ârêṇ=âlaṅkṛita-grôtrâ[14] parisphurat-kâ(ka)ṭaka-vikaṭa-kîṭa-paksha-ratna-
kiraṇam=ipachchhinna[15]-pradâna-salila-nivahânavasê[ka[16]-vilasan-nava-śaival-âṁ]-

39 kuram=ap[17]=âgrapâṇim=udvaha[n*] dhṛita-viś[â*]la-ratna-pa(va)laya-jaladhi-vêl[â*]-
taṭâyam[â*]na-bhuja-parishvakta-viśvam[bha]raḥ paramam[â*]hêśvaraḥ śrî-
Dhruvasênas=Tasy=âgra=

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[1] Read *kanyáyá.* [2] Read *saṁbhávit-áśêsha.*

[3] Read *maṇḍal-ôttamáṅga-dhṛita-chúḍámaṇîyamána.*

[4] In line 39 of the grant of Dharasêna IV. himself, of the year 326, Âshâḍha śukla 10, the reading is *chakravarttî śrî-ajjaka-pád-ánudhyátaḥ śrî* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 79, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 16); also in his grant of the same year, Mâgha bahula 5, of which we have only the translation of the second plate (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 45).—In all the subsequent grants, the epithet *śrî-ajjaka-pád-ánudhyátaḥ* was, for some reason or other, omitted, as here; even in his own grants of the year 330 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 75, line 41, and Vol. XV. p. 340, line 40).

[5] Read *áṅgajanmanô*, in accordance with line 29 of the next available grant of the generation after this, that of Kharagraha II. of the year 337 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 78).

[6] Read *átanvánasya.*

[7] Read *nabhasi yáminîpatêr=vvirachit-ákhaṇḍa-parivêsha.*

[8] Read *chúchuka-ruchira-sahya-vindhya-stana.*

[9] Read *áṅgajaḥ*, on the authority of line 32 of the grant of Kharagraha II., quoted above, note 5 and of most of the subsequent grants.

[10] Read *saṁhatêr=anurágiṇyaḥ.* [11] Read *yaśô-ṅśuka.*

[12] Read *apratihaṭa-vyápáram=ánamita.*

[13] Read *iv=álambamánaḥ.* [14] Read *śrôtraḥ.*

[15] Read *avichchhinna.* [16] Read *nivah-ávasêka.* [17] Read *iv.*

Second Plate.

40 [jô[1]=para]-ma[hîpa]ti-sparddha(rśa)-dôsha-nâga(śa)na-dh[i]y=[ê]va lakshmyâ svayam=atispashṭa-chêshṭam=âślishṭ-âṅgayash[ṭir=atiruchiratara-charita-garima-parikalita-sakala-na]rapa[t]ir=ati-

41 prakṛishṭ - ânurâga - [sa*]rabhasa - vaśîkṛita - praṇata - samasta - sâmanta - chakra - chûḍâmaṇi-mayûkha-[khachita-charaṇakamala-yugalaḥ] prôddâm-[ôdâra]-dô[rddaṇḍa]-dalita-dvishad-va-

42 rgga-darppaḥ prasarppat-paṭîyaḥ-pratâpa-plôshit-âśêsha-śatru-va[ṁ*]śaḥ praṇayi-paksha-ni[kshipta-lakshmîkaḥ prêrita-gad-ôtkshi]pta-su[darśana-chakra]ḥ parihṛita-

43 [bâla-krî]ḍô=anaḍhaḥkṛita-dvijâtir=êka-vikrama-prasâdhita-dharitrîtalô=naṁgîkṛita-jalaśayy[ô=pûrvva-purushôtta]maḥ [sâkshâd-dharmma iva samyag-vya]vasthâ-

44 pita-varṇṇ-âśram-âchâraḥ pûrvvair=apy=urvvi(rvvî)patibhiḥ tṛishṇâ-lava-lubdhaiḥ yâny=apahṛitâ[ni dêva-brahma]-d[ê]yâ[ni tê]shâm=apy=[atisarala]-manaḥ-pra-

45 [sa]ra-mut-sa[ṅka]la[n-ânu]môdanâbhyâṁ parimudita-tṛi(tri)bhuvan-âbhinandit-ôchchhrit-ôtkṛishṭa-dhavala-dha[rmma]-dh[vaja]ḥ [prakâśita-ni]ja-vaṅśaḥ d[ê]va-dvija-gurû[n=pratipûjya yathârha]m=anavarata-

46 pravarttita-mah-ôdraṅg-[â]di-dâna-vyavasan-ânupajâta[2]-saṁtôsh-ôpâtt-ôdâra-kîrttiḥ[3]-[paraṁ]parâ-[danturita-ni]kh[i]la-dikchakravâlaḥ [spashṭam=êva ya]th-ârttha[ṁ] **Dharmmâdityi(tya)-**

47 [dvi]tîya-nâmâ para[ma*]mâhêśvaraḥ śrî-**Kharagrahaḥ** [II*] Tasy=âgra-janmanaḥ[4] kumuda-shaṇḍa-śrî-[vikâsinyâ kalâvataś=chandrikay=êva kîrttyâ dhavalita-sa]kala-digmaṇḍa-

48 lasya khaṁḍit-âguru-[vi]lêpana-viḍa[5]-śyâmala-Vindhya-[śai]la-vipula-payôdharâyâh kshi[têḥ patyu]ḥ śrî-**Śîlâdityasya** sûnu[r=nava-prâlêyakiraṇa i]va

49 pratidina-saṁvarddhamâna-hṛidaya[6]-kalâ-chandra(kra)vâlaḥ [kêsar]îndra-[ś]iśur=iva râja-lakshmîṁ sakala[7]-vana[sthalîm=i]v=âlaṁkurvvâṇaḥ [śikha]ṇḍikêtana iva ruchi[mach-chûḍâ]-ma[ṇḍanaḥ]

50 prachaṇḍa-śakti-prabhâvaś=cha śarad-âgama iva[8] dvishatâṁ parama-

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[1] It is rather peculiar that the elder brother should be mentioned after the younger. The reading, *agrajô*, however, is the same in line 37 of Kharagraha's own grant of the year 337 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 78), which seems to put the correctness of it beyond doubt; and the same reading is repeated in all the later grants without exception.—See also note 4 below.

[2] Read *vyavasthân-ôpajâta*, or *vyavasây-ôpajâta*.

[3] Read *kirtti*.

[4] Here we have another instance of the elder brother being mentioned after the younger (see note 1 above). But, except that *agrajaḥ* is written by mistake for *agrajanmanaḥ*, the reading is the same in line 47 of the next grant after this generation, that of Śîlâditya III. of the year 352, the son of Śîlâditya II. who is now under notice (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 308); and this seems to put the correctness of it beyond doubt. Also, the same reading that we have here, *agrajanmanaḥ*, is repeated in all the later grants.

[5] Read *piṇḍa*.

[6] Omit this word *hṛidaya*.

[7] Read *lakshmîm=achala*.

[8] A considerable amount of matter is omitted here. The full passage should run — *śarad-âgama iva pratâpavân=ullasat-padmaḥ saṁyugê vidalayann=ambhôdharân=iva para-gajân=udaya-tapana-bâlâtapa iva saṁgrâmêshu mushṇann=abhimukhânâm=âyûṁshi dvishatâṁ.*

mâhêśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-bappa[1]-pâd-
ânuddhyâtaḥ paramabhaṭ[ṭ]âraka-[mahârâ]-

51 jâdhirâja-paramêśvaraḥ śrî-**Śîlâdityadêvas**=Tasya sutaḥ pâramaiśvaryya[ḥ*][2]
kôp-âkṛishṭa-nistṛi(stri)ṅśa-pâta-vidalit-ârâti-kari-kumbhasthal - ôllasat - pra[sṛita-
ma]hâ-pratâp-ânalaḥ prâ[kâra]-

52 [parigata*]-jaganmaṇḍala-labdha-sthitiḥ vikaṭa-nija-dôrddaṇḍ-âvalaṁbinâ sakala-
bhuvan-âbhôga-bhâjâ manth-âsphâlana-vidhu[ta-dugdhasi]ndhu-phê[na-piṇḍa-
pâ]ṇḍura-yaśô-vitâ[nêna]

53 vihit-âtapatraḥ parama[mâhê*]śvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-
paramêśvara-śrî-bappa-pâd-ânuddhyâtaḥ paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâ[jâdhi]râja-
pa[ramêśva]ra-[śrî]-**Śîlâditya[dêvaḥ]** [||*] [Tat-putraḥ]

54 pratâp - ânurâga - praṇata - samasta - sâmanta - chûḍâmâri - nakha - mayûkha[3] - nichita-
rañ[j]ita-pâdâravindaḥ parama[mâ*]hêśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâ-
dhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-[bappa]-pâd-â-

55 nuddhyâtaḥ paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Śîlâditya-
dêva[ḥ]** [||*] Tasy=âtmajaḥ praśamita-ri(?)pu(?)-bala-darppaḥ vipula-jaya-
maṁgal-âśrayaḥ śrî-samâliṁ[gana-lâli]ta-

56 vakshâ[ḥ*] sam[u*]pôḍha-nârasiṅgha-vigrah-ôrjjit-ô[d*]dhura-śaktiḥ samuddhâ-
(ddha)ta-vipaksha-bhûbhṛit-kṛita-nikhila-gômaṇḍala-rakshaḥ purush-ôttama[ḥ*]
praṇatanâbhûta[4]-pârtthiva-kirîṭa-

57 [mâ]ṇikya - [ma]sṛiṇita - charaṇa - nakha - mayûkha - raṁjit - âgêjâ[5] - digvadhû-mukhaḥ
paramamâhêśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-bappa-
pâ-

58 [d-â]nuddhyâtaḥ paramabhaṭṭârâṁ-mahâraladhirâja[6]-paramêśvara-śrî-**Śîlâditya-
dêvaḥ** paramamâhêśvaraḥ[7] [||*] Tasy[8]=âtmajaḥ prathita-dussaha-vîryya-
chakrô lakshmy-âlay[ô]

59 [nara]ka-nâśa-kṛita-prayatnaḥ pṛithvî-samuddharaṇa-kâryya-kṛit-aika-nishṭhaḥ
saṁpûrṇṇa-chandra-kara-ni[r*]mmala-jâta-kîrttiḥ [||*] Jñâta-[tra]y[î]-[g]uṇa-
mayô jita-vai[r]i-pakshaḥ saṁpa[nna]-

60 [— ⏑]ma(?)-sukhaḥ sukha-daḥ sad=aiva jñân-âlaya[ḥ*] sakala-vandita-lôkapâlô
vidyâdharair=anugataḥ prathitaḥ pri(pṛi)thivyâṁ [||*] Ratn-ôj[j*]valô
vara-tanu-

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[1] Read *bâvâ*, in accordance with line 46 of the grant of the next generation after this, that of Śîlâditya IV. of the year 372 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 212; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99); with lines 45 and 46 of the two grants of Sîlâditya V. of the year 403 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 343; and *Indian Inscriptions*, Nos. 15 and 16); and with the explanation that I give below, on the translation of this passage.—In line 51 of the grant of Śîlâditya VI. of the year 441 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 20), the reading is *bappa*, as here, wrongly.—In line 51 of the grant of Śîlâditya III. himself of the year 352 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 309), the whole passage between *paramamâhêśvaraḥ* and *śrî-Śîlâdityadêvaḥ*, including both the reference to *bâva* and his own regal titles, is omitted.

[2] Several words are omitted before this. The full reading is *tasya sutô=para-pṛithvî-nirmmâṇa-vyavasây-âsâdita-pâramaiśvaryyaḥ*.

[3] Read *chûḍâmaṇi-mayûkha*.

[4] Read *praṇata-prabhûta*.

[5] Read *âśêsha*.

[6] Read *paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja*.

[7] This epithet is repeated unnecessarily, as we have already had it in the preceding line.

[8] Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the following three verses.

61 [r=ggu]ṇa-ratna-râśiḥ aiśvaryya-vikrama-guṇaiḥ paramair=upêtaḥ sat[t*]v-ôpakâra-karaṇê satatam̀ pravṛittaḥ s[â*]kshâj=[J*]anârddanâ(na) iv=ârddita-dushṭa-darppaḥ [||*]

62 Yuddhâḥ[1] sakṛid=gâ(ga)ja-ghaṭâ-ghaṭan-aika-dakshaḥ puṇy-âlayô jagati gîta-mahâ-pratâpaḥ râjâdhirâja-param[ê*]śvara-vaṅśa-janmâ śrî-**Dhrûbhaṭô** jayati jâ-

63 ta-mahâ-pramôdâm̀[2] [||*] [Sa cha*] paramêśvaraḥ[3] paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâ-dhirâja-parâmêśyara[4]-śrî-pa(ba)ppa-pâp(d)-ânuddhyâtaḥ para(râ)mabhaṭṭâra-na(ka)-mahârâjâ-

64 dhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Śîlâdityadêvaḥ** sarvvân=êva samâjñâpayaty=Astu vaḥ sam̀vidita[m̀*] yathâ mayâ m[â*]tâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛi-

65 ddhayê aihik-âmushmika-phal-âvâpty-artham̀ śrîmad**Ânandapura**vâstavya-tachchâturvvidyasâmânya-Ś[â*]rkkarâkshisagôśra(tra)-bahvṛichasabrahmachâri-

66 bhaṭṭ-Âkhaṇḍalamitrâyê(ya) bhaṭṭa-Vishṇu-putrâya bali-charu-vaiśva-dêv-âgnihôtra-kratu-kṛi(kri)y-âdy-utsarppaṇ-âtthê[5] grî(śrî)-**Khêṭak**-âhârê **Uppalahêṭa-**

67 pathakê **Mahila(?lâ)balî**-n[â*]ma-grâmaḥ s-ôdraṅga[ḥ*] s-[ô*]parikâ(ka)raḥ s-ôtpadyâ(dya)mâna-vishṭikaḥ sa-bhûta-pâ(vâ)ta-pratyâdôyaḥ[6] s-daś-âparâdhaḥ sa-

68 bhôga-bhâgaḥ sa-dhânya-hiraṇy-âd[ê*]yaḥ – sarvva-râjakîyânaḥ a-hasta-prakshôpaśîyaḥ[7] pûrvva-pradatta-dôpadâya-brahmadâya-varjjâ[8] bhûâ(bhû)mi-chchhidra-nyây[ê*]n=â-chan[dr]-â[r*]kk-â-

69 rṇṇava-kshiti-parvvata-samakâlînaḥ putra-pautr-ânvaya-bhôgya uday(k)-âtisarggêṇa brahmadâyatvêna pratipâditaḥ [|*] yatô=bhy(sy)=ôchitayâ brahmadâ[ya-sthi]-

70 tyâ bhum̀jataḥ kṛishataḥ karshâpayataḥ pratidiśatô vâ na kaiśchid=vyâsêdhê varttitavya[m̀*] || Âgâmi-bhadra-nṛii(nṛi)patibhiḥ a-

71 smad-vam̀śa-jair=anyair=vv=â-nityânityâny[9]=aiśvaryyâṇy=a-sthira[m̀*] mânujya-(shya)kam̀ sâmânyam̀ cha bhûmi-dânam̀[10]-phalam̀ avagachchhadbhiḥ ayam=a-

72 smad-dâyô=numantavyah pâlayitavyaś=cha [||*] Uktañ=cha pê(ve)da-vyâsô(sê)na Vyâ[11]sêna [|*] Bahubhi[r*][12]=vvâsuradhâ[13] bhuktâ rajabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ

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[1] Read *yuddhê.*

[2] Read *pramôdaḥ.*

[3] Read *paramamâhêśvaraḥ.*

[4] Read *paramêśvara.*

[5] Read *ârttham̀.*

[6] Read *pratyâyaḥ.*

[7] Read *râjakîyânâm=a-hasta-prakshêpaṇîyaḥ.*

[8] Read *dêvadâya-brahmadâya-varjjam̀.*

[9] Read *vv=â-nityâny.*

[10] Read *dâna.*

[11] The engraver first formed apparently *gyâ*, and then corrected it into *vyâ.*

[12] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[13] Read *vvasudhâ.*

73 yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phala[ṁ*] I(II) Yân[1]=îha dattâni purâ nna(na)rêndraiḥ dhanâni dharmmâyatanâkṛiâtâni[2] nirmmâlya-vântaḥ[3]-

74 prati[mâ]ni tâni kê(kô) nâma [sâ*]dhu[ḥ*] pratir=âdadîtaḥ[4] [II*] Shashṭi[5]-varva(rsha)-sahasrâṇi sva[r*]gg[ê*] tishṭhati bhu(bhû)mi-daḥ a(â)chchhêttâ ch=ânumaṁt[â*] chcha(cha) tâny=êva nara-

75 [kê va]sêt II Bhushv-âṭavîshv[6]=a-tê(tô)yâsu sushu[7]-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ kṛishṇ-[â*]hayô hi jâyantô(ntê) bhûmi-d[â*]yaṁ haranti y[ê*] II Dutakê[8]=tra mahâpratîhâ-

76 [ra] . . . .[9] h[â*]kshapaṭalika-tra-râjakula[10]-śrî-**Siddhasêna[ḥ*]** gri(śrî)-Śarvvaṭa-sutaḥ [I*] tava(thâ) tanniyukta-pratinarttaka-kulaputr-âsâ(mâ)-

77 tya-**G[u]hêna** Hembaṭa-putrêṇa likhitam[11]=iti II Saṁva[t]sara-śata-chatushṭayê sapta-chatvâriṅśad-adhikê Dyêpṭha[12]-śuddha-paṁchamyâṁ aṅka-

78 ta[ḥ*] sava[13] 400 40 7 Śrê(jyê)shṭha gu(śu) 5 [II*] Sva-hastô mama[14] [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! From the victorious camp located at the famous town of **Ânandapura**:[15]—In unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Bhaṭârka,**—who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the **Maitrakas,** who had by force bowed down (*their*) enemies; (*and*) who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (*his*) hereditary servants, who had been brought under subjection by (*his*) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (*to him*) by affection,—(*there was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Guhasêna,**—whose sins were all removed by doing obeisance to the waterlilies that were the feet of (*his*) parents; whose sword was verily a second arm (*to him*) from childhood;[16] the test

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[1] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[2] Read *âyatanîkṛitâni.* [3] Read *vânta.*

[4] Read *punar=âdadîta.*

[5] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

[6] Read *vindhy-âṭavîshv.*

[7] Read *śushka.*

[8] Read *dûtakô.*

[9] Two very doubtful *aksharas*, or perhaps three, are engraved here. Dr. Bühler read them as *śrî-dêṭa*, giving the proper name of Dêṭaha. But we ought to have simply the *ma* of *mahâkshapaṭalika.*

[10] Read *paṭalika-râjakula.* The *tra* is meaningless; and it is not easy to see how it came to be introduced.

[11] Supply *śâsanam.*

[12] Read *jyêshṭha.*

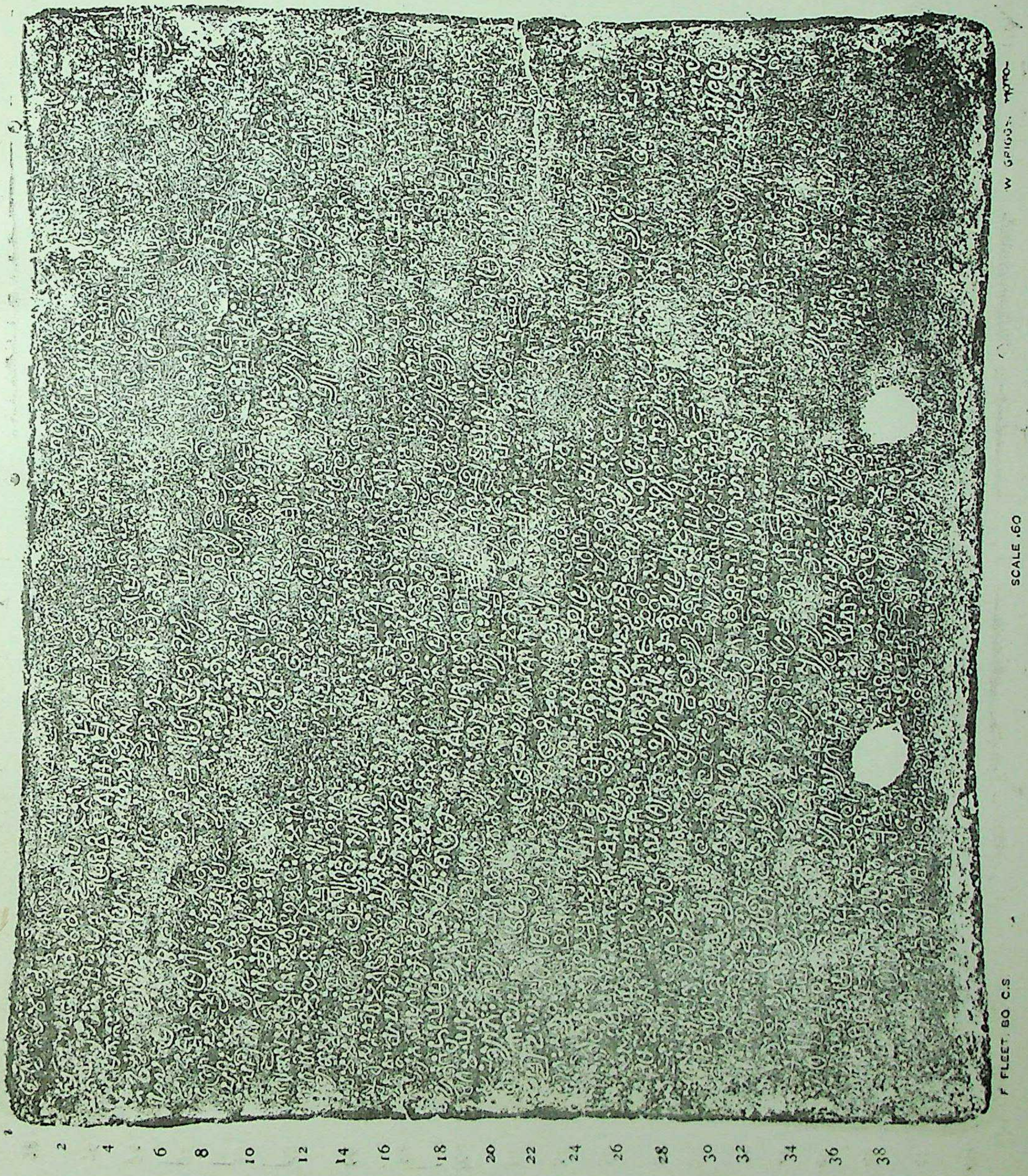
[13] Read *saṁvat.*

[14] In the original, these two words, with a representation of the sign-manual underneath them, stand in an enclosure at the end of lines 70-78.

[15] The proper context is in line 64,—"The glorious Śîlâdityadêva (VII.) issues a command to all people."

[16] See page 168 above, note 2.

Alina Plates of Siladitya VII.—The Year 447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of whose strength was manifested by clapping (*his*) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (*his*) foes; who had the collection of the rays of the nails of (*his*) feet interspersed with the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (*his*) enemies who were made to bow down by his prowess; whose title of 'king' was obvious and suitable, because he pleased the hearts of (*his*) subjects by preserving the proper rites of the path prescribed by all the traditionary laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and wealth, surpassed (*respectively*) (the god) Smara, the moon, (Himâlaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Bṛihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, and (the god) Dhanêśa; who, through being intent upon giving freedom from fear to those who came for protection, was indifferent to all the (*other*) results of his vigour, as if they were (*of as little value as*) straw; who delighted the hearts of learned people and (*his*) friends and favourites, by giving (*them*) wealth greater (*even*) than their requests; (*and*) who was, as it were, the personified happiness of the circumference of the whole earth.

(Line 7.)—His son, whose sins were all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jâhnavî spread out by the diffusion [of the rays*] of the nails of his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Dharasêna (II.),**—whose riches were the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who was with eagerness, as if from a desire for (*his*) beauty, resorted to by (*all*) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind; who astonished all archers by the speciality of (*his*) innate strength and (*skill acquired by*) practice; who was the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averted calamities that would have afflicted (*his*) subjects; who was the exponent of (*the condition of being*) the one (*joint*) habitation of wealth and learning; whose prowess was skilful in enjoying[1] the goddess of the fortunes of the compact ranks of (*his*) enemies; (*and*) who possessed a spotless princely glory, acquired by (*his*) prowess.

(L. 10.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Śîlâditya (I.),** who acquired the second name of **Dharmâditya** by the pursuit of wealth, happiness, and riches, illumined by conformity with religion,—who pervaded all the regions with the excess of (*his*) wonderful good qualities that gladdened all mankind; who supported the great burden of weighty desires on a cushion that was (*his*) shoulder, radiant with the lustre of (*his*) scimetar that was possessed of the brilliance of victory in a hundred battles; who, though (*his*) intellect was pure through mastering the endmost divisions of the limits of all the sciences, was easily to be gratified with even a small amount of good conversation; who, though (*his*) heart possessed a profundity that could be fathomed by no people, yet had a most agreeable disposition that was displayed by the excess of (*his*) good actions; (*and*) who acquired an eminent reputation by clearing out the blocked-up path (*of the good behaviour*) of the kings of the Kṛita age.

(L. 14.)—His younger brother,[2] who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Kharagraha (I.),**—who possessed a wealth [of vigour*] that was not worn out, either with fatigue or with pleasurable enjoyment, when, bearing the yoke as if he were a most choice bullock, he was carrying on (*his*) shoulders, with the sole object of fulfilling his commands,[3] the goddess of sovereignty, even while she was still an object to be longed for by (*his*) elder (*brother*) who, excessively full of respect (*for him*), (*behaved*) as if he were (the god Indra) the elder (*brother*) of Upêndra ;[1] who, though (*his*) footstool was covered over with the lustre of the jewels on the heads of a hundred kings subdued by (*his*) wealth of power, had a disposition that was not embued with the sentiment of haughtiness (*induced*) by contempt for other people ; by (*whose*) enemies, even though renowned for manliness and pride, no remedy, except the performance of obeisance alone, could be successfully employed ; the collection of whose pure virtues effected the happiness of the whole world ; who forcibly destroyed all the specious procedure of (*this wicked*) Kali age ; whose very noble heart was not tainted by any of the faults that assert an ascendancy over inferior people ; who was renowned for manliness ; who excelled in knowledge of the sacred writings ; (*and*) who manifested (*his*) attainment of being accounted the first among heroes, by being spontaneously chosen (*as her lord and husband*) by the goddess of the fortunes of the assembled hostile kings.

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[1] See page 169 above, note 3.

[2] See page 177 above, note 1.

[3] *i.e.* the commands of Śîlâditya I.

(L. 19.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Dharasêna (III.)**,—who, by mastering all the sciences, produced an excess of joy in the minds of all learned people ; who, with (*his*) goodness and wealth and liberality, and with (*his*) heroism, broke the chariot-axles that were the thoughts of (*his*) enemies who, occupied in intense reflection (*upon his might*), lost the power of acting in concert (*against him*) ; who, though thoroughly well conversant with the devious divisions of the many sacred writings and the arts and sciences and the proceedings of mankind, still had a nature that was of the most gracious kind ; who, though possessed of innate affability, was (*still further*) decorated with the grace of modesty ; who destroyed the display of pride of (*his*) opponents by the staff of (*his*) arm that was uplifted in the act of capturing banners of victory in a hundred battles ; (*and*) whose commands were hailed with joy by the whole array of kings whose pride, induced by (*their*) skill in the use of weapons, was subdued by the power of his own bow.

(L. 22.)—His younger brother, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Dhruvasêna (II.)**,[2] whose famous second name of **Bâlâditya** was established as one of appropriate meaning, through the (*whole*) world being pervaded by the affection of mankind that was produced by (*his*) rising,[3]—who surpassed all previous kings in excellent achievements ; who was the accomplisher of objects, even such as were hard to be attained ;[4] who was, as it were, the very personification of manhood ; who, as if he were Manu, was spontaneously resorted to by (*his*) subjects, the action of whose thoughts excelled in affection for (*his*) great good qualities ; who mastered all the arts and sciences ; who, in beauty, put to shame the moon, which (*lustrous as it is, still*) is marked with spots ; who pervaded with (*his*) great brilliance all the intermediate spaces between the points of the compass ; who destroyed the mass of darkness; who, being a sun that was always risen, was (*ever*) conferring upon (*his*) subjects confidence of the highest kind, that was fully justified, (*and*) was the result of the very various objects with which he busied himself (*for their welfare*), (*and*) was filled out with (*constant*) augmentation; who, being clever (*on the one side*) in determining peace and war and reconciliation (*and on the other*) in settling the euphonic joining of letters and the analysis of words and composition, was thoroughly well versed even in both the rituals of sovereignty and of Śâlâturîya,[1] (*the text-books on the one side*) of those who give commands suitable to the rank (*of their subordinates*) (*and on the other side*) of those who apply substituted grammatical forms suitable to the places (*that they are to fill*), (*and on the one side*) of those who are eminent in refinement effected by the employment of an increase of virtue, (*and on the other side*) of those who excel in the perfection of language effected by the employment of the *guṇa*[2] and *vṛiddhi*[3] changes of vowels; who, though naturally valorous, possessed a heart that was tender through compassion; who, though well acquainted with sacred learning, was free from pride; who, though beautiful, was full of tranquillity; (*and*) who, though firm in friendship, repudiated people pervaded with faults.

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[1] Upêndra, the younger brother of Indra, is Vishṇu. The allusion seems to be to the contest between Vishṇu (in his incarnation as Kṛishṇa) and Indra concerning the tree of Indra's paradise, in which Vishṇu was victorious and had homage done to him by Indra (see the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, book V. chap. xxx.; Hall's edition of Wilson's Translation, Vol. V. p. 97 ff.)—On this analogy, it would seem that the two brothers, Śîlâditya I. and Kharagraha I., had some dispute about the leadership of their family ; and that eventually Śîlâditya I. conceded the question to his younger brother.

[2] See page 175 above, note 15.

[3] The play on words is on the meaning of *bâl-âditya*, 'the young sun, the rising sun.

[4] Or "who was the conqueror of territories, even such as were hard to be subdued."

(L. 28.)—His son, whose forehead, resembling a portion of the moon, had on it a spot that was the mark caused by rubbing against the earth in performing obeisance to the waterlilies that were his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Chakravartin*,[4] the glorious **Dharasêna (IV.),**—who, in very childhood, had a speciality of sacred learning that was as pure as the beauty of the pearl-ornaments worn in (*his*) ears; who had the waterlilies that were (*his*) fingers besprinkled with the stream of (*constant*) liberality; who intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes, as if he were intensifying the happiness of a maiden by tenderly taking (*her*) hand (*in marriage*); who, as if he were (*the very personification of*) the science of archery of bowmen, perceived at once all objects that should be aimed at; (*and*) whose commands were like the jewels in the locks of hair worn on the heads of all the chieftains who bowed down before (*him*).

(L. 32.)—Of the son[5] of the illustrious **Śîlâditya (I.),**[6] who was the (*elder*) brother of his father's father[7] **(Kharagraha I.),** (*and*) who was, as it were, (the god) Śârṅgapâṇi,—(*viz.*) of the illustrious **Dêrabhaṭa,** who performed obeisance with (*his*) limbs bowed down through attachment; whose head was always rendered pure, as if by (the river) Mandâkinî, by the very dazzling lustre, proceeding from the waterlilies that were his feet,[1] of the jewels that were the nails of (*his*) feet; who, as if he were Agastya, was a royal saint, displaying courtesy on all sides; who with the exceedingly white circle of (*his*) fame, that adorned the points of the compass, formed an entire halo round the moon in the sky; (*and*) who was the lord of the earth which has (the mountains) Sahya and Vindhya for (*its*) lovely breasts,[2] the nipples of which are (*their*) summits that are made of a dark-blue colour by the clouds (*resting upon them*),—the son[3] (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Dhruvasêna (III.),**—who accepted in marriage the goddess of royalty, just as if she were longing to choose (*him*) of her own accord, from the assemblage of kings, full of affection (*for him*) (*and*) wearing fine garments that were (*their*) resplendent reputations, which offered (*her to him*); who relied upon (*his*) heroism, which was never exerted in vain, as if upon a scimetar which bowed down the array of (*his*) fierce enemies; who, in the autumn season,[4] according to proper custom levied taxes from (*his*) enemies' lands, the quiet state of which was upset by (*his*) bow, the arrows of which were forcibly drawn out to the full; who, having (*his*) ears already decorated with an excess of sacred learnings, radiant with a variety of topics, had them (*still further*) adorned with the embellishment of jewels, as if it were (*with that sacred learning*) repeated again and again; (*and*) who,—holding up a fore-arm which, (*covered*) with gleaming bracelets and wings of beautiful insects and rays of jewels, was as it were a fresh sprout of a *śaivala*-plant[5] looking charming in the waters that were (*his*) ceaseless gifts,—embraced the (*whole*) earth with (*his*) arms which, wearing great jewelled bands, behaved as if they were the banks of the shores of the ocean.

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[1] The grammarian Pâṇini, as having been born in the town of Śalâtura. The play on words here rests on the ordinary and grammatical meanings of *saṁdhi*, *vigraha*, and the other terms employed.

[2] The formative change of *i*, and *î*, *u* and *û*, *ṛi* and *ṛî*, and *lṛi*, into *ê*, *ô*, *ar* or *ra* and *al*.

[3] The formative change of *a*, *i* and *î*, *u* and *û*, *ṛi* and *lṛi*, into *â*, *ai*, *au*, *âr* or *râ*, and *âl*.

[4] *Chakravartin* is explained by Monier Williams, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, as meaning "a ruler, the wheels (*chakra*) of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction;" or "the ruler of a *chakra* or country described as extending from sea to sea." Another explanation is given in the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, book I. chap. xiii. verse 46 (see Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. I. p. 183, and note 1), *viz.* "a discus (*chakra*), the sign of (the god) Vishṇu, (is to be found among the marks) on the hands of all *Chakravartins*; (and such a ruler is one) whose prowess cannot be withstood even by the gods."—The word *Chakravartin* denotes 'an universal ruler;' and is one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty, though it is not of such frequent occurrence as the others are (see page 10 above, note 3).—This Dharasêna's own grant of the year 326, inserts, after *Chakravartin*, the epithet "who meditated on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather" (see page 176 above, note 4).

[5] See page 176 above, note 5.

[6] Mentioned in line 14 above.

[7] *i.e.* of the father's father of the last-mentioned king, Dharasêna IV.

(L. 39.)—His elder[6] brother (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Kharagraha (II.),** who, in a very clear and suitable manner, had the second name of **Dharmâditya**—whose slender body was embraced in a very public fashion by the goddess of fortune herself, who was minded, as it were, to destroy the pollution of the touches of other kings; who surpassed all (*other*) kings by the greatness of (*his*) exceedingly brilliant achievements; who had the waterlilies that were (*his*) feet studded with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (*their*) heads of the whole assemblage of chieftains who bowed down when they had been subdued by the violence of (*their*) excessive affection (*for him*); who broke the pride of the multitude of (*his*) enemies with the large and lofty staff of (*his*) arm; who scorched the whole race of (*his*) foes with (*his*) very hot brilliance that spread itself abroad; who delivered over (*all his*) wealth to the ranks of (*his*) favourites;[7] who had a mace that he hurled, and a nice-looking discus that he threw; who discarded childish sports; who never treated the twice-born with contempt; who acquired the (*whole*) surface of the earth by (*his*) prowess alone; who approved not ot making his couch among stupid people; who was one of the best of men of a kind that was unprecedented; who, as if he were the personification of religion, properly regulated the practices of the different castes and stages of life; whose lofty and excellent white banner of religion was hailed by the three worlds that were gladdened by (*his*) collecting together, in the joy of (*his*) very upright disposition, and then assenting to (*the continuance of the enjoyment of*), even those grants to gods and Brâhmaṇs that had been confiscated by previous kings, who were made avaricious by a little greed; who glorified his own lineage; (*and*) who, having done worship to the gods and Brâhmaṇs and spiritual preceptors, filled all the circuit of the regions with the continuity of (*his*) excellent reputation acquired by (*their*) satisfaction produced by (*his*) settlement of liberal grants of the *udraṅga*[1] and other (*rights*) which were ceaselessly made (*by him*) according to the merits (*of the recipients.*)

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[1] *i.e.* the feet of Dharasêna IV.

[2] See page 86 above, note 2.

[3] See page 176 above, note 9.

[4] As being suitable for campaigns, and also for marriages, as indicated by the secondary meaning of this sentence, in which *para-bhuvâṁ* means "his enemies' daughters."

[5] The aquatic plant, Vallisneria Octandra.

[6] See page 177 above, note 1.

[7] In this and some of the following sentences, he is, through their secondary meanings, compared and contrasted with the god Vishṇu.

(L. 47.)—Of his elder brother,[2] the illustrious **Śîlâditya (II.)**,[3]—who made all the regions white with (*his*) fame, as if with the light of the full-moon that makes the beauty of the waterlilies to develop itself; (*and*) who was the lord of the earth, the bulky breasts of which are the Vindhya mountains of a dark-blue colour like cakes of ointment made of pounded aloe-bark,—the son (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Śîlâdityadêva (III.)**,—who day by day increased (*his*) circle of accomplishments, like the new cold-rayed (moon) day by day increasing (*its*) digits; who adorned the goddess of sovereignty, like a young lordly lion adorning a forest on a mountain; who, like (the god Kârttikêya) who has the banner of a peacock, was adorned with a beautiful lock of hair on the top of the head, and was possessed of excessively great energy and majesty; who was [full of glory (*and*) possessed ample treasures*],[4] like the approach of autumn, [which is full of warmth (*and*) causes the waterlilies to bloom *]; [who used to part asunder in battle the elephants of (*his*) enemies, just as the young sun, hot (*even*) in (*its*) rising, parts asunder the clouds*]; [who used to steal in war the lives*] of (*his*) enemies; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara; (*and*) who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, (*his*) glorious uncle.[5]

(L. 51.)—His son (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Śîlâdityadêva (IV.)**,—[who achieved*] supreme lordship[6] [by engaging in the creation of another world]; the diffused fire of whose great prowess played about on the temples of (*his*) enemies' elephants, which were split open by the blows of (*his*) sword that was drawn in anger; who acquired a firm position on the earth by encircling it about with a rampart; whose umbrella was constituted by the canopy of (*his*) fame, white as the clusters of foam of the ocean of milk when it was stirred about by the shaking of the churning-stick, which hung out from a mighty staff that was his own arm, (*and*) which enveloped the whole circumference of the earth; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara; (*and*) who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, (*his*) glorious father.[1]

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[1] See page 97 above, note 6.

[2] See page 177 above, note 4.

[3] In Dr. Bühler's genealogical table (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 208; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 26), this Śîlâditya, because he did not actually reign, is passed over without being numbered; with the result that the last of the family, the maker of the present grant, is called Śîlâditya VI., instead of Śîlâditya VII. But this arrangement, if endorsed, would place us under the inconvenience of having to refer to him in a very roundabout way, by specifying his father, son, or brother, in any discussion of the history of the family. He belongs to the direct line of descent; and all considerations of expediency require that he should be duly numbered, quite as much as his grandfather and descendants of the same name.

[4] See page 177 above, note 8.

[5] *bâva.*—See page 178 above, note 1, and page 186 below, note 1.

[6] See page 178 above, note 2.—In this passage, Śîlâditya IV. is likened to the god Śiva, under the name of Paramêśvara or 'the supreme lord,' and as the creator (see page 155 above, note 1.)

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[1] *bappa*.—This word has already occurred in line 50 above, where, however, it is a mistake for *báva*, 'uncle.'—The word *báva*, qualified by the paramount titles, in the epithet *paramabhaṭṭáraka-mahárájádhirája-paraméśvara-śrî-báva-pád-ánudhyáta*, actually occurs (1) only in respect of the *Paramabhaṭṭáraka*, *Mahárájádhirája*, and *Paraméśvara* Śîlâditya III., a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (Śiva), in line 46 of the grant of his son Śîlâditya IV. of the year 372 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 212; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99), and in lines 45 and 46 respectively of the two grants of Śîlâditya V. of the year 403 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 343). No other instance of the use of *báva* is known to me.—The word *bappa* is of far more frequent use. In the Valabhî grants it occurs, qualified by the same paramount titles, in *paramabhaṭṭáraka-mahárájádhirája-paraméśvara-śrî-bappa-pád-ánudhyáta*, an epithet that is applied (2) here and in lines 54-55, 57-58, and 63 below, and in other grants as far as they go, to Śîlâditya IV. V. VI. and VII., each of whom came in direct succession after his father, and each of whom had the paramount titles of *Paramabhaṭṭáraka*, *Mahárájádhirája*, and *Paraméśvara*, and was also a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara. Among the inscriptions of other families, the same expression, *bappa-pád-ánudhyáta*, without any qualifying titles of *bappa*, is used as an epithet (3) of the *Bhaṭṭáraka* and *Mahárája* Śivadêva I. of Nêpâl (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 1-2); (4) of the *Mahásámanta* Aṁśuvarman of Nêpâl, who was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, *i.e.* Śiva (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 169, No. 6, line 2, and p. 170, No. 7, line 4-5); (5) of Jishṇugupta of Nêpâl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 171, No. 9, line 4, and p. 173, No. 10, line 6-7); and (6) of the *Paramabhaṭṭáraka* and *Mahárájádhirája* Śivadêva II. of Nêpâl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, and was a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 174, No. 12, line 2, and p. 176, No. 13, line 2).—The same expression *bappa-pád-ánudhyáta*, with the feudatory titles of *Mahárája* and *Bhaṭṭáraka* qualifying *bappa*, occurs in *paramadaivata-bappa-bhaṭṭáraka-mahárája-śrî-pád-ánudhyáta*, an epithet (7) of the *Bhaṭṭáraka* and *Mahárája* Vasantasêna of Nêpâl (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3, line 1-2).—And finally, a compound of almost identical import, viz. *bappa-páda-bhakta*, "devoted to the feet of *bappa*," occurs, with the title *Bhaṭṭáraka* qualifying *bappa*, in the epithet *bappa-bhaṭṭáraka-páda-bhakta*, which is applied (8) to the Pallava *Mahárája* Siṁhavarman II., who was a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat, *i.e.* the Divine One, or Vishṇu (*id.* Vol. V. p. 155, line 13); (9) to the Veṅgi *Mahárája* Vijayanandivarman, also a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (*id.* Vol. V. p. 176, line 1); and (10) to the Pallava *Mahárája* Nandivarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 168, line 14-15); and, with the further qualifying title of *Mahárája*, in the epithet *bappa-bhaṭṭáraka-mahárája-páda-bhakta*, which is applied (11) to the Pallava *Yuvamahárája* Vishṇugôpavarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (*id.* Vol. V. p. 51, line 14).—In publishing the two grants of Śîlâditya V. of the year 403, Mr. V. N. Mandlik (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 355, note) treated the words *bappa* and *báva*, quite unnecessarily, as identical, and considered that they denoted "some great teacher of the Śaiva faith, or some remarkable great king of that name; but more probably the former, from the adjectives used;" or, again, some "sage, venerated equally in all parts of Hindustân." So, also, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 167, note 17) has recorded his opinion that *bappa* is "a general title used by chief priests." And I myself (*id.* Vol. X. p. 57 f., note 4), have suggested that the name is that of "some king or pontiff of very early times, whose authority was recognised universally in his own day, and was afterwards preserved in the tradition of several distinct regal families."—These suggested explanations, however, cannot be upheld.—In the first place, the epithet in which *bappa* occurs belongs undoubtedly to persons of the Śaiva faith in instances 1 to 6 above. But Nos. 8 to 11 shew that it was applicable just as much to followers of the Vaishṇava faith.—In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler (*id.* Vol. V. p. 208 f.) the feudatory title *Mahárája* which qualifies *bappa* in Nos. 7 and 11 above, and, still more, the paramount sovereign titles of *Paramabhaṭṭáraka*, *Mahárájádhirája*, and *Paraméśvara*, which qualify it in the instances grouped under No. 2, shew that the word must refer to some one of noble or regal birth, and cannot denote a priest, no matter how high

(L. 53.)—[His son] (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭaraka*, *Mahárájádhirája*, and *Paramésvara*, the glorious **Śîlâdityadêva (V.),**—the waterlilies of whose feet were tinted by being covered over with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all the chieftains, who did obeisance through the affection (*produced*) by (*his*)

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his rank in the hierarchy might be.—As regards the question of *bappa* being a proper name, the word does occur in this way, as the name of an official, the *Baládhikṛita* and *Bhógika* Bappa (*id.* Vol. V. p. 212, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99, line 59); as the name of someone after whom was named the *Bappa-pádîya-vihára*, or "Buddhist monastery of the feet of Bappa," at Valabhî (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 12, line 19); in Bappasvâmin, one of the grantees in the Khôh grant of the Parivrâjaka *Mahárája* Hastin, of the year 163 (No. 22 above, p. 103, line 11); in Bappârya, one of the grantees in line 53 of the Chammak grant of the Vâkâṭaka *Mahárája* Pravarasêna II. (No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv. line 53); and in Bappabhaṭṭi, a Jain teacher, allotted to Vikrama-Saṁvat 800 to 895 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 253). The same word is probably a component of Bappûra, the name of the family to which, as recorded in an unpublished inscription of Maṅgalîśa (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 19, 22), Durlabhâdêvî, the wife of the Early Chalukya king Pulikêśin I., belonged. A similar word *báppa*, probably derived from it, occurs in Bâppadêva, the name of a *Sénápati* in the Siwanî grant of Pravarasêna II. (No. 56 below, Plate xxxv. line 35). And, finally, Bappa has been preserved by tradition, in 'Mewar,' as the more familiar appellation of an early Gôhila chief, who is said to have established the power of that tribe on the overthrow of the Bhillas or Bhîls (see Tod's *Annals of Rájasthán*, chapter II., Calcutta Reprint, Vol. I. p. 238 ff.; also pp. 121, 253, 258 f.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 275, note 26).—But the idea that, in the technical expression under discussion, *bappa* denotes some particular priest, whether of the Śaiva or Vaishṇava faith, whose memory had been preserved in different parts of India from very early times, has been disposed of above. And, this being so, it remains difficult, on the supposition that the word is a proper name, to imagine how it should have cropped up again from time to time, under precisely similar circumstances, in such different parts of the country, and such varying periods, as are indicated by instances 2 to 11 above.—The true explanation of the word first occurred to me from noticing the way in which the titles that qualify *bappa* vary in accordance with the titles of the persons to whom the epithet *bappa-pad-ánudhyáta* is applied; and it is fully borne out by the epithet *śrî-ajjaka-pád-ánudhyáta*, which is applied only to Dharasêna IV. in his complete grant of the year 326 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 79, line 38; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 16), and in his grant of the same year of which only the translation of the second plate has been published (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 45). This expression, which, if it had not been so completely overlooked, would probably have made the matter clear long ago, dropped out in all the subsequent Valabhî grants, even in those of Dharasêna IV. himself of the year 330; probably on account of something in the official relations between Śîlâditya I. and Kharagraha I. which remains to be cleared up. But it occurs in these two instances; and, in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's rendering (*id.* Vol. I. p. 16), it undoubtedly means "meditating on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather." *Ajja* in Kanarese, and *ajá* and *ájá* in Marâṭhî, are the ordinary words for 'a grandfather' in the present day. And it is evident that *ajjaka* is the older Prâkṛit word, from which these have been derived.—On this analogy, *bappa* suggests itself at once as the old Prâkṛit form of the modern *báp*, 'a father.' And now it becomes clear why the word is qualified by the paramount titles in its connection with the paramount sovereign Śîlâditya IV. and his successors, the reason being that the father of each of them was himself a paramount sovereign; and, on the other hand, why, in its connection with feudatories, it has either no qualificatory title at all, or only the feudatory titles *Mahárája* and *Bhaṭṭáraka*, as in the case of Vasantasêna, Siṁhavarman, Vijayanandivarman, Nandivarman, and Vishṇugôpavarman. The rule thus disclosed also shews why, in the case of Śivadêva II., himself a paramount sovereign, *bappa* has no qualifying term; for, the way in which he is introduced in lines 11-12 of the Nêpâl inscription No. 15 (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 178; see also Vol. XIV. p. 348) shews that he brought in a new branch of the Ṭhâkurî family, and that his father Narêndradêva, even if he held the rank of *Mahárája*, was at least not a paramount sovereign. And the same rule explains why, in connection with the paramount sovereign Dharasêna IV., *ajjaka* is qualified by nothing more than the ordinary title *śrî*, for, he himself was the first paramount sovereign in the family; and his grandfather, Kharagraha I., was at the best only a *Mahárája*.—The analogy of *ajjaka* and *bappa* now suffices fully to clear up the meaning of the word *báva*. It suggests at once that it is nothing but the older Prâkṛit word from which have been derived, with somewhat differing significations in Marâṭhî, *bábá*, 'a term of respect-splendour; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara; (*and*) who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, (*his*) glorious [father].

(L. 55.)—His son (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Śîlâdityadêva (VI.)**,—who allayed the pride of the strength of (*his*) enemies; who was the auspicious asylum of great victory; whose breast dallied with the embraces of the goddess of fortune; whose unrestrained energy exceeded (*even*) that of (the god Vishṇu) who assumed the form of the man-lion;[1] who effected the protection of the whole earth by eradicating the hostile kings; who was the best of men; who tinted the faces of all the women that are the distant regions with the rays of the nails of (*his*) feet shining with the rubies in the tiaras of the powerful princes who bowed down before (*him*); who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara; (*and*) who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, (*his*) glorious father.

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ful mention for a father or an elderly person;' *bâwâ*, 'a term of respectful mention for a Gôsâvî, Guru, father, or elderly person,' and *bhâwâ*, 'a husband's brother, especially an elder brother;' and in Kanarese, *bâva*, 'the son of a mother's brother, or father's sister, a man or woman's brother-in-law (in every case, if older than one's self),' and *bhâva*, 'a husband or wife's elder brother, a maternal uncle's son (similarly, in every case, if older than one's self).' Looking for its application in connection with Śîlâditya III., we note, in the first place, that the grants shew very clearly that his father Śîlâditya II. did not reign at all, which explains why the epithet *bappa-pâd-ânudhyâta* is not used in respect of him; and, in the second place, that the only paramount sovereign before him was his father's distant cousin Dharasêna IV., who, so far as paramount sovereignty is concerned, was his immediate predecessor. This shews us that *bâva* was used, here at least, to denote 'a male relative, of the same generation with a father,' or roughly 'an uncle;' and explains why *bâva* is qualified here with the paramount titles. And the fact that, after the first adoption of this technical expression, the Valabhî succession was in each instance direct from father to son, explains why the expression *bâva-pâd-ânudhyâta* does not occur again.—In Kanarese, *bappa* appears in the form of *boppa* (marked in Sanderson's edition of Reeve's Kanarese Dictionary as a word common to most Hindu languages), in *boppana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father,' an epithet applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Lakshmidêva II., the son and successor of Kârtavîrya IV. (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 113, line 63-64). In confirmation of this I may quote, with the analogous introduction of terms of relationship, *ayyana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father,' a title of the Śilâhâra chieftain Gaṇḍarâditya of Kôlâpur (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 3, line 21), and also of his son Vijayâditya (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 105); *mâvana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father-in-law,' applied to the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kêśavâdityadêva (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 106, line 17-18); *aṇṇana-gandhavâraṇa*, 'the choice elephant of (his) elder brother,' applied to the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Sômêśvarabhaṭṭa in the same inscription (*id.* line 11-12); *aṇṇan-aṅkakâṟa* 'the warrior or champion of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Sinda chieftain Âchugi II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 247, line 9); and *bhâvan-aṅkakâṟa*, 'the warrior or champion of (his) uncle or other relation of the same generation with his father,' applied to a Śilâhâra chieftain named Goṅkidêva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 16, line 46). Other similar titles, which help to explain the preceding, through the introduction of proper names instead of words of relationship, are *Sênana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Sêna,' applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Kârtavîrya II., the son and successor of Sêna I. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 213, line 7); *Tailana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Taila,' applied to the Kâdamba chieftain Kîrttivarman II. of Banawâsi, the son and successor of Taila I. (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 85); *Tailaman-aṅkakâṟa*, 'the warrior or champion of Tailama,' applied to Kâmadêva of the same family, the son and successor of Tailama (*id.* p. 86); and *Goṅkan-aṅkakâṟa*, 'the warrior or champion of Goṅka,' and *Gûhêyana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Gûhêya,' applied to the Śilâhâra chieftain Mârasiṁha, the son and successor of Goṅka, and the nephew of Gûhala or Gûvala I. (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India, p. 103, line 28.)

[1] When he became incarnate, in a form that was half that of a man, and half that of a lion, in order to destroy the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, who had obtained a boon from Brahman that he should not be destroyed by either god or man or animal.

(L. 58.)—Victorious is his son, the glorious **Dhrûbhaṭa,**[1] born in a lineage of supreme kings of kings and supreme lords, (*and*) possessed of great happiness,—who is renowned for an abundance of heroism that is hard to be resisted; who is the abode of the goddess of fortune; who has striven to destroy hell; who has made it (*his*) sole resolve to save the earth; whose fame is as pure as the rays of the full-moon;—who is full of virtue through his knowledge of the three (Vêdas); who has conquered the ranks of (*his*) enemies; who is possessed of happiness . . . .; who always confers happiness; who is the abode of knowledge; who is a protector of the world whom all people applaud; who is attended by learned men; who is praised far and wide on the earth;—who is resplendent with jewels; who has a beautiful person; who is a very pile of jewels that are virtuous qualities; who is endowed with the choicest virtues of lordship and prowess; who is always employed in conferring benefits on living creatures; who, as if he were (the god) Janârdana incarnate, humbles the pride of wicked people;—who is always most skilful in disposing the array of elephants in war; who is the abode of religious merit; (*and*) whose great prowess is sung over the (*whole*) earth.

(L. 63.)—[And he*], the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Śîlâdityadêva (VII.),** who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, (*his*) glorious father, issues a command to all people:—

(L. 64.)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) parents and of myself, (*and*) in order to obtain a reward both in this world and in the next, the village named **Mahilabalî,**[2] in the **Uppalahêṭa** *pathaka* in the famous **Khêṭaka** *âhâra*,—with the *udraṅga* (*and*) the *uparikara*; with (*the right to*) forced labour as the occasion arises; with the revenue of the *bhûta* and *vâta*;[3] with (*the fines for*) the ten offences;[4] with (*its*) enjoyments and shares; with the grain, and gold, and *âdêya*;

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[1] See page 172 above, note 1.

[2] Or perhaps Mahilâbalî, with the long vowel *á* in the third syllable.

[3] See page 170 above, note 9.

[4] *sa-daśâparâdhaḥ.*—This is a technical fiscal expression, of constant use in charters, for which I have not been able to obtain any absolutely certain explanation. But Mr. S. Ch. Chitnis has brought to my notice that, in the *Dharmasindhusâra* of Kâśînâthôpâdhyâya, chapter ii. verse 19 ff., we have —*Adattânâm=upâdânaṁ hiṁsâ ch=aiv=â-vidhanataḥ* || *Para-dâr-ôpasêvâ cha kâyikaṁ tri-vidhaṁ smṛitam* | *pârushyam=anṛitaṁ ch=aiva paiśunyaṁ ch=âpi sarvaśaḥ* || *Asaṁbaddha-pralâpaś=cha vâṅmayaṁ syâch=chatur-vidham* | *paradravyêshv=abhidhyânaṁ manas=ânishṭa-chintanam* || *Vitath-âbhinivêśaś=cha mânasaṁ tri-vidhaṁ smṛitam* | *êtâni daśa pâpâni hara tvaṁ mama Jâhnavî* || *Daśapâpa-harâ yasmât=tasmâd=Daśaharâ smṛitâ*,—"the appropriation (theft) of things that are not given, and killing in a manner that is not in accordance with precept, and the pursuit of the wives of other men, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the body; harshness of language, and untruthfulness, and slandering in all directions, and incoherent conversation, are the four (sins) of speech; coveting the property of others, (and) thinking with the mind about things which are wrong, and tenacity of that which is not true, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the mind; do thou, O Jâhnavî (Gaṅgâ), take away these my ten sins; because thou takest away (these) ten sins, therefore art thou called "Daśaharâ."—These verses occur in connection with the Daśaharâ (popularly Dasarâ or Dusrah) a festival in honour of the river Ganges, held on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha.—So, also, in the *Ashṭâṅgahṛidaya* of Vâgbhaṭa, *Sûtrasthâna*, chapter i. verse 21 f. (Bombay edition of 1880, p. 38) we have, in only slightly different language,—*Hiṁsâ-stêy-ânyathâkâmaṁ paiśunyaṁ parush-ânṛitê* | *saṁbhinnâlâpa-vyâpâdam=abhidhyâ dṛigviparyayam* || *Pâpaṁ karm=êti daśadhâ kâya-vâṅ-mânasais=tyajêt*; which shews that the classification was a well-established and well-known one.—These ten sins are probably the

(*with the privilege that it is*) not to be (*even*) pointed at with the hand (*of undue appropriation*) by any of the king's people; (*and*) with the exception of previously-given grants to gods and Brâhmaṇs,—is given by me, with copious libations of water, on the terms of a grant to a Brâhmaṇ, in accordance with the rule of *bhûmichchhidra*,—to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, and the mountains; (*and*) to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons,—to the *Bhaṭṭa* Âkhaṇḍalamitra, the son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Vishṇu, an inhabitant of the famous town of **Ânandapura**, belonging to the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that (*place*), a member of the Śârkarâkshi *gôtra*, and a student of the Bahvṛicha (*śâkhâ*),—for the maintenance of the rites of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva*, *agnihôtra*, and *atithi* sacrifices, and other (*ceremonies*).

(L. 69.)—"Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (*it*) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brâhmaṇ (*and*) cultivating (*it*), (*or*) causing it to be cultivated, or assigning (*it to another*).

(L. 70.)—"(*And*) this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future pious kings, whether born of Our lineage or others, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (*both to him who makes it and to him who continues it*)."

(L. 72.)—And it has been said by Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! These chattels, made into altars of religion, which have been formerly given here (*on earth*) by (*previous*) kings, (*are*) like the remains of offerings to gods, and like food that is vomited up; verily, what good man would take them back again? The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in the hollows of dried-up trees in the Vindhya mountains, destitute of water!

(L. 75.)—The *Dûtaka* in this matter (*is*) the *Mahâpratîhâra*,[1] . . . . . the *Mahâkshapaṭalika*,[2] a member of the king's household, the illustrious **Siddhasêna**, the son of the illustrious Śarvaṭa; and (*this charter*) has been written by his deputy, the *Pratinartaka*,[3] the high-born *Amâtya* **Guha**, the son of Hembaṭa, who was deputed by him (*to write it*).

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daśa aparâdhâḥ, or 'ten offences,' referred to in the text. And the full technical expression evidently conveyed, to the grantee of a village, the right to the proceeds of fines imposed for the commission of these, or similar, wrongful actions in the limits of his village.

[1] *Mahâpratîhâra*, *lit.* 'the great *Pratîhâra*,' is a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the *Pratîhâras* or 'door-keepers.'

[2] *Mahâkshapaṭalika*, *lit.* 'the great *Âkshapaṭalika*,' is a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the *Âkshapaṭalikas* or 'keepers of the records.'—The title *Âkshapaṭalika* occurs for instance, in an abbreviated form, in line 34 of the Kaḍî grant of Bhîmadêva II. of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1283 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p 200). It is derived from *akshapaṭala*, which Monier Williams gives in his Sanskṛit Dictionary as meaning 'a court of law; a depository of legal documents,' and which occurs in the title *Akshapaṭalâdhikṛita*, synonymous with *Âkshapaṭalika*, in line 15 of No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.—Another title, *Âkshaśâlika*, which is perhaps synonymous with *Âkshapaṭalika*, occurs in line 25 of the 'Chicacole' grant of Indravarman of the year 146 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 123).

[3] *Pratinartaka* appears to be an official or family title. Westergaard, in his *Radices*, does not give *nṛit* in composition with *prati*. Monier Williams, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, gives it in the sense of 'to dance before, in token of contempt.' But it more probably has some connection with *nartaka* in the sense of 'a bard, a herald.'

(L. 77.)—In four centuries of years, increased by forty-seven; on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Jyêshṭha; (*or*) in figures, the year 400 (*and*) 40 (*and*) 7; (the month) Jyêshṭha; the bright fortnight; (*the lunar day*) 5. (*This is*) my sign-manual.[1]

No. 40; PLATE XXVI.

ARANG COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA MAHA-JAYARAJA.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55 ff. and Plates xxiv. and xxv.; and is now published in full for the first time,—is on some copper-plates that were obtained by Colonel Bloomfield, and were found at Âraṅg,[2] a village about twenty miles almost due east of Râypur,[3] the chief town of the Râypur District in the Central Provinces. The original plates are now in the Provincial Museum at Nâgpur.

The **plates,** of which the first is inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $5\frac{3}{8}''$ by $2\frac{3}{4}''$ at the ends and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. A few of the letters have been damaged by rust; but the inscription is for the most part in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good, but shews here and there, as usual, in the interiors of the letters, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{3}{16}''$ thick, and 3″ in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The **seal,** in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about $3\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter; and, like the seal of the Râypur grant of Mahâ-Sudêvarâja, No. 41, below, Plate xxvii., it has a strong yellow glint in it, which gives it the appearance of being made of a kind of brass, rather than of copper. It has, in relief, on a countersunk and slightly concave surface,—across the centre, a **legend,** in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below;—in the upper part, a standing figure of the goddess Lakshmî, facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant standing on a waterlily, with its trunk lifted up to pour water over her head; in the proper right corner, an expanded waterlily, on its stalk; and in the proper left corner, a *śaṅkha* or conch-shell;—and in the lower part, there seems to have been a floral device. The seal has, at some time or other, been subjected to the action of fire, but not enough to do any very serious damage to the legend and devices on it.—The **weight** of the three plates is about 1 lb. 3 oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 1 oz.; total 2 lbs. 4 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}''$

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[1] *sva-hasta.*—In the original these words have some wavy lines under them, which are intended for an actual representation of the sign-manual. See also page 171 above, note 2.

[2] The 'Airing and Arang' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21° 12′ N.; Long. 82° 1′ E.—Gen. Cunningham was first informed (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55) that the plates were found at Ârvî (see page 192 below, and note 4); then (*id.* p. 59), that they were actually obtained at Râypur, but were most probably found at Âraṅg; and finally (*id.* Preface, p. iii.), that they were found at Âraṅg.

[3] The 'Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor,' of maps.

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another very good specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 19 above. They include, however, in *chûḍâ*, line 1, the separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*. The superscript long vowel *î* is denoted in rather a peculiar way, by a mark just like an *anusvâra* inside the circle which, by itself, represents the superscript short *i*; see, for instance, *sîmaṁttô*, line 2, and *râshṭrîya*, line 4; the burr of the copper, raised in the process of engraving, gives in a few places, in the ink-impression and consequently in the lithograph, a faint mark, very similar to this, inside the short *i* proper, *e.g.* in *bhûmipân*, line 13; but the difference can, of course, be detected at once in the original plates. The characters also include, in line 24, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 5 and 20.—The **language** is Sanskṛit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 13 to 23, is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya*, in *yaḥ=kâñchanaṁ*. line 18; and *pradaḥ ḥ=parama*, line 3, and *dhiyaḥ=pravadaṁnti*, line 14; (2) a constant use of the *anusvâra*, instead of the dental *n*, and the doubling of *t* after it, *e.g.* in *sâmaṁtta*, line 1; *udâharaṁtti*, line 17; and *bhavaṁtti*, line 18; (3) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvâra*, in *saṁvvatsara*, line 24; (4) the insertion of a superfluous *anusvâra*, in *prasaṁnna*, line *a* of the seal; *âṁmbubhir*, line 1-2; *kutuṁmbinaḥ*, line 5; and *pravadaṁnti*, line 14; (5) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkram-âkkrâṁtta*, line *a* of the seal, and *vikkrama*, line 1; (6) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, line 4; (7) the introduction of a superfluous sibilant, in *pradaḥ ḥ=parama*, line 3; *ânuddhyâtaḥ ś=śrî*, line 4; and *kutuṁmbinaḥ s=samajñâpayati*, line 5; and (8) the use of *siṅgha* for *siṁha*, line 24, and of *tâmbra* for *tâmra*, line 11.

The **inscription** is one of the *Râja* **Jayarâja** or **Mahâ-Jayarâja**; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the town of **Śarabhapura.** The date of the engraving of it is recorded, in numerical symbols, as the year five of increasing victory, and the twenty-fifth day, without any, specification of the fortnight, of the month Mârgaśira (November-December). No era is referred to; and, as we have a similar small date of the year ten in the next inscription of Mahâ-Sudêvarâja, the fifth year must be simply that of the power or government of Jayarâja. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record the grant, by **Jayarâja** himself, to a Brâhmaṇ, of the village of **Pamvâ** in the **Pûrvarâshṭra** or **Eastern Country.**[1]

As regards the town of **Śarabhapura,** whence the charter was issued, General Cunningham[2] has suggested—in the first place, that, by elision of the initial ś, it may, through the forms of 'Arabhpura' and 'Arbhi,' be represented by the modern Ârvî,[3] the chief town of the Ârvî Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Wardhâ District in the Central Provinces;—and in the second place, that it may be represented by the modern 'Sambalpur' or 'Sambhalpur,'[1] the chief town of the 'Sambalpur' District in the Central Provinces, where, or in which neighbourhood, another copper-plate inscription of Mahâ-Sudêvarâja was obtained.[2] But neither of these proposed derivations can be upheld. And, if Śarabhapura is represented by any place now existing, we have to look in the maps for some such name as Sarbhôr or Sâbhôr.

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[1] So called, perhaps, from its lying on the east of the range of mountains, identified by Gen. Cunningham with the Mêkala mountains, which commences near 'Amarkantak,' runs to the south, passing about half-way between Nâgpur and Râypur, and then, near 'Wairagarh,' takes a sharp turn to the east, and comes to an end about sixty miles south-east of Râjim.

[2] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII, p. 57 f.

[3] The Arooee, Arvi, and Arwee,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 72. Lat. 20° 59′ N. Long. 78° 16′ E.—It is thirty miles north-west of Wardhâ, and about two hundred and thirty miles west by south from Râypur.

TEXT.

The Seal.

a Prasaṁnna[4]-h[ṛida]yasy=aiva vikkram-âkkrâ[ṁ]tta-vidvisha[ḥ]
b śrîmatô **Jayarâjasya** śâsa[naṁ] ripu-śâsanaṁ. [‖*]

First Plate.

1 Svasti **Sarabhapurât** **d**=vikkram[5]-ôpanata-sâmaṁtta-chûḍâmaṇ[i]-prabhâ-prasêk-âṁ-
2 mbubhir[6]=dhô(dhau)ta-pâda-yugalô ripu-vilâsinî-sîmaṁtt-ôddharaṇa-hêtu-
3 r=vasu-vasudhâ-gô-pradaḥ ḥ=parama[7]bhâgavatô mâtâpitṛi-pâ-
4 d-ânuddhyâtaḥ ś=śrî[8]-**Mahâ-Jayarâjaḥ** **Pûrvvarâshṭrîya-Paṁvâṁ**[9]-prati-
5 vâsi-kuṭuṁmbi[10]naḥ s=sam[11]âjñâpayati । Viditam=astu vô yath=â-

Second Plate; First Side.

6 smâbhir=ayaṁ grama- । s[12]=tridaśapati-sadana-sukha-pratishṭh-âkarô yâva-
7 d=ravi-śaśi-târâ-kiraṇa-pratihata-ghôr-ândhakâraṁ jaga[d=a*]vatishṭhatê
8 tâvad = upabhôgyas = sa - nidhis = s - ôpanidhir = a - châṭa - bhaṭa - prâvêśyas = sa -
9 rvva-kara-visarjjitaḥ Vâji(ja)sanêya-Kauṇḍinyasagôtraḥ Brahma[13]dêva-
10 svâminê ॥(।)[14] mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-ê(â)bhivṛi[d*]dhayê ॥(।) udaka-pûrvva[ṁ*]

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[1] Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 106. Lat. 21° 27′ N.; Long. 84° 1′ E.—It is about one hundred and forty-five miles almost due east of Râypur.

[2] It has been published by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in 1866, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. p. 195 ff. But the original plates, which were presented to the Society by the finder of them, Col G. Bowie, are not now forthcoming; and the published version is not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced. I have, therefore, not been able to include this inscription in the present volume.

[3] From the original plates.—Read *prasanna*.

[4] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[5] Read *purâd=vikkram*.—The *t* of *purât* is so small and shallow, that it plainly was only inserted as an afterthought. It is quite superfluous; since its representative by *saṁdhi*, viz. *d*, had already been duly engraved in conjunction with the following *vi*.

[6] Read *âmbubhir*, or *âṁbubhir*.

[7] Read *pradaḥ=parama*, or *pradaḥ parama*.

[8] Read *ânuddhyâtaś=śrî*, or *ânuddhyâtaḥ śrî*.

[9] From a comparison of the corresponding passage in line 4-5 of No. 41, page 198 below, the reading that was intended is probably *paṁvâyâṁ prativâsi*.

[10] Read *kuṭumbi*, or *kuṭuṁbi*.

[11] Read *nas=sam*, or *naḥ sam*.

[12] Read *grâmas*, expunging the mark of punctuation.

[13] Read *sagôtra-brahma*.

[14] This mark of punctuation is exactly like the *visarga*, as the latter is written in this inscription. But, that the sign may be interpreted as either a mark of punctuation or the *visarga*, is shewn by the regularity with which it occurs where a mark of punctuation is appropriate, and a *visarga* is not; and also by the occurrence of the half mark of punctuation, formed in the same way, and impossible to be mistaken for anything else, in lines 5 and 6 above, and 22 below, and in lines 5, 15, 16, and 17, of No 41, page 198 below

Second Plate; Second Side.

11 tâmbra(mra)-śâsanên=âtisra(sṛi)shtaḥ [II*] Tê yûyam=êvam=upalabhy=âsy=âjñâ-śravaṇa-

12 vî(vi)dhêyâ bhûtvâ yath-ôchitaṁ bhôga-bhâgam=upanayaṁttâ(ttaḥ) sukhaṁ prativa[t*]sya-

13 tha II Bhavishyataś=cha bhûmipân=anudarśayati II(I) Dânâd[1]=viśishṭam=a-

14 nupâlana-jaṁ . purâṇê(ṇâ) II(I) dharmmêshu niśchita-dhiyaḥ=pravadaṁnti[2] dharmmaṁ II(I)

15 tasmâd=[d*]vijâya suviśuddha-kula-śrutâya II(I) dattâ[ṁ*] bhuvaṁ bhavatu vô ma[ti*]r=ê-

Third Plate; First Side.

16 va gôpt[u*]ṁ II Tad=bhavadbhir=apy=êshâ dattir=anupâlayitavyâ II Vyâsa-gîtâṁś=ch=âtra

17 ślôkân=udâharaṁtti II(I) Agnêr[3]=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇa[ṁ*] bhûr=Vvaishṇavî sû-

18 ryya-sut[â*]ś=cha gâvaḥ [I*] dattâs=trayas=têna bhavaṁtti lôkâḥ yaṁ=kâñchanaṁ gâ[ṁ*]

19 cha mahî[ṁ*] cha dadyâ[t*] II Shashṭhiṁ[4] varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê vasati bhûmi-daḥ [I*]

20 âchchhêttâ ch=ânuma[ṁ*]ttâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasê[t*] II Sva-dattâ[ṁ*] para-dattâ[ṁ*] vâ ya-

Third Plate; Second Side.

21 tnâ[d=ra]ksha Yudhishṭhira II(I) mahît(m)=mahimatâṁ chchhrêshṭha[5] dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ [II*]

22 Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhi[ḥ*] I yasya [yasya*] yadâ bhûmis=ta-

23 sya tasya tadâ phalaṁm[6]=iti [II*] Sva-mukh-âjñayâ uktî(tkî)rṇṇaṁ[7] **Acha-**

24 **lasiṅghêna** pravarddhamâna-vijaya-saṁvvatsara 5 Mârgaśira 20 5 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of the illustrious **Jayarâja,**—who verily has a gracious heart; (*and*) who has overcome (*his*) enemies by (*his*) prowess,—(*is*) a charter for (*the observance of even his*) enemies!

The Plates.

Hail! From the town of **Śarabhapura,** the illustrious **Mahâ-Jayarâja,**—whose two feet are purified by the waters which are the flowing forth of the radiance of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the chieftains, (*bowing down before*

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[1] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[2] Read *pravadanti*, or *pravadaṁti*.

[3] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[4] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.

[5] Read *śrêshṭha*.

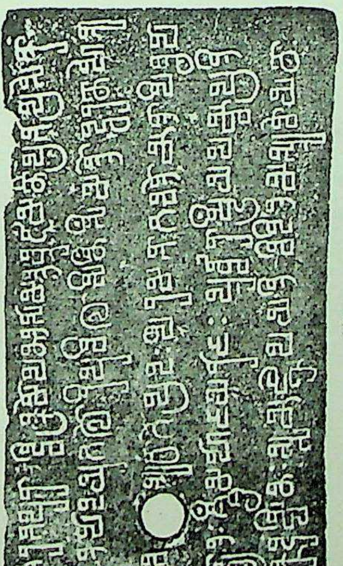
[6] Read *phalam*.

[7] Supply *śâsanam*.

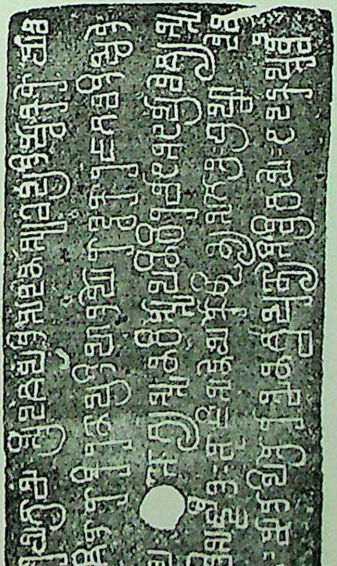
Plate xxvi

Arang Plates of the Raja Maha-Jayaraja.

i



iia



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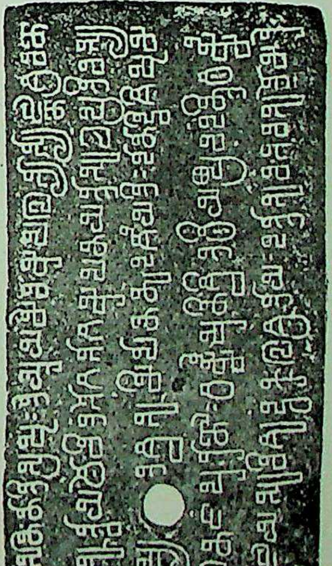
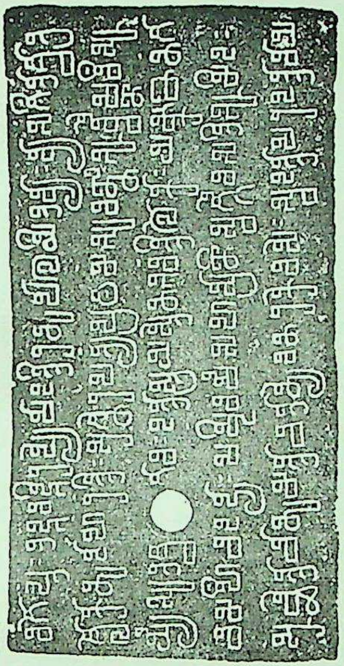


iiia



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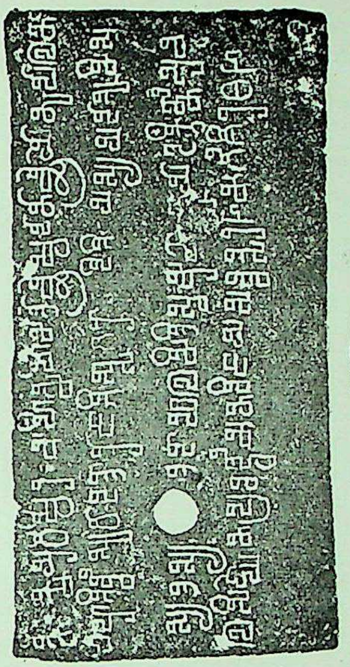

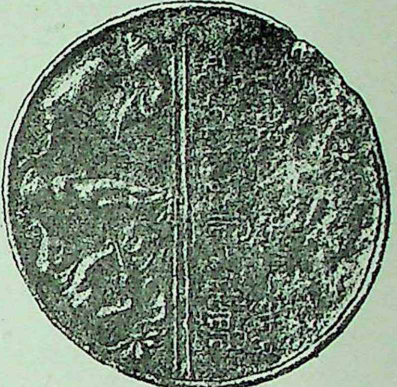

him), who have been subjugated by (*his*) prowess; who is the cause of the tearing out of the parted hair of the women of (*his*) enemies; who is the giver of treasure and land and cows; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One; (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents,—issues a command to the cultivators residing at (the village of) **Pamvâ** in the **Eastern Country**:—

(Line 5.)—"Be it known to you, that this village, the source (*by this grant of it*) of (*Our*) ensuring the happiness of (*attaining*) the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods, is by (*this*) copper-charter conveyed by Us, with libations of water, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourself, to Brahmadêvasvâmin, of the Vâjasanêya (*śâkhâ*) and the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*,—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (*its*) hidden treasures and deposits; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; (*and*) exempted from all taxes.

(L. 11.)—"Being aware of this, you should be obedient to his commands, and should dwell in happiness, rendering in proper manner (*his*) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 13.)—And he enjoins upon future kings,—"The ancients, whose minds are fixed upon religion, say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (*of a grant*) is greater than (*that which arises from*) making a grant; therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brâhmaṇ of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also."

(L. 16.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyâsa:—Gold (*is*) the first offspring of fire;[1] the earth[2] belongs to (the god) Vishṇu;[3] and cows (*are*) the daughters of the sun:[4] therefore the three worlds[5] are given by him who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)!

(L. 23.)—At the command of (Mahâ-Jayarâja's) own mouth, (*this charter*) has been engraved by **Achalasiṅgha**, (*in*) the year 5 of increasing victory, (*in*) (the month) Mârgaśira, (*on the day*) 20 (*and*) 5.

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[1] Dr. Hultzsch (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 203, note 46) has explained this, by saying that, "according to the Naiyâyikas" or followers of the Nyâya philosophy, "gold consists of fire (*têjas*)."

[2] This is the customary reading.—In line 39 of the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of the Śilâhâra chieftain Raṭṭarâja of Śaka-Samvat 930 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 218) the reading is *dyauh*, 'the sky,' instead of *bhûh*, 'the earth;' but I know of no other instance of this variation.

[3] Or, perhaps, "the earth (is) Vaishṇavî (the personification of the *śakti* or female energy of Vishṇu)."

[4] This seems to be explained by the *Ṛig-Vêda*, vii. 101, 6, in which the sun is described as "the bull that impregnates all the cows" (Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. IV. p. 112 f.)

[5] The three worlds are sometimes reckoned as heaven, earth, and the lower region; sometimes as the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth. The latter arrangement seems to be the one referred to in this verse, the sky being represented by cows, as the daughters of the Sun or the god Sûrya, the lord of the sky; and the atmosphere by gold, as the offspring of fire or the god Agni, who is the lord of the Pitṛis or spirits of deceased ancestors, whose abode is in the region of the air.

No. 41; PLATE XXVII.

RAYPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA MAHA-SUDEVARAJA.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55 ff., and Plates xxvi. and xxvii.; and is now published in full for the first time,—is from some copper-plates that were obtained by Colonel Bloomfield at **Râypur,**[1] the chief town of the Râypur District in the Central Provinces. The original plates are now in the Provincial Museum at Nâgpur.

The **plates,** of which the first is inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 6″ by 3¼″ at the ends and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. The ring is circular, about ¼″ thick and 3½″ in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The **seal,** in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about 3⅝″ in diameter; and, like the seal of the Ârańg grant of Mahâ-Jayarâja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi., it has the appearance of being made of a kind of brass, rather than of copper. It has plainly, at some time or other, been subjected to the action of fire, which, with the effects of wear and tear, has almost completely destroyed the upper surface of it. But there are visible, in relief on a slightly countersunk and concave surface, faint traces of—across the centre, a **legend,** in two lines, of which, as restored, the text and translation are given below;—in the upper part, a standing figure of the goddess Lakshmî, facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant, standing on a waterlily, with its trunk lifted up over her head, to pour water over her; in the proper right corner, an expanded waterlily, on its stalk; and, in the proper left corner, a *śańkha* or conch-shell;—and, in the lower part, there seems to have been a floral device.—The **weight** of the three plates is about 1 lb. 5½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 7½ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 13 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about ¼″. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 19 above. They are of almost exactly the same type as those of the preceding inscription of Mahâ-Jayarâja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi. The most noticeable difference is in the formation of the superscript long vowel *î*; the stroke, similar to an *anusvâra*, which distinguishes it from the short *i*, being placed, not in the centre of the circle, but on the right side of it, as part of the down stroke of the circle; see, for instance, *vilâsinî*, line 2, and *râshṭrîya*, line 4. The separate sign for the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, occurs in *chûḍâ*, line 1.

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[1] The 'Raepoor Raipur, and Ryepoor,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21° 15′ N.; Long. 81° 41′ E

We have the very rare initial *au*, in *aupamanyava*, line 10. And forms of the **numerical symbols**[1] for 9 and 10 occur in line 27.—The **language** is Sanskṛit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 15 to 24, is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in *atisṛishṭaka*, line 11-12, the affix that I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya*, in *yaḥ=kâñchanaṁ*, line 20; *visarjjitaḥ=kôṇḍinya*, line 9; *pradaḥ=parama*, line 3; and *dhiyaḥ=pravadaṁnti*, line 16; (2) the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvâra*, in *saṁvvatsara*, line 24; (3) the insertion of a superfluous *anusvâra*, once only, in *pravadaṁnti*, line 16; (4) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkrama*, line 1; (5) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, line 4; and (6) the use of *siṅgha* for *siṁha*, line 28, and of *tâmbra* for *tâmra*, line 11.

The **inscription** is one of the *Râja* **Sudêvarâja** or **Mahâ-Sudêvarâja;** and the charter recorded in it is issued, as in the case of the preceding inscription of Mahâ-Jayarâja, from the town of **Śarabhapura.** The occasion of its issue was the *uttarâyaṇa*, or the sun's commencement of his progress to the north. The date of the engraving of it is recorded, in numerical symbols, as the year ten of increasing victory, and the ninth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Mâgha (January-February). No era is referred to; and the tenth year must be simply that of the power or government of Sudêvarâja. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record the assent of **Sudêvarâja** to the grant, to two Brâhmaṇs, of the village of **Śrîsâhikâ**, in the **Pûrvarâshṭra** or **Eastern Country.**

TEXT.[3]

The Seal.[3]

a Prasanna[4]-hṛidayasy=aiva vikkram-âkkrânta-vidvishaḥ
b śrîmat-**Sudeva**[5]**râjasya** śâsanam ripu-śâsanam [||*]

First Plate.

1 Om Svasti **Śarabhapurâd**=vikkram-ôpanata-sâmanta-makuṭa-chûḍâ-maṇi-
2 prabhâ-prasêk-âmbu-dhô(dhau)ta-pâda-yugalô ripu-vilâsinî-sîmant-ôddha-
3 raṇa-hêtur=vvasu-vasudhâ-gô-pradaḥ[6]=paramabhâgavatô mâtâpitṛi-

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[1] The symbol for the day might perhaps be interpreted as 30. But it seems, on the whole, to be a transitional form of the symbol for 9, from which the modern Dêvanâgarî decimal figure 9 was developed.—Gen. Cunningham read the symbol for the year as 80, not 10; but I do not think this can be upheld. It is evidently a square and upright variety of the second form of 10 given in col. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 44 f.

[2] From the original plates.

[3] With the exception of the word *prasanna* at the beginning of the first line, the legend is almost entirely obliterated. But there are faint indications here and there, which, with the help of the legend on the seal of No. 40, page 193 above, and Plate xxvi., enable us to restore it as above.

[4] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[5] The lithograph in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. Plate xxvi. shews *śrî-Mahâ-Sudêva*. But this reading is not legible on the seal: and, as it does not suit the metre, it cannot have been so engraved.

[6] Here, and in line 16 below, the *jihvâmûlîya*, instead of being clearly formed as in lines 3 and 14 of No. 40, Plate xxvi., is indicated, hardly perceptibly, by little more than a vertical division of the square top of the *pa*.

4 pâd-ânuddhyâtaś=śrî-**Mahâ-Sudêvarâjaḥ** **Pûrvvarâshṭrîya-Śrîsâhi-**
5 **kâyâṁ** prativâsi-kuṭumbinas=samâjñâpayati I Viditam=astu vô
6 yath=âsmâbhir=ayaṁ grâmas=tṛi(tri)daśapati-sadana-sukha-pratishṭh-âka-

Second Plate; First Side.

7 rô yâvad=ravi-śaśi-târâ-kiraṇa-pratihata-ghôr-ândhakâraṁ jagad=ava-
8 tishṭhatê tâvad=upabhôgyas=sa-nidhis=s-ôpanidhir=a-châṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêśya[ḥ*]
9 sarvva - kara - visarjjitaḥ = Kô(kau)ṇḍinyasagôtra - Vâjasanêya - Savit[ṛi*] -
10 svâmina [â*]tmîya-kanyâ-pradânê[na*] Aupamanyava-[Va*]tsasagôtra yâ[1]mâ-
11 trô[2][ḥ*] Nâgavatsasvâmi-Bandhuvatsasvâminôs=tâmbra(mra)-śâsanên=âti-
12 stṛi(sṛi)shṭakô bhûtv=âsmâbhir=apy=uttarâyaṇê mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 puṇy-ê(â)bhivṛiddhayê=numôditaḥ[3] [II*] Tê yûyam=êvam=upalabhy=âsy=âjñâ[4]-śra-
14 vaṇa-vidhêyâ bhûtvâ yath-ôchitaṁ bhôga-bhâgam=upamupanayantas[5]=su-
15 khaṁ prativatsyatha [II*] Bhavishyataś=cha bhûmipâ[n=a*]nudarśayati I
Dânâd[6]=viśishṭa-
16 m=anupâlana-jaṁ purâṇê(ṇâ) ddha(dha)rmmêshu niśchita-dhiyaḥ=pravadaṁnti[7]
dharmmaṁ I tasmâ-
17 d=[d*]vijâya su[8]=viśuddha-kula-śrutâya dattâṁ bhuvaṁ bhavatu vô matir=
êva gôptum [II*] Ta-
18 d=bhavadbhir=apy=êshâ dattir=anupâlayitavyâ [II*] Vyâsa-gîtâ[ṁ*]ś=ch=âtra
ślôkân=udâharanti [I*]

Third Plate; First Side.

19 Agnêr[9]=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇa[ṁ*] bhûr=vvaishṇavî sûryya-
sutâś=cha gâva[ḥ*] dattâ-
20 s=trayas=têna bhavanti lôkâ yaḥ=kâñchanam gân=cha mahîñ=cha
dadyât [II*] Shashṭi[10]-va-
21 rsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ
cha tâny=ê-
22 va na[ra*]kê vasêt [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ râjabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-
âdibhiḥ yasya
23 yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [II*] Sva-dattâ[ṁ*] para-
dattâ[ṁ] [vâ*] ya
24 tnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira mahi[11] mahimatâ[ṁ*] śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=
nupâla[12]-

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[1] Before this word, *yámátró*, there is a cross, to indicate that this is not the place to which it properly belongs. It is plain that the reading intended in lines 9 to 11 was *Savitṛisvámina átmíya-kanyá-pradánêna yámátrór=Aupamanyava-Vatsasagôtra-Nágavatsasvámi &c.*

[2] Before this *tró*, *mi* was engraved, and then cancelled; and *ba* seems to have been engraved and cancelled in the place where the *tró* stands.

[3] Over this *visarga*, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here; *viz.* the passage commencing with *asminn=éva grámé,* in lines 25 and 26 below.

[4] Read *upalabhy=aitayór=ájñá.*

[5] Read *bhágam=upanayantas.*

[6] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[7] Read *pravadanti*, or *pravadaṁti.*

[8] First *si* was engraved, and then *u* was added, without the *i* being sufficiently cancelled.

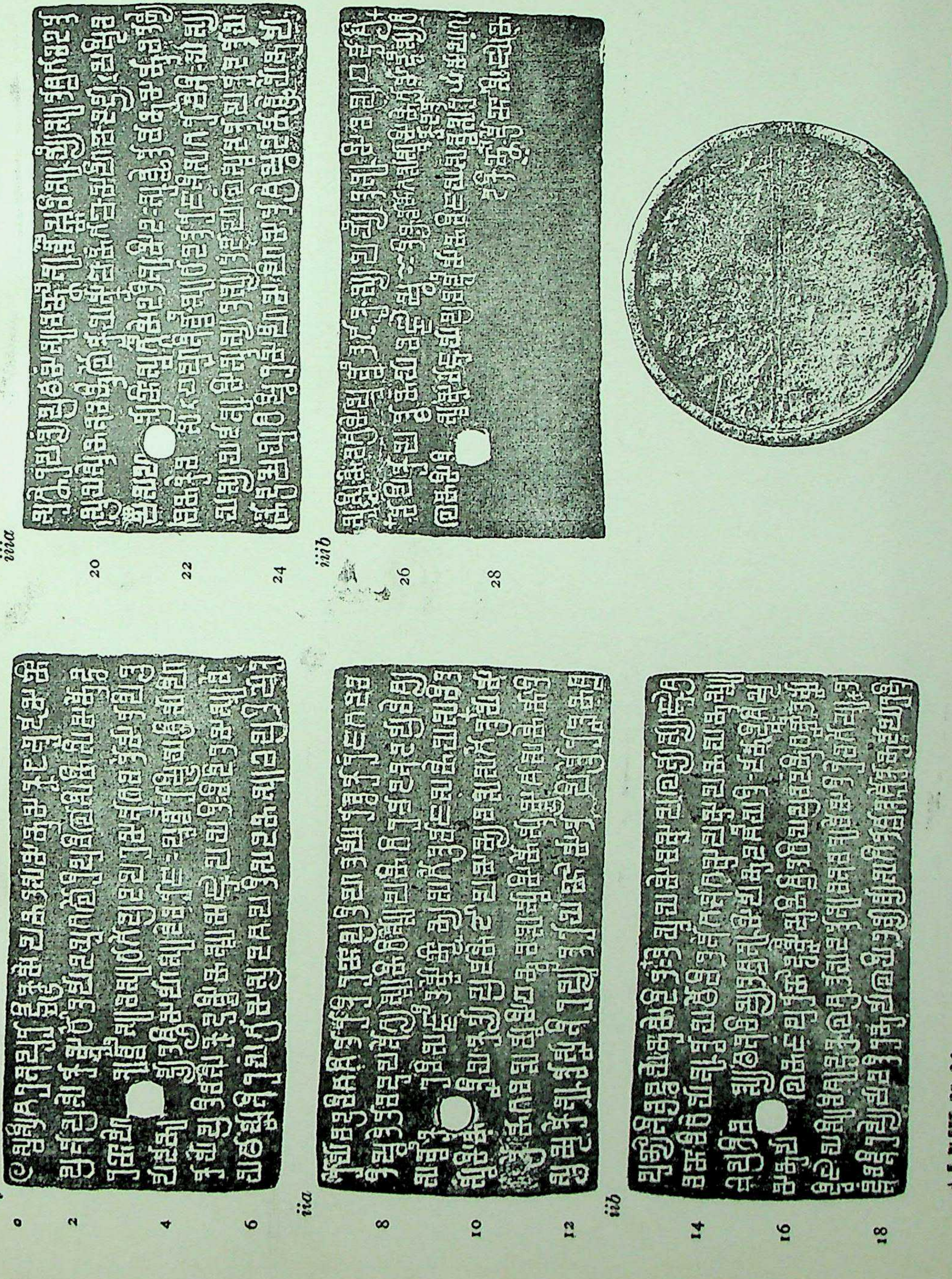
[9] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[10] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.

[11] Read *mahím.*

[12] The proper context is *lanam=iti*, in line 27.

Raypur Plates of the Raja Maha-Sudevaraja.


iia
0
2
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iib
8
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14
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iiia
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28

J. F. FLEET, SC. C.S.

SCALE ·88

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

Third Plate; Second Side.

25 Asmin[n*]=êva grâmê pûrvva-taṭâkasya paryyatta(nta)-bhûmi-vapra-baddhâ Śrî-

26 vâ[1]pikâ panthânaṁ yâvaj=jâ(jyê)shṭha iti kritvâ Nâga[va*]tsasvâminê grâm-ârddhasy=âdhi[2]kâ dattâ

27 lanam[3]=iti ‖ Sva-mukh-âjñayâ pravarddhamâna-vijaya-saṁvvatsara 10 Mâgha 9

28 uktî(tkî)rṇṇa[ṁ*][4] **Drôṇasiṅghâ(ṅghê)na** [‖*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.[5]

A charter of the illustrious **Sudêvarâja**,—who verily has a gracious heart; (*and*) who has overcome (*his*) enemies by (*his*) prowess,—(*is*) a charter for (*the observance of even his*) enemies!

The Plates.

Ôm! Hail! From the town of **Śarabhapura,** the illustrious **Mahâ-Sudêvarâja,**—whose two feet are purified by the waters which are the flowing forth of the radiance of the jewels in the locks of hair (*wound*) in the tiaras of the chieftains, (*bowing down before him*), who have been subjugated by (*his*) prowess; who is the cause of the tearing out of the parted hair of the women of (*his*) enemies; who is the giver of treasure and land and cows; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents,—issues a command to the cultivators residing at (the village of) **Śrîsâhikâ** in the **Eastern Country:**—

(Line 5.)—"Be it known to you, that this village, the source (*by this grant of it*) of (*Our*) ensuring the happiness of (*attaining*) the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,—which has been conveyed by a copper-charter to Nâgavatsasvâmin and Bandhuvatsasvâmin, of the Aupamanyava (*śâkhâ*) and the Vatsa *gôtra*, who, by the gift in marriage of his daughters, are the sons-in-law of Savitrisvâmin of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* and the Vâjasanêya (*śâkhâ*); to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (*its*) hidden treasures and deposits; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; (*and*) exempted from all taxes,—has, at the time of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north, been assented to by Us indeed, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourself.

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[1] Before this *vâ*, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here, or, more properly, before the *śrî*; viz. *grâm-ârddhasy=âdhikâ*, from the end of the line.—The reading intended in these two lines was—*Asminn=êva grâmê pûrvva-taṭâkasya paryyanta-bhûmi-vapra-baddhâ grâm-ârddhasy=âdhikâ Śrîvâpikâ panthânaṁ yâvaj=jyêshṭha iti kritvâ Nâgavatsasvâminê dattâ.* And this passage should properly have been inserted after *anumôditaḥ*, in line 13 (see page 198 above, note 3.)

[2] Over this *dhi* there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here; *viz.* the syllables *kâ dattâ,* which are placed between the lines, below *minê.*

[3] This is the proper context of *nupâ,* at the end of line 24.

[4] Supply *śâsanam.*

[5] As restored, with the help of the few letters that remain, on the analogy of the legend on the seal of the Âraṅg grant of Mahâ-Jayarâja, No. 40 above, page 194.

(L. 13.)—"Being aware of this, you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness, rendering in proper manner (*their*) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 15.)—And he enjoins upon future kings,—"The ancients, whose minds are fixed upon religion, say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (*of a grant*) is greater than (*that which arises from*) making a grant; therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brâhmaṇ of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also."

(L. 18.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyâsa:—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Vishṇu; and cows are the daughters of the sun: therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant!

(L. 25.)—In this same village, the irrigation-well called Śrîvâpikâ, constructed within the mound on the land that skirts the eastern tank, (*and*) extending up to the road, is given to Nâgavatsasvâmin, in excess of (*his exact*) half of the village, because he is the elder.

(L. 27.)—At the command of (Mahâ-Sudêvarâja's) own mouth, (*in*) the year 10 of increasing victory, (*in*) (the month) Mâgha, (*on the day*) 9, (*this charter*) has been engraved by **Drôṇasiṅgha**.

No. 42; PLATE XXVIII.

APHSAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF ADITYASENA.

THIS inscription was discovered by Major Markham Kittoe, some time anterior to 1850; but the first notice of it, that I have been able to trace, is General Cunningham's mention of it in 1863, in his report for the year 1861-62, which was issued as a supplement to the *Journal* of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXII. p. iii ff., and was in 1871 reprinted in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., where this inscription is referred to on page 40.—In 1866, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. p. 267 ff., Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from a transcript of the original, in modern Dêvanâgarî characters, which Major Kittoe had given to General Cunningham in 1850.—In 1882, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 11, General Cunningham supplemented this translation, by notifying, from his own examination of a rubbing of the original inscription made by Major Kittoe, which had meanwhile been discovered by Mr. J. D. M. Beglar in a box of inscriptions in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library, that the name of the second king was Harshagupta; not Hashkagupta, as read by Major Kittoe.—And in 1883, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. p. 79, he further notified that Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, apparently in a letter to him, had indicated that

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the name of Îśânavarman should be substituted, in line 7, for the Śântavarman of Major Kittoe's transcript.

Aphsaḍ or **Aphsaṇḍ,**[1] also called **Jâfarpur,** is a village near the right bank of the Sakarî river, about fifteen miles towards the north-east of Nawâdâ,[2] the chief town of the Nawâdâ Sub-Division of the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on a stone-slab, that was found here, and was afterwards removed by Major Kittoe, in order "to re-examine it, and to restore it as much as possible, before having it fixed in a pedestal near the Varâha" in Aphsaḍ. According to the local statement, Major Kittoe removed the stone to Nawâdâ; but General Cunningham failed to find it, or to hear anything more of it, either there, or at Gayâ and Benares. The loss of the original stone, however, is as well compensated for as is possible by the existence, in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta, of an exceptionally good red-chalk rubbing, made by Major Kittoe himself, from which I now edit the inscription, and from which my lithograph has been prepared.

The **writing,** with its margin, covers the entire front of the stone; and is apparently on a slightly countersunk surface about 2′ 9″ broad by 1′ $5\frac{1}{2}$″ high, with a corresponding rim from $\frac{3}{4}$″ to 1″ broad. It has suffered a great deal from the effects of the weather, about the centre of the stone; but, even here, nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost, except perhaps, in line 15, a completion of the hint as to the relations between Mâdhavagupta and Harshadêva, *i.e.* Harshavardhana of Kanauj. The rest of the inscription is very legible. The impression indicates that the stone has been broken at the lower proper right corner; but, as shewn in the note to line 25 of the Text, the stone seems to have been originally imperfect here; and not so much of the writing has been lost, as would be expected at first sight.—The **size** of the letters varies from about $\frac{5}{16}$″ to $\frac{7}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and present a very marked development as contrasted with the preceding plates of this volume. They belong to a particular type, to which the special name of Kuṭila has come to be attached, in consequence of the upright strokes having at the bottom a small tail which is 'crooked, curved, or bent' (*kuṭila*) to the right. The term Kuṭila actually occurs in the 'Dewal' inscription[3] of (Vikrama)-Saṁvat 1049; in the last line of which it is recorded that "this (eulogy) has been written by the scribe Takshâditya, —(a native of) the (country of) Gauḍa; and the son of Vishṇuhari,—who is well acquainted with the curved letters." The term used here for "curved letters" is *kuṭil-âksharâṇi*. It does not seem to be employed with the specific object of recording a standing name of this style of writing; any more than the expression *vikaṭ-âksharâ*, "(an eulogy) in beautiful letters," is used in that way in line 27 of the present inscription; and *ruchir-âkshara-paṅktibhiḥ*, "(this eulogy has been engraved) in lines of pleasing letters," in line 27 of an inscription in the Provincial Museum at Nâgpur; and *sad-varṇâ*, "(an eulogy) in excellent letters," in line 41 of the Sâsbahû temple inscription of Mahîpâla.[4] But the term Kuṭila fits this type of letters so well, that, as the name has been applied to the alphabet for so long a time, there seems no objection to continuing it. The alphabet of the present inscription might be called the Kuṭila variety of the Magadha alphabet of the seventh century A.D. It really differs but little from the modern Dêvanâgarî. The form of the lingual *ḍh*, which occurs in *gâḍha*, line 1, and *dṛiḍha*, line 2, is almost quite identical with the modern Dêvanâgarî form. The form of the lingual *ḍ*, which occurs in *chûḍâ*, lines 3 and 16, in *khaḍga*, line 18, and *jaḍô*, line 21, is still rather transitional, differing but little from the form of the dental *d*. And the most antique remnant in the whole inscription is the form of *r*, in conjunction with a following consonant, *e.g.* in *harsha*, lines 2 and 15, *dhanur-bhîma*, line 2, *sindhur=llakshmî*, line 7, and *artha*, line 12; following the custom noted at several places above, but practised in the earlier inscriptions in respect only of *r* in combination with a following *y*, it is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it; and in the *rya* of *śaurya*, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before, *e.g.* in *kuryât* in line 12 of the Majhgawâṁ plates of the *Mahârâja* Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in verse throughout. It offers about the earliest instance of the hyperbolical expressions and mythological allusions with which the later inscriptions abound, distinguishing them so completely from the artistic, concise, dignified, and frequently really poetical, style of the more ancient records.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *âtapattra*, line 21; where, however, it may possibly be due to a mistaken idea as to the etymology of the word; and (2) the use throughout of *v* for *b*, *e.g.* in *vivuddha*, lines 9 and 11; *valinô*, line 14-15; *vabhûva*, line 15; and *vibhratî*, line 17.

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[1] The 'Aphsar, Ufsund, and Ufsund-Jafurpoor,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 4′ N.; Long. 85° 44′ E.

[2] The 'Nawáda, Newadeeh, Nowada, and Nowáda,' of maps, &c.

[3] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 355, Pl. li.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 41.

The **inscription** is one of **Âdityasêna,** of the family of the **Guptas of Magadha.** It is not dated. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; the principal object of it being to record the building, by **Âdityasêna,** of a temple of the god Vishṇu. But it also records the building of a religious college or monastery by his mother **Śrîmatî,** and the excavation of a tank by his wife **Kôṇadêvî.**

TEXT.[1]

1 Ôm [II*] Âsîd[2]=dantı-sahasra-gâḍha-kaṭakô vidyâdhar-âdhyâsitaḥ sad-vaṁśaḥ sthira unnatô girir=iva śrî-**Kṛishṇaguptô** nṛipaḥ I dṛipt-ârâti-madândha-vâraṇa-ghaṭâ-kumbhasthalîḥ kshundatâ yasy=âsaṁkhya-ripu-pratâpa-jayinâ dôshṇâ mṛigêndrâyitaṁ II Sakalah[3] kalaṅka-rahitaḥ

2 kshata-timiras=tôyadhêḥ śaśâṅka iva I tasmâd=udapâdi sutô dêvaḥ śrî-**Harshagupta** iti II Yô[4] yôgy-âkâla-hêl-âvanata-dṛiḍha-dhanur-bhîma-vâṇ-augha-pâtî mûrt[t*]aiḥ sva-svâmi-lakshmî-vasati-vimukhitair=îkshitaḥ s-âsrupâtaṁ I ghôrâṇâm=â

3. havânam likhitam=iva jayaṁ ślâghyam=âvirddadhânô vakshasy=uddâma-śastra-vraṇa-kaṭhina-kiṇa-granthi-lêkhâ-chchhalêna II Śrî[5]-**Jîvitaguptô**=bhût=kshitîśa-chûḍâmaṇiḥ sutas=tasya I yô dṛipta-vairi-nârî-mukhanalina-van-aika-śêsêra[6]karaḥ II

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[1] From Major Kittoe's impression; so, also, the lithograph.

[2] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[3] Metre, Âryâ.

[4] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[5] Metre, Âryâ.

[6] Read *śiśira*.

4 Muktâmukta[1]-payaḥ-pravâha-śiśirâs=ûttuṅga-tâlîvana-bhrâmyad-danti-kar-âvalûna-
kadalî-kâṇḍâsu vêlâsv=api I śchyôtat-sphâra-tushâra-nirjhara-payaḥ-śîtê=pi
śailê sthitân=yasy=ôchchair-dvishatô mumôcha
5 na mahâ-ghôraḥ pratâpa-jvaraḥ II Yasy[2]=âtimânushaṁ karmma dṛiśyatê
vismayâj=jan-aughêna I adyâpi Kôśavarddhana-taṭât=plutaṁ Pavanajasy=
êva II Prakhyâta-śaktim=âjishu puraḥsaraṁ śrî-**Kumâ**-
6 **raguptam**=iti I ajanayad=êkaṁ sa nṛipô Hara iva śikhivâhanaṁ
tanayaṁ II Utsarppad[3]-vâta-hêlâ-chalita-kadalikâ-vîchi-mâlâ-vitânaḥ prôdyad-
dhûlî-jalaugha-bhramita-guru-mahâ-matta-
7 mâtaṁga-śailaḥ I bhîmaḥ śr-**Î[4]śânavarmma**-kshitipatiśaśinaḥ sainya-
dugdhôda-sindhur=llakshmî-saṁprâpti-hêtuḥ sapadi vimathitô Mandarî-
bhûya yêna II Śaurya[5]-satyavrata-dharô yaḥ **Prayâga**-gatô dha-
8 nê I ambhas=îva karîsh-âgnau magṇaḥ sa pushpa-pûjitaḥ II Śrî-
Dâmôdaraguptô=bhût=tanayas=tasya bhûpatêḥ I yêna Dâmôdarêṇ=êva
Daityâ iva hatâ dvishaḥ II Yô[6] **Maukharêḥ** samitish=ûddha-
9 ta-**Hûṇa**-sainyâ valgad-ghaṭâ vighaṭayann=uru-vâraṇânâṁ I saṁmûrchchhitaḥ
sura-vadhu(dhû)r=varayaṁ(n) mam=êti tat-pâṇ[i]paṅkaja-sukha-sparśâd[7]-
vivu(bu)ddhah II Guṇavad[8]-[d*]vija-kanyânâ[ṁ*] nân-âlaṁkâra-yauvana-
10 vatînâṁ I pariṇâyitavan=sa nṛipaḥ śataṁ nisṛishṭ-âgrahârâṇâṁ II Ś[rî][9]-
Mahâsênaguptô=bhût=tasmâd=vîr-âgraṇî[ḥ*] sutaḥ I sarvva-vîra-samâjêshu
lêbhê yô dhuri vîratâ[ṁ II] Śr[î]mat[10]-**Susthitavarmma**-yuddha-vijaya-
11 ślâghâ-pad-âṅkaṁ muhur=yasy=âdyâpi vivu(bu)ddha-kunda-kumuda-kshuṇṇ(?)-
âchchha-hâra[◡]ta[ṁ*] I Lôhityasya taṭ[ê]shu ś[î]tala-tal[ê]sh=ûtph[u]l[l]a-
nâgadr[u]ma-chchhâyâ-supta-vivu(bu)ddha-s[i]ddha-m[i]thun[ai]ḥ sph[î]tam
yaśô gîyatê II Vasudêvâ-
12 d[11]=iva tasmâch=Chhrî-s(ê)vana-[śô(?)]bh-[ô]dita-charaṇa-yugaḥ I śrî-**Mâdhava**-
guptô=bhûn=Mâdhava iva vikram-aika-rasa[ḥ II] [— — —[12] ◡ a]nusm[ṛi]tô
dhuri raṇ[ê] ślâghâvatâm=agraṇ[î]ḥ sô(sau)janyasya nidhânam=
artha-nidha(cha)-
13 ya-tyâg-ô[d*]dhurâṇâṁ dha(?va)ra[ḥ] I lakshm[î]-sa[tya-sa]rasvatî-kulagṛiha[ṁ]
dharmasya sêtur=dṛiḍhaḥ pû(?)jyô(?) n=âs[t]i sa bh[û]tal[ê] [◡ ◡ ◡
— — — ◡]l[—] sadguṇ[aiḥ] II Chakra[ṁ] pâṇi-talêna sô=py=udavahat=
tasy=âpi śârṅga[ṁ] dhanu-
14 r=nâśây=âsuhṛidâ[ṁ] sukhâya suhṛidâm tasy=âpy=asir=nandakaḥ I prâptê
vidvishatâṁ vadhê pratihat[—] tên=âpa[— — ◡ — — — — ◡ ◡
— ◡ — ḍha(?)ri(?)ma(?)[— —]nyâḥ praṇêmur=jjanâḥ II Âjau[13] mayâ
vinihatâ va(ba)-

---

[1] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [2] Metre, Âryâ; and in the following verse. [3] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[4] The lower part of the *î*, and all except the extreme end of the *r*, either were left unfinished or have been broken away. But enough remains to shew clearly what the *akshara* really is.

[5] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse. [6] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[7] The metre is faulty here; instead of two long syllables, we ought to have two short and one long.

[8] Metre, Âryâ. [9] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [10] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[11] Metre, Âryâ. [12] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

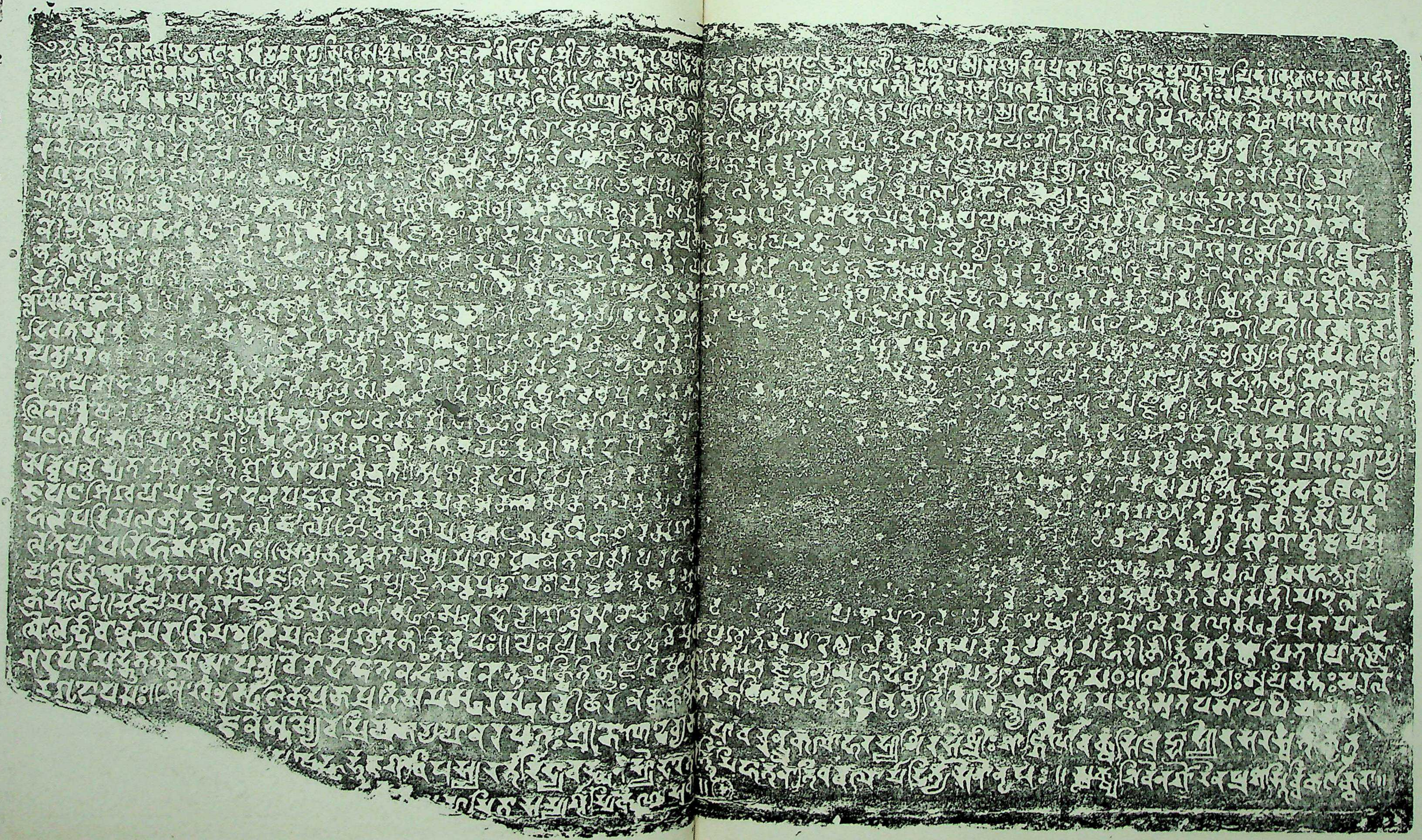
[13] Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.

15 linô dvishan[taḥ] kṛitya[ṁ] na m[ê*]=sty=aparam=ity=avadhârya vîraḥ [I]
Śrî-Harshadêva-nija-sa[ṁ]gama-vâñchhayâ cha(?) [— — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡
◡ — ◡ — —] [II] S[r]îmân=va(ba)bhûva dalit-âri-karîndra-kumbha-muktâ-
rajaḥ-
16 paṭala-pâṁsula-maṇḍalâgraḥ I **Âdityasêna** iti tat-tanayaḥ kshitîśa-
chûḍâmaṇ[i]r=dda[◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —] [II] [— — —[1] ◡ ◡ — ◡]m-
âgatam=ari-dhvaṁs-ôttham=âptaṁ yaśaḥ ślâghyaṁ
17 sarvva-dhanushmatâṁ pura iti ślâghaṁ parâṁ vi(bi)bhratî I âśîrvvâda-
paraṁparâ chi(?)ra-sakṛi(?)d[— — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡
◡ ◡ — — — ◡]yâmâsama(?) II Âjau[2] svêda-chchhalêna dhva-
18 ja-paṭa-śikhayâ mârjjatô dâna-paṅkaṁ khaḍgaṁ kshuṇṇêna muktâ-śakala-
sikatil[î(?)]kṛi(?)tya(?) [— — ◡ — — — — — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
—]mat[t]a-mâta[ṁ]ga-ghâtaṁ tad-gandh-âkṛishṭa-sarppad-va(ba)-
19 hala-parimala-bhrâtta(nta)-matt-âli-jâlaṁ II Âva(ba)ddha[3]-bhîma-vikaṭa-bhrukuṭî-
kaṭhôra-sa[ṁ]g[r]âma[— ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — I — — ◡ — ◡ ◡]va-
vallabha-bhṛitya-vargga-gôshṭhîshu pêśa-
20 latayâ parihâsa-śîlaḥ II Satya[4]-bharttṛi-vratâ yasya mukh-ôpadh[â]na-
tâpasî I par[i]hâs[— ◡ — — — — — — — ◡ — ◡ —] [II] [— — —[5] — ◡
—]jñaḥ sakala-ripu-va(ba)la-dhvaṁsa-hêtur=ggarî-
21 yân=nistriṁś-ôtkhâta-ghâta-śrama-janita-jaḍô=py=ûrjjita-sva-pratâpaḥ I yuddhê
matt-êbha-kumbhastha[la ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — —]śv[ê]t-
âtapattra-sthagita-vasumatî-maṇḍalô lô-
22 kapâlaḥ II Âjau[6] matta-gajêndra-kumbha-dalana-sphîta-sphurad-dôr-yugô
dhvast-ânê(?)ka(?)-ripu-prabhâva-v[◡ ◡ — — —] yaśô-maṇḍalaḥ I nyast-
âśêsha-narêndra-mauli-charaṇa-sphâra-pratâp-âna-
23 lô lakshmîvan=samar-âbhimâna-vimala-prakhyâta-kîrttir=nṛipaḥ II Yên=êyaṁ
śarad-indu-vimva-dhavalâ prakhyâta-bhûmaṇḍalâ lakshmî-saṁgama-
kâṁkshayâ su-mahatî kîrttiś=chiraṁ kôpitâ I yâtâ sâ-
24 gara-pâram=adbhutatamâ sâpatnya-vairâd=âhô tên=êdaṁ bhavan-ôttamaṁ
kshitibhujâ Vishṇôḥ kṛitê kâritaṁ II Taj[7]-jananyâ mahâdêvyâ
Śrîmatyâ kâritô maṭhaḥ I dhârmikêbhya svayaṁ-dattaḥ sura-lô-
25 ka[8]-gṛih-ôpamaḥ II Śaṁkh[9]-êndu-sphaṭika-prabhâ-pratisama-sphâra-sphurach-
chhîkaraṁ nakra-krânti-chalat-taraṅga-vilasat-pakshi-pranṛityat-timi I râjñyâ
khânitam=adbhutaṁ su-tapasâ pêpîyamânaṁ
26 janais=tasy=aiva priya-bhâryayâ narapatêḥ śrî-**Kôṇadêvyâ** saraḥ II
Yâvach=chandra-kalâ Harasya śirasi Śrîḥ Śârṅginô vakshasi
Vra(bra)hm-âsyê cha Sarasvatî kṛita-

---

[1] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[2] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[3] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[4] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[5] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[6] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.
[7] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[8] The stone appears to be broken away at this corner. But there seems also to have been some fault here when the inscription was engraved; since,—though nine *aksharas* are entirely lost, and two more are partly destroyed, at the beginning of line 27, which commenced at the edge of the stone,—the metres shew that nothing is lost at the beginning of line 26, which was commenced at the distance of about nine *aksharas* from the edge of the stone, and that only four *akskaras* are lost at the beginning of line 28, which was commenced at the distance of about sixteen *aksharas* from the edge of the stone.
[9] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

Aphsad Inscription of Adityasena.



27 [⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —] I [bhôgê] bhûr=bhujag-âdhipasya cha taḍid=
yâvad=ghanasy=ôdarê tâvat=kîrttim=ih=âtanôti dhavalâm=**Âdityasênô**
nṛipaḥ II Sûkshmaśivêna[1] Gauḍêna praśastir=vvikaṭ-âksharâ II(I)
28 [— — —]mâ(?)mitâ samyag-dhârmmikêṇa sudhîmatâ I'

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! There was a king, the illustrious **Krishṇagupta,** who was like a mountain, in that (*his*) cities, like the slopes of a mountain, were crowded with thousands of elephants; in that he was attended by men of learning, as a mountain is inhabited by Vidyâdharas; in that he was of good descent, as a mountain is possessed of excellent bamboos; (*and*) in that he was firm (*and*) lofty; (*and*) whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (*his*) haughty enemies, (*and*) in being victorious by (*its*) prowess over countless foes.

(Line 1.)—Just as the full-moon, destitute of spots, the destroyer of the darkness, was produced from the ocean, so from him there was born a son, the majestic one, named the illustrious **Harshagupta,** who,—raining down a terrible flight of arrows from (*his*) firm bow that was bent with ease at the befitting proper time, (*and*) being gazed upon with copious tears by (*his enemies*) who, averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being with (*him, her*) own lord, were stupified (*at being unable to prevent it*),—was (*always*) displaying a glorious triumph, the written record as it were of terrible contests, in the guise of the rows of the knots of hard callous places, caused by wounds from many weapons, on (*his*) chest.

(L. 3.)—His son was the illustrious **Jîvitagupta (I.),** the best among kings, who was a very cold-rayed (moon) to (*wither*) the waterlilies that were the countenances of the women of (*his*) proud enemies. The very terrible scorching fever (*of fear*) left not (*his*) haughty foes, even though they stood on seaside shores that were cool with the flowing and ebbing currents of water, (*and*) were covered with the branches of plantain-trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra-palms; (*or*) even though they stood on (*that*) mountain (Himâlaya) which is cold with the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow. Even still his superhuman deeds are regarded with astonishment by all mankind, like the leap of (the monkey Hanumat) the son of the Wind[2] from the side of (the mountain) Kôśavardhana.[3]

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[1] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[2] Hanumat was one of the most celebrated of a host of semi-divine apes, who were created to become the allies of Râmachandra in his war with Râvaṇa. The leaders of this army of monkeys were supposed to be the offspring of various gods; and Hanumat was the son of Pavana or Mâruta, the Wind. One famous leap taken by Hanumat was from the mainland, over the sea, onto Ceylon, in order to discover the whereabouts of Sîtâ. Another was his leap back from Ceylon to the mainland, after setting Râvaṇa's city on fire, on which occasion he sprang from a mountain which sank into the ground under the shock. A third leap, or flight through the air, was when he went to the mountain Gandhamâdana, to procure a medicinal herb to cure the wounded Lakshmaṇa. Which of these leaps is alluded to here, is difficult to say, as Kôśavardhana does not seem to be given in the epic as the name of a mountain at all; and I cannot find the names of the mountains from which his leaps were taken.

[3] The only other mention that we have of a mountain Kôśavardhana, is in line 17 of the Shêrgaḍh (Kôṭâ) Buddhist inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 46), where it seems to denote the hill on which the Fort of Shêrgaḍh now stands. This may, or may not, be one of the mountains from which Hanumat took one of his flights through the air.

(L. 5.)—That king begat one son, by name the illustrious **Kumâragupta,** of renowned strength, a leader in battle; just as (the god) Hara begat a son, (Kârttikêya) who rides upon the peacock;[1]—by whom, playing the part of (the mountain) Mandara,[2] there was quickly churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious **Îśânavarman,** a very moon among kings, (*and*) which had for (*its*) spreading rows of waves the plantain-trees that were wantonly shaken to and fro by the roaring wind (*caused by the marching of the troops*), (*and*) had (*its*) rocks, that were the ponderous and mighty rutting elephants (*of the forces*), whirled round and round by the masses of water that were the rising dust (*stirred up by the soldiers*). Cherishing heroism and adherence to the truth, (*even*) in (*the possession of*) wealth, he went to **Prayâga**; (*and there*), honourably decorated with flowers, plunged into a fire (*kindled*) with dry cow-dung cakes, as if (*simply plunging to bathe*) in water.[3]

(L. 8.)—The son of that king was the illustrious **Dâmôdaragupta,** by whom (*his*) enemies were slain, just like the demons by (the god) Dâmôdara. Breaking up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the **Maukhari,** which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the **Hûṇas** (*in order to trample them to death*), he became unconscious (*and expired in the fight*); (*and then, waking again in heaven, and*) making a choice among the women of the gods, saying "(*this one or that*) belongs to me," he was revived by the pleasing touch of the waterlilies that were their hands. He, (*while he was*) king, gave away in marriage a hundred daughters of virtuous Brâhmaṇs endowed with many ornaments and with youth, (*and*) dowered with *agrahâra*-grants.

(L. 10.)—From him there was a son, the illustrious **Mahâsênagupta,** the leader, among brave men; who in all the assemblages of heroes acquired a (*reputation for*) valour (*that stood*) in the foremost rank;—whose mighty fame, marked with the honour of victory in war over the illustrious **Susthitavarman,** (*and*) [white] as a full-blown jasmine-flower or waterlily, or as a pure necklace of pearls pounded into little bits (?), is still constantly sung on the banks of (the river) Lôhitya, the surfaces of which are (*so*) cool, by the Siddhas in pairs, when they wake up after sleeping in the shade of the betel-plants that are in full bloom.

(L. 11.)—As (the god) Mâdhava, whose feet are graced by the attentions of (the goddess) Śrî, (*was born*) from Vasudêva, so from him there was (*a son*), the illustrious **Mâdhavagupta,** finding pleasure only in prowess, whose feet were graced by the attentions of the goddess of fortune. He being remembered in the foremost rank .... ; being the leader of those who acquire renown in war; (*and*) being a very store-house of goodness, the best of those who excel in the collection and bestowal of riches, the natural home of wealth, truth, and learning, (*and*) a firm bridge of religion, —there is no one on the earth .... who is (*as*) worthy to be praised by virtuous people, (*as he was*). He also (*like the god*), carried a discus in the palm of (*his*) hand;[1] to him also belonged a bow made of horn, and a pleasing sword (*which was employed*) for the destruction of (*his*) enemies (*and*) the happiness of his friends;[2] (*and*), when the slaughter of (*his*) foes had been achieved, ... was averted by him; .... people did obeisance .... "(*My*) mighty enemies have been slain by me in battle; there remains nothing more for me to do,"—thus he, the hero, determined in his mind; (*and then*) with the desire to associate himself with the glorious **Harshadêva**[3] ....

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[1] One of the names of Kârttikêya was Kumâra; hence the comparison between him and Kumâragupta.

[2] The allusion in this verse is to the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, for the recovery of the nectar and other precious things that had been lost. The mountain Mandara was utilised as the churning stick. And, during the process, Lakshmî, the goddess of fortune and wealth, sprang from the froth of the sea.

[3] This verse seems to indicate that Kumâragupta's funeral rites took place at Allahâbâd; but not necessarily that he placed himself on the funeral pyre while still alive.

(L. 15.)—His son was the illustrious one, named **Âdityasêna,** the best among kings, whose scimetar was sullied with a thick coating of dust in the shape of the pearls from the temples of the lordly elephants[4] of (*his*) enemies that were split open (*by it*), ... Maintaining the supreme renown, that (*his*) perfect praise, coming from .... (*and*) rising from the destruction of (*his*) enemies, is worthy to be lauded in the presence of all wielders of the bow,—a continuous line of blessings .... Cleaning with the edge of the silken cloth of a banner, (*used*) under the excuse of (*wiping away*) sweat in battle, (*his*) sword that was stained with the rut (*of the elephants slain by him*), and was covered with sand in the shape of the minute fragments of the pearls (*from their foreheads*) through .... that was broken to pieces, ... the destruction of rutting elephants, in the course of which many swarms of bees, led into a mistake by the copious fragrant juice that trickled forth, were attracted by their perfume. .... in battle which is full of terrible and repulsive frownings .... (*he*) is accustomed to laugh in a charming manner in the gatherings of (*his*) favourites and servants. His [wife], truthfully constant to (*her*) lord; performing penance with the excellent qualities of (*her*) mouth (?); .... laughter .... Being .... (*and*) being the greatest cause of the destruction of the power of all (*his*) enemies, (*and*) being possessed of his own mighty prowess, even when he is full of weariness produced by the fatigue of drawing (*his*) sword forth (*from its scabbard*) and (*dealing*) blows (*with it*),— .... the foreheads of rutting elephants in battle, [he is verily] a guardian of the world, by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered. He, the king, has had both (*his*) gleaming arms increased in bulk by splitting open the temples of rutting elephants in war; he has a halo of fame, [acquired] by destroying the power of many enemies; the darting fire of the prowess of (*his*) feet has had thrown into it (*to feed it*) the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all (*other*) kings; he is possessed of fortune; (*and*) he has a pure and celebrated reputation (*acquired*) by honourable behaviour in war.

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[1] The god carries an actual discus; the king had the mark of a discus (see page 183 above, note 4).

[2] The allusions here are to the discus of Vishṇu (Mâdhava), to his bow of horn named Śârṅga, and to his sword called Nandaka.

[3] Harshavardhana of Kanauj.—The present form of his name occurs also in the *Harshacharita* (Kaśmîr edition), p. 119, line 5.—I notice that he is often called Śrîharsha, and Śrîharshavardhana; as if *śrî* were a component part of his name, instead of being only the honorific prefix. But I cannot find any authority whatever for this. I cannot trace a single instance in which the reading of any inscription or book is *śrî-Śrîharsha* (see page 8 above, note 3); while, in line 26 of the Kauṭhêm grant of Vikramâditya V. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22), he is distinctly called *Harsha-mahânripa*, "the great king Harsha." So, also, Bâṇa's book about him and his history is always called simply *Harshacharita*, not *Śrîharshacharita*, in the colophon of each division of it; and the *śrî*, which is prefixed on the title-page of the Kaśmîr edition, only qualifies *Harshacharita*, as the name of the book, in the sense of "the famous history of Harsha."

[4] The belief, to which there are constant allusions in Sanskṛit poetry, was, that there are pearls to be found inside the foreheads of elephants.

(L. 23.)—This best of temples has been caused to be made, on account of (the god) Vishṇu, by him, the king, whose very great fame, (*of*) this (*kind that has been described*), white as the orb of the autumn moon (*and*) conferring renown on the (*whole*) circle of the world, was for a long time made angry by him through (*his*) desire for (*her*) association with (*his*) wealth, and then, becoming more wonderful than ever, went, forsooth, through the enmity natural to the condition of rival wives, to the other side of the ocean (*in order to dwell there far away*).[1]

(L. 24.)—By his mother, the *Mahâdêvî* **Śrîmatî,** a religious college has been caused to be built, resembling a house in the world of the gods, (*and*) has been given by herself in person to religious people.

(L. 25.)—By the queen, the illustrious **Kôṇadêvî,** the dear wife of that same king, in the performance of an excellent penance, there has been caused to be excavated a wonderful tank, the waters of which are eagerly drunk by people; which is full of drifting and glistening spray, resembling in lustre a *śaṅkha*-shell, or the moon, or crystal; (*and*) in the waves of which, driven to and fro by the motion of the alligators, the birds disport themselves and the large fishes play about.

(L. 26.)—As long as a digit of the moon [remains] on the head of (the god) Hara, (*and*) (the goddess) Śrî on the breast of Vishṇu, (*and*) (the goddess) Sarasvatî .... in the mouth of Brahman; as long as the earth [remains] on a hood of (Śêsha) the king of serpents; and as long as there is lightning in the interior of a cloud,—so long shall the king **Adityasêna** display here (*in these works*) (*his*) dazzling fame!

(L. 27.)—(*This*) eulogy, (*written in*) beautiful letters, ... [has been composed, or engraved] by Sûkshmaśiva, (*a native of*) the Gauḍa (*country*), who is thoroughly religious (*and*) very intelligent.

No. 43; PLATE XXIXA.

SHAHPUR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF ADITYASENA.

THIS inscription was discovered, apparently in 1879-80, by Mr. J. D. M. Beglar, Assistant to the Director General of Archæological Surveys; and was first brought to notice, in 1882, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 12, where General Cunningham published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xi. No. 1).

Shâhpur,[2] also known as **Shâhpur-Têtarâwâṁ,** is a village on the right bank of the Sakarî river, about nine miles to the south-east of Bihâr, the chief town of the Bihâr Sub-Division of the Paṭna District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on the pedestal of a standing image of the sun,—represented as a man, 2' 10" high, holding a waterlily in each hand; and with, on each side, a small standing figure, that on the right being armed with a club,—which was found on a mound in the lands of this village. When I sent my copyists to Shâhpur in 1884, they could not find the image, and could obtain no information as to what had become of it; my lithograph, therefore, has been prepared from Mr. Beglar's pencil-rubbing, which suffices for practical purposes, though perhaps the date is not quite as clear as it might be.

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[1] Kîrtti, 'fame,' and Lakshmî, 'fortune or wealth,' are here regarded as the two co-wives of the king. The idea is that his fame became at length so great as to extend to the uttermost ends of the world, beyond even the oceans; and this is indicated by Kîrtti becoming at length jealous of Lakshmî, and leaving her husband's house in order to dwell far away from her rival wife.

[2] The 'Shahpur, Shahpoor, Shahpoor-Tetranwan, and Shahpoor-Titarawa.' of maps, &c Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 6′ N.; Long. 85° 43′ E.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 1' 4½" broad by 4" high, has suffered a good deal of injury towards the proper right side of the stone; the rest, however, is very well preserved.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kuṭila type as those of the preceding Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 42, Plate xxviii. They include, in line 2, forms of the **numerical symbols**[1] for 6, 7 (?), and 60.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point that calls for notice is the use of *v* for *b* in *valâdhikṛita*, line 3.

The **inscription** refers itself to the time of **Âdityasêna,** of the family of the **Guptas of Magadha.** Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year sixty-six, on the seventh (?) day of the bright fortnight of the month Mârga, *i.e.* Mârgaśira or Mârgaśîrsha (November-December). The era is not specified; but, from the known facts of Âdityasêna's history, it is that of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing[1] A.D. 606 or 607; and the result for this date, therefore, is A.D. 672-73. The inscription is one of solar worship; and the object of it is to record, in the first place, some grant, the details of which are illegible in line 1; and, in the second place, the installation of the image by the *Balâdhikṛita*[2] **Sâlapaksha,** in, apparently, the *agrahâra* of **Nâlanda.**

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[1] The symbol for the day is a little doubtful; but it seems to be 7.—Gen. Cunningham interpreted these symbols as decimal figures, and read the year as 55, and the day as 1. At the same time he notified that Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, interpreting them in the same way, read the year as 88. And the date certainly has the appearance, in Gen. Cunningham's published lithograph, of either 55 or 88.—But this is too early a period for the occurrence of decimal figures; and, though the symbols are rather damaged, I think quite enough of them remains to shew very clearly a 60, followed by a 6.—So far as definite dates are available, the system of numerical symbols was preserved in this part of the country as late as Harsha-Saṁvat 188 (A.D. 794-95) as shewn by the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahârâja* Vinâyakapâla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 138 ff.); and in the neighbouring country of Nêpâl, as late as Harsha-Saṁvat 153 (A.D. 659-60), as shewn by the inscription of Jayadêva II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 178 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345), and Gupta-Saṁvat 535 (A.D. 854-55), as shewn by another Nêpâl inscription (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 168 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345). In the west of India, it continued, in Gujarât, as late as Śaka-Saṁvat 679 (A.D. 757-58), as shewn by the Kârêlî grant of Kakka of Gujarât (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 105 ff). In Central India, as late as Vikrama-Saṁvat 879 (A.D. 822-23), as shewn by the Shêrgaḍh (Kôṭâ) inscription of the *Sâmanta* Dêvadatta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. pp. 45 ff., 351). And in the South, as late as about Śaka-Saṁvat 549 (A.D. 627-28), as shewn by the Vizagapatam grant of the Eastern Chalukya *Mahârâja* Vishṇuvardhana I. (Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 137 f. and Pl. xxvii.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 186, where I gave the date as the sixteenth year, instead of the eighteenth, which it really appears to be.)—As regards the introduction of decimal figures (setting aside the question of the first invention of them, which was probably by the astronomers of Ujjain in the fifth or sixth century A.D.), the earliest epigraphical instances of the use of them that I can quote, are, in the north, the Gwâlior inscription of Bhôjadêva dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 933 or A.D. 876-77 (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 407 f.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 108, note 25); and the 'Pehewâ' inscription of the same king, dated Harsha-Saṁvat 276 or A.D. 882-83 (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXII. p. 673 ff., and Vol. XXXIII. p. 223 ff.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 109, note 27); in Central India, the 'Deogarh' inscription of the same king, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 919 and Śaka-Saṁvat 784 or A.D. 862-63 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 100 ff.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 110, note 32); in Gujarât, the 'Bagumra' grant of the Râshṭrakûta chieftain Dhruva III., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 789 or A.D. 732-33 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 185); in Kâṭhiâwâḍ the Môrbî grant of Jâiṅka, dated (irrespective of the actual reading in line 17) Gupta-Saṁvat 585 (A.D. 804-5); and in the Dekkan, the Sâmâṅgaḍ grant of Dantidurga, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 675 or A.D. 753-54 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 108 ff.).

The name of **Nâlanda** is rather doubtful in this inscription; but there is no special objection to reading it, since Nâlanda was a famous place, originally Buddhist, in the neighbourhood of Shâhpur, being in fact identified by General Cunningham[3] with the modern 'Baragaon,'[4] seven miles due north of Râjgîr, and about fifteen miles nearly due west of Shâhpur. The image, being fairly small and portable, may easily have been originally set up at Nâlanda, and then removed at some time or other to Shâhpur.

TEXT.[5]

1 ...... kh . l . ḍh . g ... chandra-kshiti-kâlaṁ yâvat=p[r]atipâditaṁ [||*]

2 Ôm Samvat 60 6 Mârgga śu di 7(?) asyâṁ=divasa-mâsa-samvatsar-ânupûrvvyâṁ[6] śrî-**Âditya'sêna-**

3 **[dêva]**-râj[y]ê **Nâ(?)landa(?)**-mah-âgrahârê sâdh[uṇ]â va(ba)lâdhikṛita-**Sâlapakshêṇa** dê[ya*]-dharmmô=yaṁ pratishṭhitaṁ(ḥ)

4 [mâtâpitrôr=â]tmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê [||*]

TRANSLATION.

.... has been granted, to endure for the same time with .... and the moon and the earth.

(Line 2.)—Ôm! The year 60 (*and*) 6; (the month) Mârga; the bright fortnight;[8] the day 7 (?),—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day and month and year,[9]—in the reign of the illustrious **Âdityasênadêva,** this appropriate religious gift has been installed by the virtuous **Sâlapaksha,** the *Balâdhikṛita*, in the great *agrahâra* of **Nâlanda** (?), for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself.

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 420, note 37.

[2] *Balâdhikṛita* is a technical military title, meaning literally 'one who is appointed to (a command of) the troops.' The superior of the *Balâdhikṛitas* was the *Mahâbalâdhikṛita*; see page 109 above, note 2.

[3] *Anc. Geog. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 468 ff.

[4] Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 8′ N.; Long. 85° 29′ E.—In the map, the name is written 'Burgaon.' The correct form of the name would therefore seem to be Baḍgaum.

[5] From Mr. Beglar's pencil-rubbing; so also the lithograph.

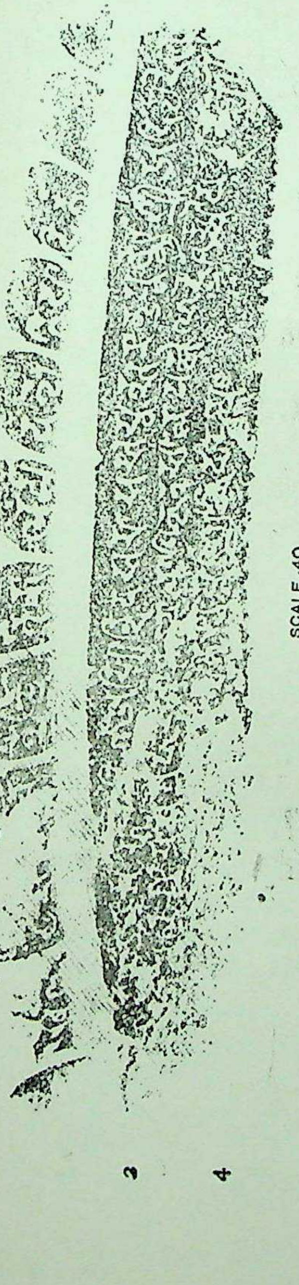
[6] Supply *tithau*.

[7] Read *śry-âditya.*

[8] The text here has the abbreviation *śu*, which represents *śuddha*, or *śukla*, in composition with *paksha* or *pakshê*; see page 92 above, note 1.

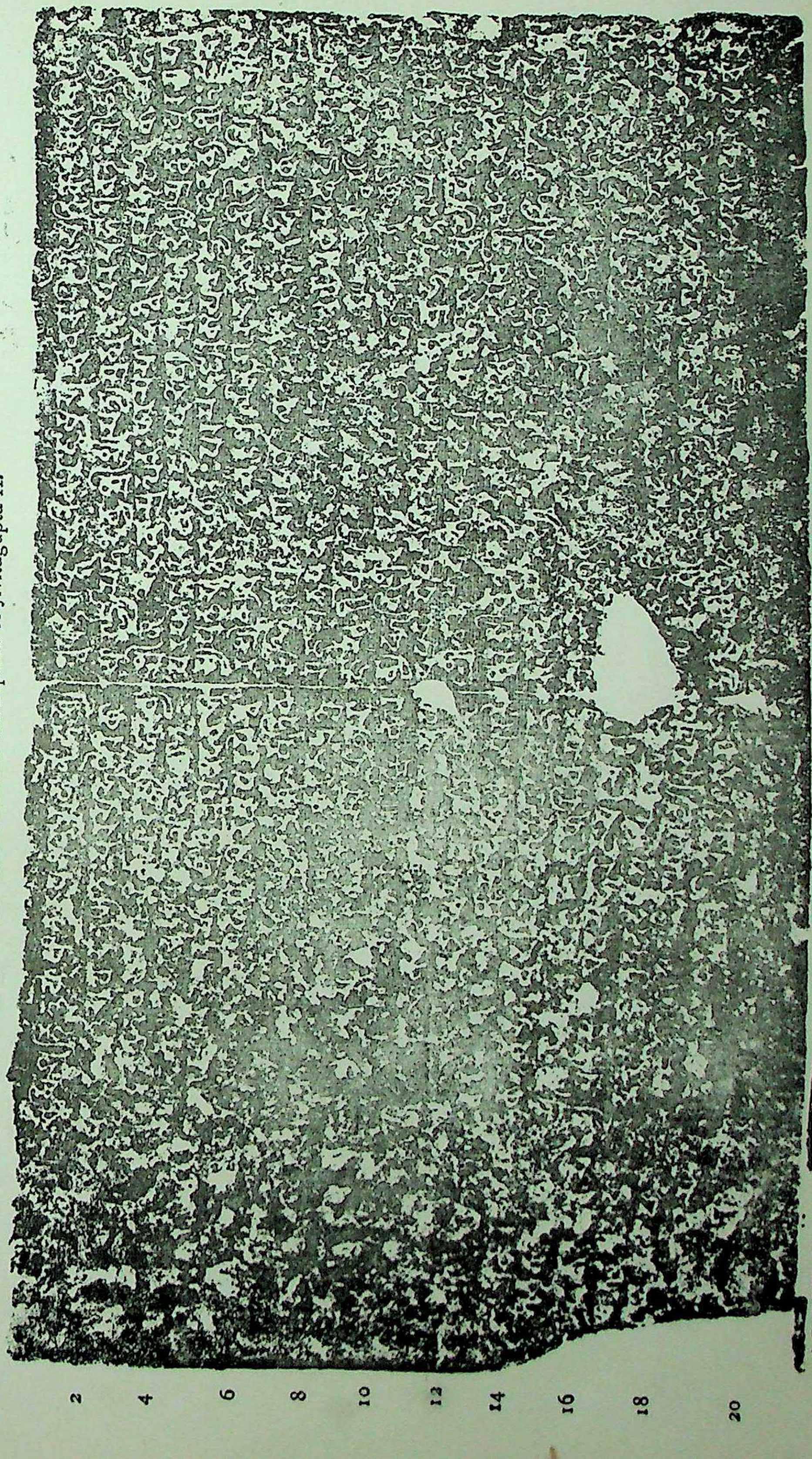
[9] See page 97 above, note 1.

A.—Shahpur Image Inscription of Adityasena.



SCALE .40

B.—Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivitagupta II.


2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20

SCALE .33

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

Nos. 44 and 45; (No PLATE.)

MANDAR HILL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ADITYASENA.

THESE two inscriptions were discovered by Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton), and were first brought to notice in his reports, from which Mr. Montgomery Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled *Eastern India*, where the inscriptions are mentioned in Vol. II. p. 58, with reduced lithographs (*id.* Plate iv. Nos. 3 and 4).—I cannot find that any fuller notice of them has ever been published.

Mandâr or **Mandâragiri**[1] is a famous hill about seven miles south-east of Bâṅkâ,[2] the chief town of the Bâṅkâ Sub-Division of the Bhâgalpur[3] District in the Bengal Presidency. When I was on tour in the north of India, I could not succeed in acquiring any accurate information as to the position of the inscriptions, and was thus unable to obtain impressions and publish lithographs of them. But Dr. Buchanan's facsimiles, though not good enough to reproduce, are intelligible throughout, with the exception of the three letters immediately following the name of **Âdityasênadêva.** And quite recently Mr. Beglar has sent me a rubbing and a hand-copy of No. 44, which, though not suitable for lithography, fully endorse Dr. Buchanan's rendering of this record, and enable me also to read with certainty some of the letters that are doubtful in his lithograph. From Mr. Beglar's remarks, I learn that this inscription, No. 44, is on the rock to the right of the steps rising from a corner of the lower tank, now called Pâpahariṇî, and at the base of a flight leading to the upper tank. The position of the other inscription, No. 45, seems to be not now known at all.

The two inscriptions are identical in substance; but are arranged, one in two lines, and the other in four. The **writing** of No. 44 covers a space of about 6′ 2″ broad by 2′ 11″ high; and is in a state of fairly good preservation; but the surface of the rock seems to be so rough that it is doubtful whether an ink-impression could be obtained, sufficiently good for lithography.—The average **size** of the letters is about 5″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kuṭila type as those of the Aphsad inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 42 above, Plate xxviii. page 200.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscriptions are in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscriptions** refer themselves to the time of **Adityasêna,** of the family of the **Guptas of Magadha.** They are not dated. But the paramount titles of *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja* applied here to Âdityasêna, shew that they belong to the period of confusion and anarchy that attended the death of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, when Âdityasêna established the independence of his family in Magadha; and that they are slightly later than his Aphsaḍ and Shâhpur inscriptions, in the latter of which,—as it is in prose,—the paramount titles would certainly have been introduced, if he had assumed them by that date. They are non-sectarian; the record being simply that Âdityasêna's wife, **Kôṇadêvî,** caused a tank to be made.

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[1] The 'Mandar, Mandargiri, Mundar Hill, and Mundar H. Temple,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 24° 50′ N.; Long. 87° 4′ E.

[2] The 'Banka' of maps.

The 'Bhagalpur and 'Bhaugulpoor' of maps, &c.

TEXT.[1]

No. 44.

1 Ôm Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mah[â]r[â]jâdh[i]r[â]ja-
2 śrî-**Aditya**[2]**sênadêva**-dayit[â] parama-
3 bhaṭṭârik[â]-r[â]j[ñ]î-mah[â]d[ê]v[î]-śrî-**[Kô]ṇad[ê]v[î]**
4 pushkariṇî-kîrttim=im[â]ṅ=k[â]r[i]tava[tî] [II*]

No. 45.

1 Ôm Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mah[â]r[â]j[â]dhirâja-śrî-**Âd[i]tya**[3]**sênadêva**-day[i]tâ
2 paramabhaṭṭârik[â]-r[â]jñî-mahâd[ê]vî-śrî-**K[ô]ṇad[ê]vî** pu[shkariṇî-kîrt]t[i]m=im[â]ṅ=kâritavatî [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! The *Paramabhaṭṭârikâ*,[4] the queen,[5] the *Mahâdêvî*, the glorious **Kôṇadêvî**,—the dear wife of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Aditya-sênadêva**,—caused to be made this famous work[6] of a tank.

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[1] From Mr. Beglar's rubbing of No. 44, and Dr. Buchanan's published lithograph of No. 45.

[2] Read *śry-âditya.*

[3] Here, again, read *śry-âditya.*

[4] *Paramabhaṭṭârikâ, lit.* 'she who is supremely entitled to respect or veneration,' is the feminine of *paramabhaṭṭâraka* (see page 17 above, note 3), and was one of the customary technical titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns.

[5] *râjñî*; also in line 2 ff. of the following Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II.—The word is only the feminine form of *râjan*; but it does not seem to have been so exclusively and technically used as a subordinate feudatory title, in the way in which *râjan* was used. In the present day also *Râṇî*, which is the Prâkṛit form of *râjñî*, is the proper title of a wife of a *Râjâ*: but is also used, equally with *Mahârâṇî*, as a title of the Queen-Empress of England and India.

[6] *kîrtti.*—Mr. K. T. Telang (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 36, note 13) first brought to notice, on the authority of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, that in certain connections *kîrtana* has the meaning of 'a temple;' *e.g.* in line 18 of the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of Anantadêva, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 1016 (*id.* p. 34), which he was then editing.—This was supported by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 228 f.); who, in pointing out the error into which, from not being aware of this meaning of the word, I had fallen in translating the passage in lines 14 f. of the Barôda grant of Kakka II., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 734 (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 159), was able to quote three passages from the *Agni-Purâṇa* (in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Vol. I. p. 111), Bâṇa's *Kâdambarî*, and Sômêśvara's *Kîrttikaumudî*, in which the word evidently has the same meaning.—And to these instances I have since been able to add the 'Dudahi' inscriptions of Dêvalabdhi (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 289), and the Udayagiri inscription, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1093 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 185).—On the analogy of these authorities, there is every reason for allotting the same meaning, when required, to *kîrtti*, which is a derivative from the same root. Dr. Bhandarkar has, however, recently suggested to me that *kîrtti* and *kîrtana* are hardly to be actually translated by the word 'temple,' or by any other specific term; but denote generally 'any work, of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it.' This is in accordance with the etymology of the words, from the root *kṛît*, 'to mention, commemorate, praise.' And the particular work referred to may be a temple, as in the instances quoted above; or a tank, as in the present inscriptions; or anything else of a suitable nature.

Another passage in which *kîrtti* has the same meaning, though we have no information now as to the specific nature of the work referred to, is in line 4 f. of an inscription on the right-hand side pier in the porch of the temple of Vaidyanâtha at 'Deoghar' in the 'Santâl' Parganâs in the Bengal Presidency, edited by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LII. Part I

No. 46; PLATE XXIX B.

DEO-BARANARK INSCRIPTION OF JIVITAGUPTA II.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1880-81 by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1883, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. pp. 68 and 73 ff., where he published a reading of the text, and a partial translation of it, supplied to him by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, with a lithograph (*id.* Plates xxv. and xxvi.) from a photograph by his Assistant, Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

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p. 190 f., No. 3. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and, therefore, as pointed out by Dr. R. Mitra, it does not belong properly to the temple of Vaidyanâtha, which is a Śaiva shrine; and, from the concluding words, it seems to have been brought away from some building on the Mandâr Hill. I had no opportunity of obtaining a proper impression of the inscription. But the one in the Society's library suffices to shew that Dr. R. Mitra's version of the text, which I now give, with my own translation of it, is correct:—

TEXT.

1 Śâstâ samudr-ânta-vasundharâyâḥ yashṭ=âśvamêdh-âdya-mahâ-
kratûnâm | Âdityasênaḥ prathita-prabhâ-
2 vô babhûva râj=âmara-tulya-têjâḥ || Mâghyâṁ Viśâkhâ-pada-
saṁyutâyâṁ Kṛitê yugê Chôla-purâd=a-
3 pêtya mahâ-maṇînâm=ayuta-trayêṇa trilaksha-châmîkara-ṭaṅkakêna ||
Ishṭv=âśvamêdha-trita-
4 yêna dattvâ tulâ-sahasraṁ haya-kôṭi-yuktam | śrî-Kôshadêvyâ
sahitô mahishyâ achîkarat=kî-
5 rttim=imâṁ sa sarvvâṁ || Kṛitvâ pratishṭhâṁ vidhi-vad=
dvijêndraiḥ svayaṁ yathâ vêda-pathaṁ narêndraḥ |
kalyâṇa-hê-
6 tôr=bhuvana-trayasya chakâra saṁsthâṁ Nṛiharêḥ sa êva ||
Sthâpitô Balabhadrêṇa varâhô bhukti-mukti-
7 daḥ | svarg-ârthê pitṛi-mâtṛîṇâṁ jagataḥ sukha-hêtavê || Iti
Mandâragiri-prakaraṇam ||

TRANSLATION.

There was a king, Âdityasêna, of renowned prowess, equal in glory to the gods; the ruler of the (*whole*) earth up to the shores of the oceans; the performer of the *aśvamêdha* and other great sacrifices. On the full-moon day of (the month) Mâgha, coupled with the sign of (the lunar asterism) Viśâkhâ, in the Kṛita age,—having arrived from the Chôla city,—having sacrificed with three *aśvamêdha*-sacrifices, (*and*) having given away his own weight a thousand times over, together with a crore of horses,—he, with (*his*) consort, the glorious Kôshadêvî, caused to be made the whole of this famous work (*kîrtti*), with three myriads of large jewels (*and*) three lakhs of gold (*coins of the kind called*) *ṭaṅkakas*. Having consecrated (*it*) according to due rite (*through the ceremonies performed*) by Brâhmaṇs, just as if he, the king, himself (*was laying out*) the path of the Vêdas, he made an establishment of (the god) Nṛihari, who is the cause of the prosperity of the three worlds. A boar (*i.e.* the god Vishṇu in that form), the giver of enjoyment and final emancipation, has been set up by Balabhadra, in order that (*his*) parents may attain heaven, (*and*) for the happiness of the (*whole*) world. Thus runs the chapter on the Mandâragiri.

Dêô-Baraṇârk,[1] or **Dêva-Baraṇârk,** the ancient **Vâruṇikâ** of this inscription, is a village about twenty-five miles south-west of Arrah (properly Ârâ), the chief town of the Shâhâbâd District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on two contiguous faces of a pillar in the entrance-hall of a temple on the west side of the village,[2] which has apparently been adapted in modern times as a tempie of the god Vishṇu.[3]

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 2′ $3\frac{1}{2}$″ broad by 1′ 4″ high, has suffered a great deal of injury from the weather, especially down the proper right side, where many passages are hopelessly illegible; but fortunately the whole of the genealogy of the Guptas of Magadha given in this inscription is intact, with the exception of the first three syllables of the name of Mâdhavagupta, in line 2, which can easily be supplied. In lines 7 ff., however, there was a good deal of historical information that is not now quite perfect.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{7}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost the same Kuṭila type as those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 43 above, Plate xxviii.; but they do not shew the bent tails of the letters quite so markedly.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In style, it follows the customary form of a copper-plate charter; not of a stone-inscription.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of *sh*, instead of the *jihvâmûlîya* or the *visarga*, in *antashpâti*, line 7; (2) the use of the dental *n*, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *s*, in *hansa*, line 14; (3) the doubling throughout of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; *e.g.* in *ttraya*, line 1; *puttra*, line 5; and *mittra*, line 16; and (4) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vâlâditya*, line 13.

The **inscription** is one of **Jîvitagupta II.,** of the family of the **Guptas of Magadha;** and the charter recorded in it is issued from the fort of **Gômatikoṭṭaka.** It is not dated.[4] It is an inscription of solar worship;[5] its object being to record the continuance of the grant of a village, either **Vâruṇikâ** or **Kiśôravâṭaka,** to the Sun, under the title of Varuṇavâsin, a name which is of some interest, as apparently preserving the ancient belief, in accordance with which *varuṇa*, *lit.* 'that which envelopes,' meant 'the all-encompassing sky, before it became the name of the ocean-god Varuṇa, who himself was ori-

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The characters, called Maithila by Dr. R. Mitra, shew that this inscription is quite modern, —certainly not earlier than the sixteenth century A.D.; and it must have been engraved when the boar-statue of Vishṇu, spoken of in line 6, was set up by Balabhadra. I have thought it worth while, however, to give the record in full, because, in my opinion, it so plainly contains a memorial of the great Âdityasêna of Magadha. The antiquity of the allusion is indicated by its being referred to the Kṛita age. And though the name of Âdityasêna's wife is here given as Kôshadêvî, instead of Kôṇadêvî, this is to be explained by the usual inability of the people, then as now, to read correctly the ancient characters of the inscription or other record from which the composer of these verses obtained his information; and it is a mistake of the kind that corroborates, not invalidates, the identification of Âdityasêna.

[1] The 'Deo-Barnârak, Deo-Barnârâk, Deo-Barunârak, and Deonar Narooh,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 15′ N.; Long. 84° 31′ E.

[2] See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. Plates xxii. xxiii. and xxiv.

[3] *id.* p. 69.

[4] Gen. Cunningham read in it the date of 152, which he referred to the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. But this arose only from a misunderstanding of the words *sa-daśáparâdha-pañcha*, in line 19.

[5] It appears that two special festivals in honour of the sun still take place at Dêô-Baraṇârk, on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of the months Chaitra and Kârttika (see *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. p. 72).

ginally looked upon as one of the twelve Âdityas, or forms of the sun, the offspring of Aditi.[1]

The importance of this inscription consists, first, in its continuation, for three more generations, of the genealogy of the **Guptas of Magadha,** including the name of **Dêvagupta,** which, as will be seen hereafter, gives the clue to the date of the Vâkâṭaka *Mahârâjas*; and secondly, in its recording the names of certain previous kings, who each in succession had confirmed the grant. The names that are now legible are those of **Bâlâditya,** who, as is known from the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, played so important a part in connection with Mihirakula; **Śarvavarman,** who is evidently the Maukhari king Śarvavarman, whose copper-seal we have in No. 47 below, Plate xxxA.; and **Avantivarman,** who is probably the Maukhari Avantivarman, mentioned in Bâṇa's *Harshacharita* as the father of Grahavarman who became the husband of Râjyaśrî, the sister of Harshavardhana of Kanauj.[2]

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, **Gômatikoṭṭaka,** the fort whence the charter was issued, must evidently be looked for somewhere along the river Gômatî, the modern Gômti or Gumti, which, rising in the Shâhjahânpur District of the North-West Provinces, passes Lucknow and Jaunpur, and flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Ghâzîpur, and about eighty-five miles to the west of Dêô-Baraṇârk. And **Vâruṇikâ** is plainly the modern **Dêô-Baraṇârk** itself. In the modern name, the first component is *dêva*, 'a god;' and the second, a corruption of Varuṇârka, evidently gives the name of a later conception of the original god, embodying the attributes of the Sun (*arka*) with those of Varuṇa.

TEXT.[3]

1 . . . .[4] [na]maḥ [II*] Svasti Śakti-ttray-ôpâtta-jayaśabdân=mahâ-nauhâ(ha)sty-aśva-patti-sambhâra-durnivârâj=jaya-skandhâvârât **Gômatikoṭṭaka**-samîpa-vâsa-

2 [kât] . . . . . .[5] [śrî-**Mâdhava]guptas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ paramabhaṭṭârikâyâṁ râjñyâṁ mahâdêvyâṁ śrî-**Śrîmatyâm**=utpannaḥ paramabhâgavataḥ śrî-**Âditya**[6][**sê**]-

3 [**nadêvas**=tasya] pu[ttra]s=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ paramabhaṭṭârikâyâṁ râjñyâṁ mahâdêvyâṁ śrî-**Kôṇad[ê*]vyâm**=utpannaḥ paramamâhêśvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahâr[â]j[â]-

4 [dhirâja-paramêśvara]-śrî-**D[ê]vaguptad[ê]vas**[7]=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânu-

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[1] See, for instance, Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, pp. 12 f. and 68; and Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I. p. 27, note 42.

[2] See FitzEdward Hall's preface to the *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 52; and the *Harshacharita*, Kaśmîr edition, p. 311 ff.

[3] From the ink-impression.

[4] Bhagwanlal Indraji supplied *varuṇavâsi-bhaṭṭârakâya* here. But only about five *aksharas*, or at the most six, appear to have been destroyed.

[5] Some sectarian title of Mâdhavagupta must have been destroyed here; but there seems hardly room enough for *paramabhâgavata* or *paramamâhêśvara*.

[6] Read *śry-âditya*.

[7] This name of Dêvaguptadêva,—which is of considerable importance, from its bearing on the date of the Vâkâṭaka *Mahârâjas*,—is very indistinct; but I agree with Bhagwanlal Indraji that it can be read with sufficient certainty.

dhyâtaḥ paramabhaṭṭârikârikâyâ[ṁ*] râjñyâ[ṁ*] mahâdêvyâ[ṁ*] śrî-**Kamala**[1]**dêvyâm**=utpannaḥ paramamâhê-

5 [śvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka-ma]hârâjâ[dhi]râja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Vishṇuguptadêvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ paramabhaṭṭârikâyâ[ṁ*] râjñyâ[ṁ*] mahâdêvyâ[ṁ*] śrî-**Ijjâ**[2]**dê[vyâ]**-

6 **[m**=utpannaḥ parama ....[3]-parama]bhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Jîvita**[4]**guptadêva[ḥ*]** kuśalî **Nagara**-bh[u*]ktau **Vâlavî**-vaishayika-śrî-**Vâ(?vô)** ..

7 .... padra(?)lik(?ksh)-ântashpâti-**V[â*]runiká**-grama-gôshṭh[â]na(?)kula-talâvâṭaka-dûta-sîmakarmakara-madyâ(?)-

8 .... taka-râjaputtra-râjâmattra[5]-maha .... kshatika-mahâdaṇḍanâyaka-mahâpratîhâra-mah[â]sâ-

9 .... pra(?)mâtasâ ..... k[u]m[â]râmâtya-râjasthânîy-ôparika- .... dhika-chaurôddharaṇika-dâṇḍika-da(?dâ)ṇḍa-

10 [pâśika(?)] .... ka .... rshṇi(?)vala-vyâyata-**Kiśô(?)ravâ(?)ṭa(?)ka(?)**-g[r]âma-h .... d . t ... yaṇikaga .... pati-karma(?)-

11 ....rasaka ....t-âsmat-[p]âda-prasâd-ôpajîvinaś=cha prativ[â]sinaś=cha vrâ(bra)hmaṇ-ôttarâ[n*] mahattara-ka(?ku)kshi(?)pura-

12 ....vijñâpita-śrî-Varuṇavâsi-bhaṭṭâraka-prativa(ba)ddha-bhôjaka-Sûryamittrêṇa upari-likhi-

13 [ta] .... grâm-âdi-saṁyutaṁ paramêśvara-śrî-**Vâ(bâ)lâdityadêvêna** sva-śâsanêna bhagava-śrî[6]-Varuṇavâsi-bhaṭṭâraka ..

14 .... ka .... va-parivâ(?)haka ...... bhôjaka-Hansa-mittrasya samâpat[t*]yâ yathâkâl-âdhyâsibhiś=cha êvaṁ paramêśvara-

15 śrî-**Śarvvavarmma** .... bhôjaka-Rishi[7]mittra ...... yatakaṁ êvaṁ paramêśvara-śrî[ma*]d-**Avantivarmmaṇâ** pûrvva-dattakam=avala-

16 [mbya] .... êvaṁ mah[â*]râ[jâdhirâ*]ja-paramêśvara- .... śâsana-dânêna bhôjaka-Durddha(?)ra(?)mittrasy=ânumô-

17 [dita] .... tê(?)na(?) bhu(?)jyatê(?) [I*] tad=aham kimapi(?) .... êvaṁ .... matimân .... ânupâ(mô)ditam=iti sa(?)rvva(?)-samâjñâpa(?)nâ(?) [I*] êtâ ..

18 ....payu .... Varuṇavâsy-âyatanaṁ tad=anu dattam ....

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[1] Bhagwanlal Indraji read *kumâra*; but the three *aksharas* are distinctly *kamala*.

[2] Read *sr-îjjâ*.

[3] Either *bhâgavata* or *mâhêśvara* is illegible here.

[4] Bhagwanlal Indraji read *savitri*; but the three *aksharas* are distinctly *jîvita*, as, in fact, was recognised by Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. pp. viii., 68).

[5] Read *râjâmâtya*.

[6] Read *bhagavach-chhrî*.

[7] Read *bhôjaka-ṛishi*; or, according to the more usual custom, *bhôjak-arshi*.—In the case of a final *a*, followed by an initial *ṛi*, it is usual to join the vowels in regular *saṁdhi*. But Dr. Hultzsch has drawn my attention to the fact that the commentary on Pâṇini, vi. 1, 128, *ṛity=akaḥ*, states that the *saṁdhi* here is in accordance with the opinion of Śâkalya, and thus seems to intimate that, according to other grammarians, the *saṁdhi* is optional, and a hiatus is equally permissible.

19 .... ṭyaksha ....
s-ôdraṅgaṁ s-ôparikaraṁ sa-daśâparâdha-pañcha ..
20 .... [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to ....! Hail! From the victorious camp, possessed of shouts of victory acquired by the three constituents of power,[1] (*and*) invincible through (*its*) equipment of great ships and elephants and horses and foot-soldiers, (*and*) situated near the fort of **Gômatikoṭṭaka**:—

(Line 2.)—(*There was*) .... the illustrious **Mâdhavagupta.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the glorious **Adityasênadêva,**[2] begotten on the *Paramabhaṭṭârikâ*, the queen,[3] the *Mahâdêvî*, the glorious **Śrîmatîdêvî.**

(L. 3.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and [*Paramêśvara*], the glorious **Dêvaguptadêva,**[4] begotten on the *Paramabhaṭṭârikâ*, the queen, the *Mahâdêvî*, the glorious **Kôṇadêvî.**

(L. 4.)—His son. who meditated on his feet, was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the [*Paramabhaṭṭâraka*], *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Vishṇuguptadêva,** begotten on the *Paramabhaṭṭârikâ*, the queen, the *Mahâdêvî*, the glorious **Kamaladêvî.**[5]

(L. 5.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the most devout worshipper of ...., the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdkirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Jîvitaguptadêva**[6] **(II.)**,—[begotten] on the *Paramabhaṭṭârikâ*, the queen, the *Mahâdêvî*, the glorious **Ijjâdêvî,**[7]—being in good health, [issues a command] to the herdsmen, *Talâvâṭakas*,[8] messengers,[9] makers of boundaries,[10] ....

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[1] *śakti-traya.*—The three *śaktis*, or 'constituents of regal power,' are *prabhutva*, 'majesty;' *mantra*, 'good counsel;' and *utsâha*, 'energy.'

[2] The omission, in the case of Âdityasêna, of the paramount titles,—which are duly attached to his name in the Mandâr Hill inscriptions, Nos. 44 and 45 above, page 211, and to the names of his mother and wife, and all his successors, in the present inscription,—is rather peculiar.

[3] *râjñî*; see page 212 above, note 5.

[4] See page 215 above, note 7.

[5] See page 216 above, note 1.

[6] See page 216 above, note 4.

[7] This is a Prâkṛit name, in which *ijjâ* represents the Sanskrit *ijyâ*, 'a sacrifice.'—We have had another Prâkṛit name of a female, in Ajjhitadêvî; *e.g.* in line 5 of the Kârîtalâî grant of the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117.

[8] *Talâvâṭaka* is an official title, the etymology and meaning of which are not apparent.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his treatment of this inscription, read the word with the short vowel *a* in the second syllable, and explained it as meaning the modern *Taḷâṭî* or *Taḷâṭhî*, 'the village accountant; but of course some authority requires to be cited, before this explanation can be accepted.

[9] *Dûta*; the word seems to denote here simply ordinary message-carriers or postmen; not the special officers called *Dûtakas*, employed in connection with copper-plate charters (see page 100 above, note 3).

[10] *Sîmakarmakara.*

.... *Râjaputras*,[1] *Râjâmâtyas*, ... *Mahâdaṇḍanâyakas*, *Mahâpratîhâras*,[2] .... *Kumârâmâtyas*, *Râjasthânîyas*, *Uparikas*, ... *Chaurôddharaṇikas*,[3] *Dâṇḍikas*,[4] *Daṇḍapâśikas*, ... of the village of **Vâruṇikâ**, which lies in the .. .. in the **Nagara** *bhukti*,[5] (*and*) .... belonging to the **Vâlavî** *vishaya*, (*and*) to .... the village of **Kiśôravâṭaka** (?), which was laid out by ...., ... and to those who subsist on the favour of Our feet, and to the neighbours, headed by the Brâhmaṇs, (*and*) to the *Mahattaras*, ...

(L. 12.)—By the *Bhôjaka*[6] Sûryamitra, belonging to (*the establishment of*) the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varuṇavâsin, who was requested .... the above-mentioned [village] .... together with ....and the village, &c., was formerly bestowed by the *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Bâlâdityadêva**, by (*his*) own charter, ... the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varuṇavâsin, ... by restoration to the *Bhôjaka* Haṁsamitra, and by those who presided at different times, *viz.* the *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Śarvavarman** .... [to] the *Bhôjaka* Ṛishimitra .... by the *Paramêśvara* **Avantivarman.** In accordance with this practice[7] .... assent to its enjoyment by the *Bhôjaka* Durdharamitra was giaen, by the grant of a charter, by the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara* ....; and it is now enjoyed by him.

(L. 17.)—"Therefore I [now announce] that it is assented to ....; such is (*my*) command to all people. .... the altar of (the god) Varuṇavâsin; after that, there is given .... with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, with (*the proceeds of fines for*) the ten offences, the five ....

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[1] *Râjaputra* means literally 'a king's son, a prince;' but, as used in such passages as the present, it evidently has some technical official meaning, differing from this. In the modern Prâkṛits we have, in Marâṭhî, *râut* or *râût*, and in Gujarâtî, *râwat*, in the sense of 'a horse-soldier, a trooper.' And these words would seem to be derived from *râjaputra*, and so to indicate its technical meaning; rather than, as given by Molesworth and Candy in their Marâṭhî Dictionary, from *râva-dûta*, 'a king's messenger.'

[2] *Mahâpratîhâra*, *lit.* 'a great door-keeper,' was the technical title of the officer next in grade above the *Pratîhâras* (see page 190 above, note 1).

[3] *Chaurôddharaṇika*, *lit.* 'one who is entrusted with the extermination of thieves,' is evidently the technical title of a certain class of police officers.

[4] *Dâṇḍika*, *lit.* 'a chastiser, a punisher,' may denote either a judicial functionary, from *daṇḍa* in the sense of 'a fine;' or a police officer, from the same word in the sense of 'a rod (of punishment).'

[5] *bhukti*, *lit.* 'enjoyment,' is a technical term.—From the arrangement of the text here, as also from the mention of "the village of Pânîyaka, in the Śrâvastî *bhukti*, and belonging to the Vâlayikâ *vishaya* which lay in the Śrâvastî *maṇḍala*," in the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant of the *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 112, line 7 f.), and the mention of "the village of Ṭikkarikâ, in the Pratishṭhâna *bhukti*, and attached to the Kâśîpâra *pathaka* which belonged to the Vârâṇasî *vishaya*," in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahârâja* Vinâyakapâla (*id.* Vol. XV p. 141, line 9 f.), the term *bhukti* seems to have denoted a larger extent of territory than a *vishaya*.

[6] *Bhôjaka* is explained by Monier Williams, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, as denoting 'a class of priests, or sun-worshippers, supposed to be descended from the Magas by intermarriage with women of the Bhôja race.'—Childers, in his Pâli Dictionary, gives the same word as meaning 'a village-headman.'

[7] The construction of the original is *Bâlâdityadêvêna* .... *pûrva-dattakam=avalambya*, "having relied on (*i.e.* having adapted himself to) the former grant that was made by Bâlâdityadêva (and the others mentioned)." I have broken up the construction for convenience of translation.

No. 47; PLATE XXX A.

ASIRGADH COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF SARVAVARMAN.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice, through two independent channels, in 1836. In the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 482 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published the Rev. W. H. Mill's reading of the text, and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxvi.) reduced from a drawing, forwarded to him by Dr. J. Swiney, which had been made in 1805 from a wax-impression of the original seal, and had been in the possession of Dr. Mellish from then; the lithograph is a fairly good one; but the rendering of the inscription was erroneous almost throughout. And in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* F. S. Vol. III. p. 377 ff., Professor H. H Wilson published Sir Charles Wilkins' reading of the text and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, apparently full-size, prepared from an impression which was found in 1805 or 1806 by Captain Colebrooke at Aśîrgaḍh, in a box containing property of the Mahârâjâ Scindia, and was forwarded by him to Sir Charles Wilkins.

Aśîrgaḍh[1] is a hill-fort, which formerly belonged to Scindia, about eleven miles to the north-east of Burhânpur,[2] the chief town of the Burhânpur Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Nimâḍ[3] District in the Central Provinces. As is shewn by the Sônpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxiiB., and the seal attached to the spurious Gayâ plate of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii., the original of the inscription is evidently the seal, presumably of copper, of a copper-plate grant. The grant itself appears never to have been found. As regards the seal, it is not quite clear from the published accounts whether the original was ever found, or only impressions of it. But, at any rate, I have not been able to find out what became either of the seal, or of the impressions of it. My lithograph is a full-size reproduction of the lithograph published with Professor H. H. Wilson's paper.

In the absence of the original **seal** and impressions, I am unable to give any details as to its measurements, weight, state of preservation, &c. But, if the original lithograph is full-size, it represents a seal, roughly oval in shape, measuring about $4\frac{3}{4}''$ by $5\frac{11}{16}''$. The upper part is occupied by emblems, which are—in the centre, a bull, walking to the proper right, decorated with a garland; beyond it, or perhaps attached to its off-side, there is an umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers; on the proper right side, in front of the bull, there is a man, walking, who carries in his right hand a curved double axe on a short transverse handle, and in his left hand, either a standard, with a wheel or sun-emblem on the top of it, or perhaps an *abdâgîr* or 'sunshade;' and on the proper left, behind the bull, there follows another man, who carries in his left hand an ordinary long-handled double axe, and in his right either a *chauri*-brush or a stick, with which he is driving the bullock.—The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, though rather florid, especially in respect of the representation of the superscript vowels, they are of a perceptibly older type than those of the inscriptions of the Guptas of

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[1] The 'Asirgarh and Asseer Gurh' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 21° 28′ N.; Long. 76° 20′ E.

[2] The 'Burhanpur and Boorhanpoor' of maps, &c.

[3] The 'Nimár' of maps, &c.

Magadha, Nos. 42, 43, and 46, Plates xxviii. and xxixA. and B.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmânîya*, in *utpannaḫ=parama*, line 7; (2) the doubling throughout of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; *e.g.* in *atikkrânta*, line 1, and *puttra*, line 3; and (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, lines 3, 4, 5, and 6.

The **seal** is one of the **Maukhari** king **Śarvavarman,** whose approximate date is fixed very closely by the mention of his father Îśânavarman, as the contemporary of Kumâragupta of Magadha, in line 7 of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 42 above, page 200. The mere finding of the inscription at Aśîrgaḍh of course does not suffice in any way to connect the members of this family of Maukharis with that locality. Their territory probably lay some hundreds of miles more to the east. Its real position, however, is a point that, with the definite date of Śarvavarman, can only be cleared up by the discovery, if it is still in existence, of the plate itself, to which the seal belongs.

TEXT.[1]

1 Chatus-samudr-âtikkrânta-kîrttiḥ pratâp-ânurâg-ôpanat-ânya-râjâ(jô)[2] varṇṇ-âśrama-vyavasthâ-

2 pana-pravṛitta-chakkraś=Chakkradhara iva prajânâm=artti-hara[ḥ*] śri(śrî)-mahârâja-**Harivarmmâ** [II*] Tasya

3 puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhy[â*]tô **Jayasvâminî**-bhaṭṭârikâ-dêvy[â*]m=utpannaḥ śrî-mahârâj-**Âdityava-**

4 **rmmâ** [II*] Tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô **Harshaguptâ**-bhaṭṭârikâ-dêvyâm=utpannaḥ śrî-mah[â*]râ-

5 j-**Êśvaravarmmâ** [II*] Tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâta **Upaguptâ**[3]-bhaṭṭârikâ-dêvyâm=utpannô

6 mah[â*]râjâdhirâja-śri(śrî)-**Îśâna**[4]**varmmâ** [II*] Tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô **La(?)ksh[m]îva-**

7 **[t]î**[5]-bhaṭṭârikâ-mah[â*]dêvyâm=utpannaḫ=paramamâhêśvarâ(rô) ma-

8 hârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Śarvvavarmmâ** **Maukhariḥ** [II*]

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[1] From the lithograph published with Sir Charles Wilkins and Prof. Wilson's paper; so also the present lithograph.

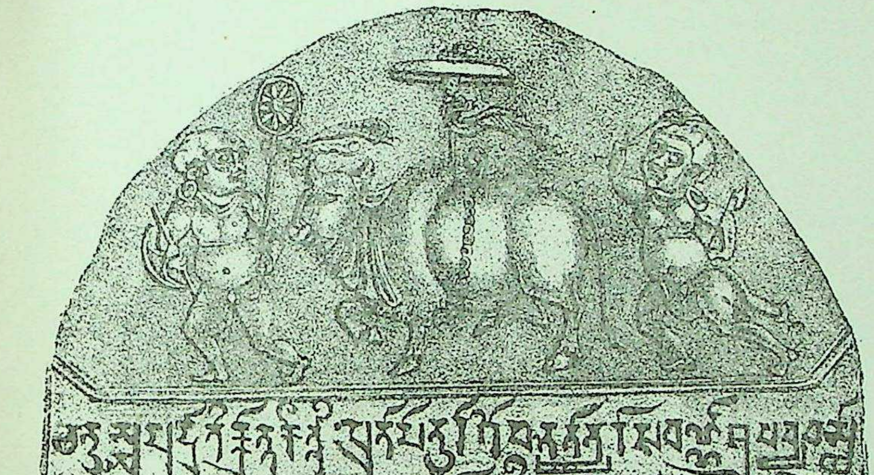
[2] In the absence of the original seal, which possibly was not properly cleaned before it was copied, I can only treat this, and a few other instances, as mistakes of the original, though they may be only defects in the lithograph.

[3] Sir Charles Wilkins read *umâguptâ.* As regards the second syllable, *m* and *p* are very much alike in the lithograph. But the letter here seems to be *p*, rather than *m*; and there is certainly no *â* over it.—In support of my reading, the name Upaguptâ occurs in the masculine form, Upagupta, as the name of the fourth or fifth Buddhist Patriarch (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. pp. 149, 315; *Buddh Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 182, and Vol. II. pp. 88. 93, 273).

[4] Read *śr-îśâna.*

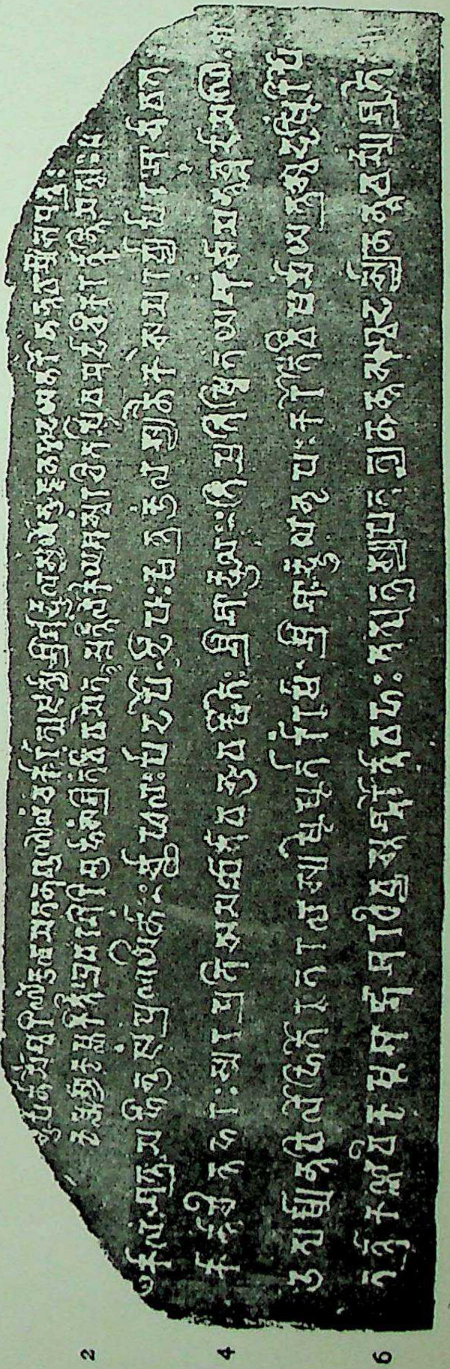
[5] Sir Charles Wilkins read *harshiṇî*; but there are four *aksharas* to be accounted for, not three. The first *akshara* is very doubtful; the second is certainly not *rshi*, but seems to be *ksh[m]î*, rather imperfectly copied; the third is *va*; in the fourth, the superscript *î* is distinctly visible, and the consonant, which is almost entirely illegible, naturally suggests itself as *t*.

A.—Asirgadh Seal of Sarvavarman.



FULL SIZE

B.—Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman.



SCALE .17

TRANSLATION.

(*There was*) the illustrious *Mahârâja* **Harivarman,** whose fame stretched out beyond the four oceans; who had other kings brought into subjection by (*his*) prowess and by affection (*for him*); who was like (the god) Chakradhara, in employing (*his*) sovereignty[1] for regulating the different castes and stages of religious life; (*and*) who was the remover of the afflictions of (*his*) subjects. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the illustrious *Mahârâja* **Âdityavarman,** begotten on the *Bhaṭṭârikâ*[2] and *Dêvî*[3] **Jayasvâminî.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the illustrious *Mahârâja* **Îśvaravarman,** begotten on the *Bhaṭṭârikâ* and *Dêvî* **Harshaguptâ.** His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Îśânavarman,** begotten on the *Bhaṭṭârikâ* and *Dêvî* **Upaguptâ.**[4] His son, who meditates on his feet, (*is*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Śarvavarman,** the **Maukhari,** begotten on the *Bhaṭṭârikâ* and *Mahâdêvî* **Lakshmîvatî.**[5]

No. 48; PLATE XXX B.

BARABAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice, in 1790, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 167 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington.[6]—In 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 674 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxvi. Nos. 15, 16, and 17) reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Hathorne.—And in 1884, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 428, note 55, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has incidentally published his own reading of the text.

The **Barâbar Hill,** the ancient **Pravaragiri** of this inscription, stands about a mile and a half away on the north side of the village of **Panâri,**[7] which is about fourteen miles to the north by east of Gayâ,[8] the chief town of the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency In the south part of the hill there is a cave-temple, which it has become the custom to call the "Lômaśa Ṛishi Cave,"[9] and the original construction of which is allotted by

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[1] Typified by the *chakra*, or 'wheel (of his chariot).'—*chakra* means also the discus of Vishṇu, and hence the point of the comparison.

[2] *Bhaṭṭârikâ*, *lit.* 'she who is entitled to reverence or homage,' is the feminine form of *bhaṭṭâraka* (see page 17 above, note 1). It is used here as a technical title of a wife of a *Mahârâja*; but, in line 7 below, it occurs also as the title of a wife of a *Mahârâjâdhirâja*.

[3] *Dêvî*, *lit.* 'goddess,' is another technical title of a wife of a *Mahârâja*.

[4] See page 220 above, note 3.

[5] See page 220 above, note 5.

[6] See also the Calcutta reprint of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 128.

[7] The 'Punaree-Ferozpoor' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 24° 59′ N.; Long. 85° 7′ E. The hill itself is entered under the name of 'Baraber Hill,' and is a Trigonometrical Survey Station.

[8] The 'Gya of maps, &c.

[9] Marked C. in Gen. Cunningham's sketch given in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 40, Plate xviii.

General Cunningham to the Aśôka period, though the entrance-porch was enlarged and decorated with a sculptured façade at a later time, probably when the present inscription was engraved. The inscription is on a smooth polished surface of the granite rock, over the entrance to the cave.[1]

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 3′ $9\frac{1}{4}$″ broad by 1′ $3\frac{1}{2}$″ high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{5}{8}$″ to $1\frac{1}{8}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and exhibit very markedly the fully developed *mâtrâs*, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, that have already been noticed at pages 43 and 140 above.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word *ôm*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling throughout of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; *e.g.* in *puttra*, line 1, and *yattra*, line 5; and (2) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vabhûva*, line 4.

The **inscription** is one of a **Maukhari** chieftain named **Anantavarman**; but, from the way in which his father Śârdûla or Śârdûlavarman is mentioned in line 5, it seems to have been engraved while the latter was still alive. It is not dated. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by **Anantavarman,** of an image of the god Vishṇu, in his incarnation as Kṛishṇa.

The hill itself is mentioned in line 2, under the name of **Pravaragiri.** The word, of course, is capable of being taken simply as an epithet, to be rendered by "(this) excellent hill." But, on the analogy of the town of Pravarapura, which is mentioned in the first line of the Chammak grant of the *Mahârâja* Pravarasêna II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv., it seems to me to be clearly intended as the actual name of the hill. And we have possibly a reminiscence of it in the modern name Barâbar, for which, at any rate, General Cunningham's proposed etymology of *baṛâ âvara*, 'the great enclosure,'[2] does not suffice to account.

TEXT.[3]

1 Ôm[4] [II*] Bhûpânâ[ṁ*][5] **Maukharîṇâṁ** kulam=atanu-guṇô=laṁ-chakâr=âtma-
jâtyâ I[6] śrî-**Śârdûlasya** yô=bhûj=jana-hṛidaya-harô=**Nantavarmmâ**
su-puttraḥ [I*]

2 Kṛishṇasy=âkṛishṇa-kîrttiḥ **Pravaragiri-**guhâ-saṁśritaṁ viṁvam=êtat mûrtta[7]ṁ
lôkê yaśa[ḥ*] svaṁ rachitam=iva mud=âchîkarat=kântimat=saḥ II

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[1] Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 47) speaks of it as "two distinct inscriptions, the upper one, of two lines, being somewhat later in date than the lower one, of four lines, in rather larger characters." But the six lines are all one and the same inscription; and the rather smaller size of the letters in the first two lines is simply due to the lateral space available being less, in consequence of the turning over of the upper part of the façade, within the limits of which the inscription is engraved.

[2] *id.* p. 43.

[3] From the original stone.

[4] In the original, the symbol for this word, *ôm*, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

[5] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[6] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[7] The engraver first formed *rtti*, and then partially cancelled the *i*.

3 Kâlaḥ[1] śattru-mahîbhujâṁ praṇayinâṁ ichchhâ-phalaḥ pâdapô |[2] dîpaḥ
kshattra-kulasya naika-samara-vyâpâra-śôbhâvataḥ [|*]
4 kântâ-chitta-haraḥ Smara-pratisamaḥ pâtâ va(ba)bhûva kshitêḥ śrî-**Śârdûla**
iti pratishṭhita-yaśâ[ḥ*] sâmanta-chûḍâmaṇiḥ ||
5 Utpakshm-ântavilôhit-ôru-tarala-spashṭ-êshṭa-târâṁ rushâ |[3] śrî-**Śârdûla**-nṛipaḥ
karôti vishamâṁ yattra sva-dṛishṭiṁ ripô(pau) |
6 tattr=âkarṇṇa-vikṛishṭa-śârṅga-śaradhi-vyastaś=śarô=tt(nt)-âvahah tat-puttrasya
pataty=ananta-sukha-dasy=**Ânantavarmma**-śrutêḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! He, **Anantavarman,** who was the excellent son, captivating the hearts of mankind, of the illustrious **Sardûla,**[4] (*and*) who, possessed of very great virtues, adorned by his own (*high*) birth the family of the **Maukhari** kings,—he, of unsullied fame, with joy caused to be made, as if it were his own fame represented in bodily form in the world, this beautiful image, placed in (*this*) cave of the mountain **Pravaragiri,** of (the god) Kṛishṇa.

(Line 3.)—The illustrious **Śârdûla,** of firmly established fame, the best among chieftains,[5] became the ruler of the earth;—he who was a very Death to hostile kings; who was a tree, the fruits of which were the (*fulfilled*) wishes of (*his*) favourites; who was the torch of the family of the warrior caste, that is glorious through waging many battles; (*and*) who, charming the thoughts of lovely women, resembled (the god) Smara.

(L. 5.)—On whatsoever enemy the illustrious king **Śârdûla** casts in anger his scowling eye, the expanded and tremulous and clear and beloved pupil of which is red at the corners between the up-lifted brows,—on him there falls the death-dealing arrow, discharged from the bowstring[6] drawn up to (*his*) ear, of his son, the giver of endless pleasure, who has the name[7] of **Anantavarman.**

No. 49; PLATE XXXIA.

NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

THIS inscription, again, appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H Harington, and was first brought to notice, in 1790, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 168 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington.[8]—In 1847, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 401 ff., Major Markham Kittoe published a lithograph of it

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[1] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following verse.

[2] and [3] These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

[4] As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note 3.

[5] *Sâmanta*; see page 148 above, note 1. The use of the word here perhaps indicates the exact status of these Maukhari chiefs.

[6] *śaradhi*, *lit.* 'the arrow-holder,' is usually explained by 'quiver.' But here it plainly denotes the string of the bow.

[7] *lit.* 'the hearing, the sound.'

[8] See also the Calcutta reprint of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 129.

(*id.* Plate x.) reduced from a copy made apparently by himself, to accompany his "Notes on the Caves of Barabar."—And this was followed, in the same volume, p. 594 ff. by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's reading of the text, accompanied by a reprint of Sir Charles Wilkins' translation.

The **Nâgârjunî Hill,** which, in line 8 of the following inscription of the same chieftain, No. 50 below, is spoken of as (a part of) the Vindhya range, is about a mile away on the north side of the village of **Jâphra,**[1] which is about fifteen miles to the north by east of Gayâ, the chief town of the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency. It is the most eastern part of the group of hills that includes the Barâbar Hill, mentioned in connection with the preceding inscription, page 221 above. On the north side of the hill, there is a cave-temple, which is shewn to belong to the Aśôka period by an inscription, in four lines, of Dasalatha-Dêvânaṁpiya on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has been named the "Vadathi Cave."[2] The present inscription is on the smooth and polished surface of the granite rock, on the right hand in the entrance to the cave.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 4′ 2¾″ broad by 1′ 5¼″ high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The average **size** of the letters is about 1″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding inscription of the same chieftain, No. 48 above, Plate xxxB., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed *mâtrâs.*—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word *ôm*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra,* before *s*, in *ansa,* line 5; and (2) the customary doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *kshattra*, line 1, and *nêttra*, line 2.

The **inscription** is another record of the **Maukhari** chieftain **Anantavarman.** It is not dated. It is a Śaiva inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by **Anantavarman,** of an image representing Śiva, in the form of Bhûtapati or "the lord of beings," and his wife Pârvatî, under the name of Dêvî. The image was probably of the kind called Ardhanârîśvara, combining Śiva and Pârvatî in one body; the right half being the male god, and the left the female.

TEXT.[3]

1 Ôm[4] [II*] Âsît[5]=sarvva-mahîkshitâm=Anur[6]=iva kshattra-sthitêr=ddêśikaḥ
śrîmân=matta-gajêndra-khêla-gamanaḥ śrî-**Yajñavarmmâ** nṛipaḥ [I*]
2 yasy=âhûta-sahasranêttra-viraha-kshâmâ sad=aiv=âdhvaraiḥ Paulômî chiram=
aśru-pâta-malinâṁ dhâ(dha)ttê kapôla-śriyaṁ II

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[1] The 'Kootbunpoor-Jafra' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 0′ N.; Long. 85° 8′ E.—The name of the hill is not shewn in the map.

[2] Marked G. in Gen. Cunningham's sketch given in the *Archæol. Surv.. Ind.* Vol I. p. 40 Pl. xviii.

[3] From the original stone.

[4] In the original, the symbol for this word, *ôm*, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

[5] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following verse.

[6] Sir Charles Wilkins and Dr. R. Mitra both read *mahîkshitâṁ Manur=iva*; but there is no *anusvâra* over the *tâ*.

3 **Śrî-Śârdûla**-nṛip-âtmajaḥ para-hitaḥ śrî-paurushaḥ śrûyatê I[1] lôkê chandra-
marîchi-nirmmala-guṇô yô=**Nantavarmm**-âbhidhâ(dha)ḥ [I*]
4 dṛishṭ-âdṛishṭa-vibhûti kartṛi-varadaṁ tên=âdbhutaṁ kâritaṁ I[2] vimvaṁ
Bhûtapatêr=guh-âśritam=idaṁ Dêvyâś=cha pâyâj=jagat II
5 Ans[3]-ânt-âkṛishṭa-śârṅga-pravitata-saśara-jyâ-sphuran-maṇḍal-ânta- I -vyakta[4]-
bhrûbhaṅga-lakshma-vyatikara-śaval-âkhaṇḍa-vaktrêndu-vimva[ḥ*] I
6 antây=**Ânantavarmmâ** Smara-sadṛiśa-vapur=jjîvitê ni[ḥ*]spṛihâbhiḥ dṛishṭa[ḥ*]
sthitvâ mṛigîbhiḥ suchiram=animisha-snigdha-mugdh-êkshaṇâbhiḥ II
7 Atyâkṛishṭât[5]=kurara-viruta-sparddhinaḥ śârṅga-yantrâ- I -d[6]=vêg-âviddhaḥ
pravitata-guṇâd=îritaḥ saushṭhavêna I
8 dû[7]ra-prâpî vimathita-gaj-ôdbhrânta-vâjî pravîrô I[8] vâṇô=ri-strî-vyasana-padavî-
dêśikô=**Nanta**-nâmnâ(mna)ḥ[9] II

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! There was a glorious king, the illustrious **Yajñavarman**,—who, as if he were Anu,[10] instructed all rulers of the earth in the duty of those who belong to the warrior caste;—whose gait was like the play of a rutting elephant;—(*and*) through whose sacrifices (the goddess) Paulômî, always emaciated by separation from (the god Indra) who has a thousand eyes, invoked (*by this king so constantly as to be perpetually absent from her*), has had the beauty of (*her*) cheeks for a long time sullied by the falling of tears.

(Line 3.)—He, the son of the illustrious king **Śârdûla**, who has the name of **Anantavarman**; who is reputed in the world to be benevolent to others, (*and*) to be possessed of fortune and manliness, (*and*) to be full of virtues that are as spotless as the rays of the moon,—by him was caused to be made this wondrous image, placed in (*this*) cave, of (the god) Bhûtapati and (the goddess) Dêvî, which is possessed of excellencies (*of workmanship*) some of them (*previously*) beheld (*in other images*) but others not so; (*and*) which confers boons upon the maker (*of it*). May it protect the world!

(L. 5.)—Having the surface of the full-moon that is (*his*) face made grey through being scattered over with spots that are (*his*) frowns displayed at the ends of the bent arc, glistening with (*its*) string pulled tight and fitted with an arrow, of the bow drawn up to the extremities of (*his*) shoulders, **Anantavarman**, whose body is like (*that of*) (the god) Smara,—having stood, gazed upon for a very long time by the does, indifferent to life, whose moist and tender eyes omit to blink (*through the intentness with*

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[1] and [2] These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

[3] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[4] Read *ânta-vyakta*, omitting the mark of punctuation.

[5] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

[6] Read *yantrâd*, omitting the mark of punctuation.

[7] This *akshara* is partly mixed up with the *ê* of *dê* in *vidêśavasu*, which was subsequently engraved below this inscription, but has no connection with it.

[8] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[9] This *visarga* was at first omitted, and then was inserted partially on the first stroke of the following mark of punctuation, when the text was altered from *nâmnâ* to *nâmnaḥ*.

[10] See page 224 above, note 6.—Anu, one of the sons of Yayâti, was the progenitor of the Ânavas who are identified by Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 14 ff.) with the 'Janjûhas,' who now occupy 'Makhyâla' and other places in the Salt Range, in the Pañjâb.

which they regard him),—(*lives only*) for (*the purpose of dealing out*) death. The far-reaching (*and*) powerful arrow, scattering the elephants and driving horses wild with fear, of him who has the name of **Ananta**,[1]—impelled with speed (*and*) skilfully discharged from the machine of (*his*) bow, fitted with a well-stretched string, that is drawn very tight (*and*) rivals the screams of an osprey (*with the noise of its twanging*),—teaches to the wives of (*his*) enemies the condition of the sorrows (*of widowhood*).

No. 50; PLATE XXXIB.

NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

THIS inscription, again, appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice in 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol. I. p. 276 ff., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington, and, with it, a lithograph from the same materials.[2] —And in 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 672 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published another reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxiv.), reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Hathorne.

This is another inscription from the **Nâgârjunî Hill**[3] in the lands of **Jâphra,** in the Gayâ District of the Bengal Presidency. On the south side of the hill, there is another cave-temple, which also is shewn to belong to the Aśôka period by another inscription, in four lines, of Dasalatha-Dêvânaṁpiya on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has come to be called the "Gôpî Cave."[4] The inscription now published is on the smooth and polished surface of the granite rock, on the left hand in the entrance to the cave.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 4′ 11″ broad by 1 11½″ high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout; except that, in the last line, the name of the village that was granted has been intentionally obliterated.—The average **size** of the letters is about 1″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding two inscriptions of the same chieftain, Nos. 48 and 49 above, Plates xxxB. and xxxiA., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed *mâtrâs*. —The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word *ôm*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *aṅśu*, line 2, and before *h*, in *aṅhas*, line 9; (2) the customary doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *vikkrama*, line 4, and *puttrêṇa*, line 7; and (3) the use throughout of *v* for *b*, in *lavdhaṁ*, line 5; *vandhu*, line 6; and *amvubhiḥ*, line 9.

The **inscription** is another record of the **Maukhari** chieftain **Anantavarman.** It is not dated. It is either a Śaiva, or a Śâkta, inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by **Anantavarman,** of an image of the goddess Pârvatî, the wife of Śiva, under the name of Kâtyâyanî, and also the grant to the same goddess, under the name of Bhavânî, of a village, the name of which has been destroyed.

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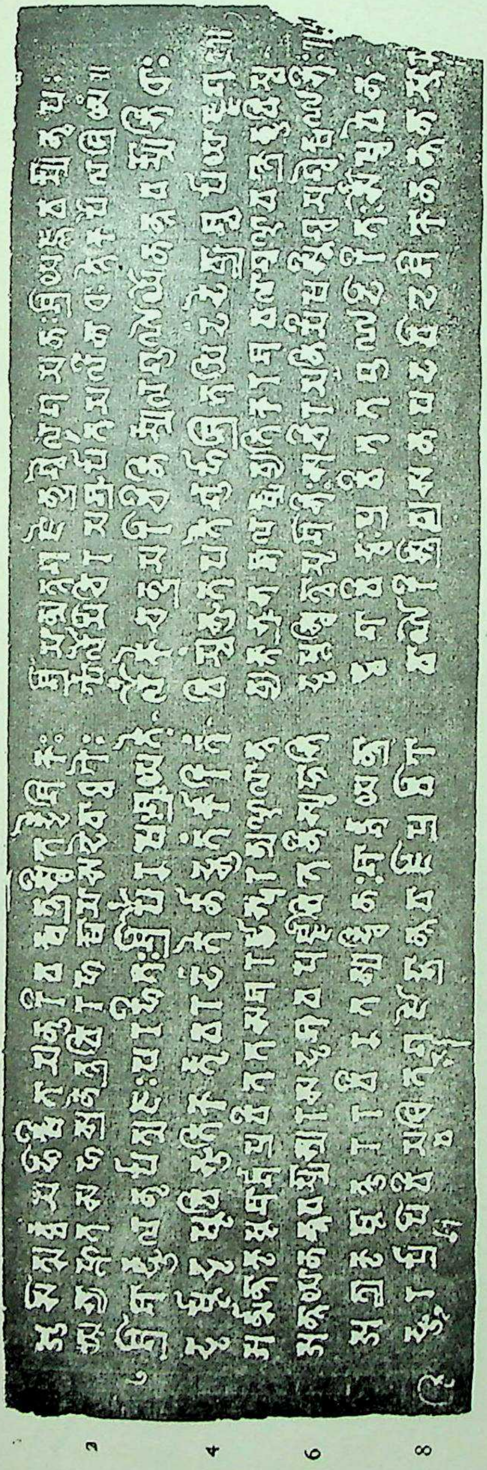
[1] As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note

[2] See also the Calcutta reprint of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. p. 236 ff.

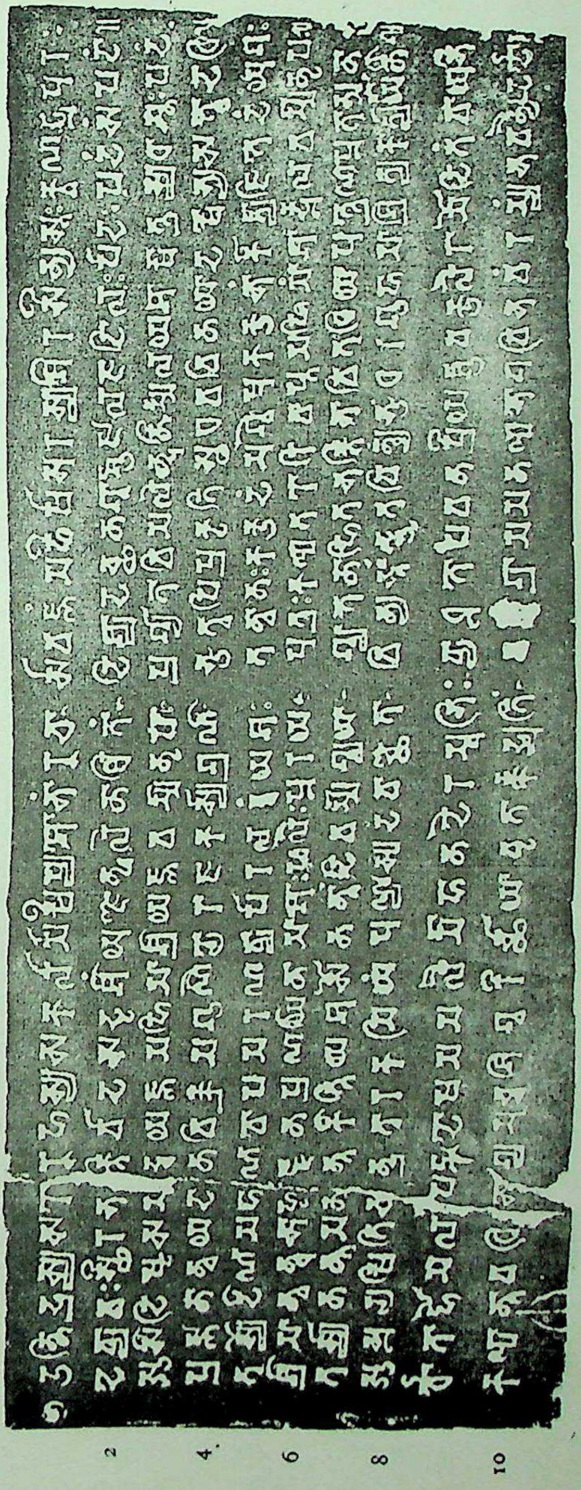
[3] See page 224 above, and note 1.

[4] Marked E. in Gen. Cunningham's sketch in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 40, Pl xviii.



A.—Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman

scale .17



B.—Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman.

In line 8 of this inscription, the **Nâgârjunî Hill** is spoken of as (a part of) the **Vindhya** range. This is in accordance with facts; since the Vindhya mountains, though most conspicuous in Western and Central India, do extend right across the peninsula, until, passing through the neighbourhood of Gayâ, their easternmost spurs reach and disappear in the valley of the Ganges at Râjmahâl.

TEXT.[1]

1 Ôm [||*] Unnidrasya[2] sarôruhasya sakalâm=âkshipya śôbhâṁ ruchâ |[3]
s-âvajñaṁ Mahish-âsurasya śirasi nyastaḥ kvaṇan-nûpuraḥ |
2 Dêvyâ vaḥ sthira-bhakti-vâda-sadṛiśîṁ yuñjan=phalên=ârthitâṁ | diśyâd=
achchha-nakh-âṅśu-jâla-jaṭilaḥ pâdaḥ padaṁ saṁpadâṁ ||
3 Âsîd=ishṭa-samṛiddha-yajña-mahimâ śrî-**Yajñavarmmâ** nṛipaḥ | prakhyâtâ(tô)
vimal-êndu-nirmmala-yaśâ[ḥ*] kshâttrasya dhâmnaḥ padaṁ |
4 prajñân-ânvaya-dâna-vikkrama-guṇair=yô râjakasy=âgraṇî[ḥ*] | bhûtv=âpi
prakṛiti-stha êva vinayâd=akshôbhya-sat[t*]v-ôdadhi[ḥ*] ||
5 Tasy=ôdîrṇa-mah-ârṇav-ôpama-raṇa-vyâpâra-lavdha(bdha)ṁ yaśaḥ [|*] tanvânaḥ
kakudaṁ mukhêshu kakubhâṁ kîrt[t*]yâ jit-êdaṁyugaḥ [|*]
6 śrîmân=va(ba)ndhu-suhṛij-jana-praṇayinâm=âśâḥ phalaiḥ pûraya[n*] | puttraḥ
kalpa-tarôr=iv=âpta-mahimâṁ[4] **Śârdûlavarmmâ** nṛipaḥ ||
7 Tasy=ânantam=ananta-kîrtti-yaśasô=**Nant-âdi-varmm**-âkhyayâ | khyâtên=âhita-
bhakti-bhâvita-dhiyâ puttrêṇa **pût-âtmanâ** [|*]
8 â-sûrya-kshiti-chandra-târakam=**iyaṁ puṇy-âspadaṁ** vâñchchha(ñchha)tâ |
vinyast=âdbhuta-**Vindhya-bhûdhara-guhâm=âśritya** Kâtyâyanî ||
9 Dhaut-âṅhô-mala-paṅka-dôsham=**amalair=mâhâ**nadair=amvu(mbu)bhiḥ | vyâdhût-
ôpavana-priyaṅgu-vakulair=**âmôditaṁ vâyubhi**[ḥ*] |
10 kalpânt-âvadhi-bhôgyam=uchcha-**śikhari-chchhây**-âvṛit-ârkka-dyutiṁ | [— —]
grâmam=analpa-bhôga-vibhavaṁ ramyaṁ Bhavânyai dadau ||

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! May the foot of (the goddess) Dêvî, fringed with the rays of (*its*) pure nails point out the way to fortune, endowing with a (*suitable*) reward your state of supplication which is such as befits the expression of firm devotion;—(that foot) which, surpassing in radiance all the beauty of a full-blown waterlily, was disdainfully placed, with its tinkling anklet, on the head of the demon Mahishâsura![5]

(Line 3.)—There was a king, the illustrious **Yajñavarman**, possessed of greatness by celebrating copious sacrifices; renowned; possessed of fame as pure as the spotless moon; the abode of (*all*) the dignity of one of the warrior caste;—who, though he was the foremost of all kings in respect of wisdom, (*high*) descent, liberality, and prowess, yet, through modesty, was (*like*) an ocean which adheres to the natural state (*of tranquillity*), (*and*) the calmness of which is never to be disturbed.

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[1] From the original stone. [2] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita, throughout.

[3] It is not customary to punctuate the first and third *pâdas* of a verse; but it was done almost uniformly throughout this inscription.

[4] Read *mahimâ*.

[5] A demon who assumed various forms, but principally that of a buffalo, and was slain by Pârvatî, who, in the form of Dêvî or Durgâ, attacked him, on a lion, and cut off his head.

(L. 5.)—His son (*was*) the king **Sârdûlavarman,** who stretched out over the faces of the points of the compass, (*as*) an emblem of sovereignty, the renown that he had acquired in the occupation of war resembling (*in its extensiveness*) the great swollen ocean; who conquered (*the stains of*) this present age with (*his*) fame; who was illustrious; (*and*) who acquired, as it were, the glory of the *kalpa*-tree, by satisfying with rewards the wishes of (*his*) relatives and friends.

(L. 7.)—Of him, who was always possessed of infinite fame and renown, the son (*is*) he, pure of soul, (*and*) possessed of intellect animated with innate piety, who is known by the appellation of **Varman** commencing with **Ananta**;[1]—by whom, desiring a shrine of religious merit that should endure as long as the sun, the earth, the moon, and the stars, this (*image of*) (the goddess) Kâtyâyanî has been placed in (*this*) wonderful cave of the **Vindhya** mountains.

(L. 9.)—He has given to (the goddess) Bhavânî, to be enjoyed up to the time of the destruction of all things, the charming village of ...., possessed of a great wealth of enjoyment,—the sin, impurity, mud, and blemishes of which are washed away by the pure waters of a great river;[2]—which is filled with perfume by the breezes that agitate the *priyaṁgu*[3] and *vakula*-trees[4] in (*its*) groves;—(*and*) from which the radiance of the sun is screened off by (*this*) lofty mountain.

No. 51; PLATE XXXIIA.

JAUNPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARAVARMAN.

THIS inscription,—which was discovered by General Cunningham in 1875-76 or 1877-78, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 124 f., where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a **lithograph** (*id.* Plate xxxvii. No. 1),—is from a stone built in as one of the lower voussoirs **of the outer** arch of the south gate of the Jâmi Masjid at **Jaunpur,**[5] the chief town of the Jaunpur District in the North-West Provinces.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 1′ 3½″ broad by 1′ 1½″ high, is, so far as it goes, in a state of very good preservation, except for the marks by which it has been disfigured a little above the centre of the stone. But it is only a fragment of a very much larger inscription. Nothing has been lost at the top, and at the ends of the lines. But from thirty-eight to seventy-two *aksharas*,—probably the larger number,—are lost at the beginning of each line; and also an indefinite number of lines below the last line that is extant.—The average **size** of the letters is about 7/16″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are radically of much the same type as those of the Asîrgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxA.; but the execution is, in some details, still more florid. In *dôrbhyâm*, line 1, *kîrttêr*, line 4, *karair=guṇair=guṇavatâṁ*, line 5, and other places, we have to note that the superscript *r* is formed on the top line of the writing, instead of above it.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *k*, *t*, and *d*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *kkrûra*, line 5; *kshattrêṇa*, line 1; and *upaddravair*, line 5; and (2) the use of *v* for *b*, in *lavdha*, line 1.

---

[1] *i.e.* Anantavarman.

[2] We might find in this verse a reference to "the pure waters of (the river) Mahânadî." But the Mahânadî, which rises in the Râypur District, flows into the Bay of Bengal, without coming anywhere within two hundred and fifty miles of the Nâgârjunî hill. The small river that runs past this hill, is named the Phalgu; and it flows into the Ganges, not into the Mahânadî. Under the name of Phalgu, it is mentioned in an inscription, belonging to about the twelfth century A.D., of a prince named Yakshapâla, at the Satî Ghât at Gayâ (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 64, line 2).

[3] *priyaṁgu*; the Panicum Italicum; a medicinal plant, and perfume.

[4] *vakula*; the Mimusops Elengi.

[5] The 'Jounpoor' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 41′ N.; Long. 82° 43′ E.

The **inscription** mentions, in line 4, a 'king' named **Îśvaravarman,** of the **Maukhari,** or as it is here called the **Mukhara** family, who is evidently the *Makârâja* **Îśvaravarman,** the grandfather of Śarvavarman, who is mentioned in line 5 of the Asîrgaḍh seal, No. 47 above, page 219. But the lacunæ in the following lines are so extensive, that it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Îśvaravarman, or to one of his descendants. It is much to be wished that the first half of the stone could be recovered; since, in addition to clearing up this point, it would probably give the name of a king in connection with the city of **Dhârâ** that is mentioned in line 6, and also the name of a king in connection with the **Andhras** who are spoken of in lines 7 and 8; and the latter information might afford the much-wanted starting-point for settling the chronology of the Andhra family. It would probably give us also the name of a king of **Saurâshṭra** or Kâṭhiâwâḍ, in connection with the mountain **Raivataka** that is mentioned in line 7. The extant portion of the inscription contains no date, and nothing to indicate a sectarian character.

TEXT.[1]

1 [2]. . . . . r(?) . ksh(?) . l(?) . gam[3] II Dôrbhyâm[4]=[Â]tmabhuvô dhanuḥ saha-bhuvâ kshattrêṇa lavdh(bdh)-âtmanâ vistârî-

2 . . . . [u]dayini[5] **Mukharâṇâṁ** bhûbhujâm=anvavâyê I sakala-purusha-śakti-vyakta-śârṅga-pratâpô

3 . . . . karmmaṇâ[6] yâjñaṁ dh[û]ma-vitâna-mêgha-nivahaḥ puṇyaṁ vitênê divi II[7]

4 . . . . laka[8]-srast-âlakâgraṁ kulaiḥ II Tasya[9] dikshu [v]itat-âmala-kîrttêr=âtmajô nṛipatir=**Îśvaravarmmâ**

---

[1] From the ink-impression.

[2] If (since we have a half-mark of punctuation after *anvavâyê* in line 2) we accept the double mark of punctuation after the fourth extant *akshara* of this line as marking properly the end of a verse, seventy-two *aksharas* have been cut away and lost here. If, however, it marks only the end of the second *pâda* of a verse, then only thirty-eight *aksharas* are lost.—I have tried several ways of arranging the verses, in order to determine exactly how many *aksharas* are lost at the commencement of each line, but without being able to satisfy myself. The probability is, however, that the larger number (seventy-two) has been lost at the beginning of this line, and in proportion all the way down.

[3] Metre, doubtful.

[4] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[5] Metre, Mâlinî.

[6] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[7] This mark of punctuation is followed by some scroll-work, to fill up the line.

[8] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

Metre, Svâgatâ.

5 .... [kṛi]p[1]-ânurâga-śamita-kkrûr-âgam(?)-ôpaddravair=lôk - ânanda - karair=
guṇair=guṇavatâṁ kô nâma

6 .... [a]dhishṭhitaṁ kshitibhujâṁ siṁhêna siṁhâsanaṁ II **Dhârâ**-
mârgga-vinirgat-âgni-kaṇikâ

7 .... dam II **Vindhy**-âddrêḥ prati-randhram=**Andhra**-patinâ śaṁkâ-
parêṇ=âsitaṁ yâtô **Raivatak**-âchalaṁ

8 .... sâṁ[2] vâraṇânâṁ ghaṭâsu vyâptêsh=ûtkhâta-khaḍga-dyuti-
khachita-bhujêshv=**Andhra**-sênâ-bhaṭêshu

9 .... ra[3]-prapâta-salilaiḥ snâtaṁ śilâ-gandhibhiḥ prâlêy-âddri-
bhuvaś=cha śîta-payasaḥ prakshâ-

10 .... rêṇubhir=giri-sarit-pûr-ôrmmi-bhaṅg-âkulair=utsarppadbhir=anupragê=
pi divasô yasy=âp .

11 .... ḥ ya ....
....

TRANSLATION.

.... [Wielding] with (*his*) arms the bow of (the god) Âtmabhû,[4] by means of (*his*) innate warriors' skill that pervaded (*his very*) soul .... in the flourishing lineage of the **Mukhara** kings; whose prowess with the bow was displayed with all the energy of a man; .... by the rite ....; (*and his*) religious merit, arising from sacrifices, spread out over the sky (*in the form of*) the mass of the clouds of the canopy of the smoke (*of his oblations*) .... having the ends of (*their*) curls fallen down .... by the families ....

(Line 4.)—Of him, whose spotless fame spread far and wide over the regions, the son (*was*) king **Îśvaravarman,** .... with virtues which by means of compassion and affection allayed the troubles (*caused*) by the approach of cruel people, and which effected the happiness of mankind; who, indeed, of virtuous people ....; by him, a very lion to (*hostile*) kings, the throne was occupied. A spark of fire that had come by the road from (the city of) **Dhârâ** .... the lord of the **Andhras,** wholly given over to fear, took up (*his*) abode in the crevices of the **Vindhya** mountains; .... went to the **Raivataka** mountain .... among the warriors of the **Andhra** army, who were spread out among the troops of elephants (*and*) whose arms were studded with the lustre of (*their*) swords drawn out (*from the scabbards*), ... bathed with the waters, fragrant with benzoin, of the torrents of .... and cleansing the lands, full of cool waters, of (Himâlaya) the mountain of snow .... with the pollen .... disordered by the breaking of the waves of the swollen mountain-streams, (*and*) flowing onwards, ... whose day, even in the hours that come next after daybreak ....

---

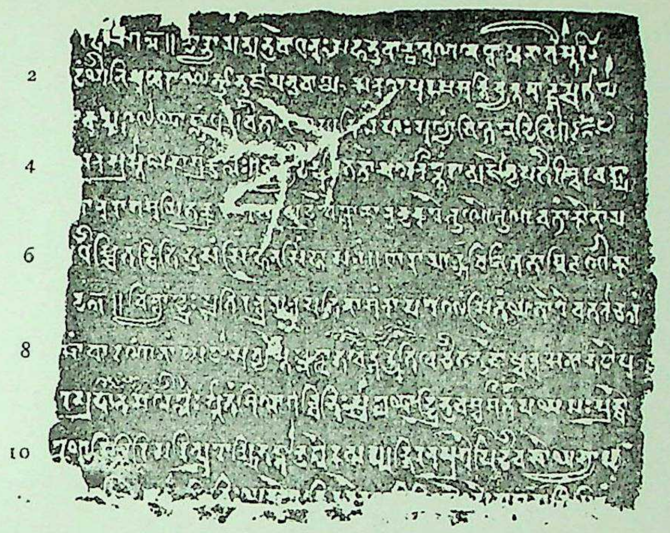
[1] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita, and in the next three lines.

[2] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[3] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita, and in the next line.

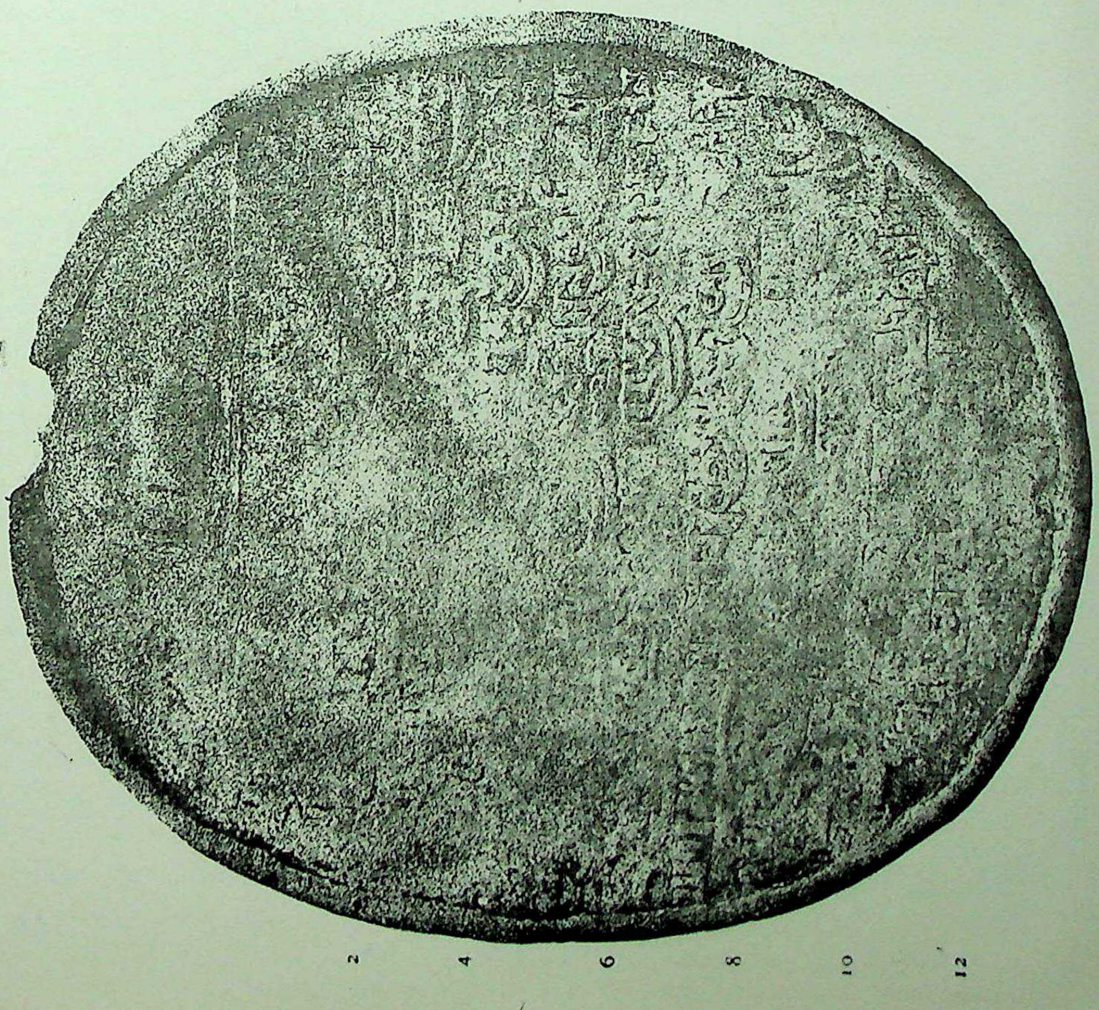
[4] *lit.* 'the self-existent one;' an epithet of Brahman, Vishṇu, and Śiva. From the mention of a bow, it must here denote Vishṇu, who carries the bow of horn named Śârṅga.

A.—Jaunpur Inscription of Isvaravarman.



SCALE .25

B – Sonpat Seal of Harshavardhana.



FULL SIZE

No. 52; PLATE XXXII B.

SONPAT COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF HARSHAVARDHANA.

THIS inscription, which is now brought to notice for the first time, is from a copper seal in the possession of Moharsingh Ramratan Mahajan, a merchant at **Sônpat**[1] or **Sônîpat,**[2] the chief town of the Sônpat Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Dehli District in the Pañjâb. I obtained the seal for examination through the kindness of Mr. J. D. Tremlett, B.C.S., who, in fact, had the first information of it, and brought it to my notice.

The **seal** is oval, measuring about $5\frac{7}{8}''$ by $6\frac{7}{8}''$. All round it there runs a rim, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ broad; and inside this there are, in rather shallow relief on a slightly countersunk surface,—at the top, a bull, recumbent to the proper right; and below this, the inscription that is given below. That it is only a seal, belonging to a copper-plate from which it has been detached, is shewn by plain indications of soldering on the back of it, and also by the spurious Gayâ plate of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii., which has a similar seal attached to it. The letters of the inscription are worn down so much, that in many places they can only be read by getting the light to fall on the surface at different angles; and in some places they are entirely illegible. The only historical information, however, that seems to be lost, is the completion of the name of Prabhâkaravardhana's father, in line 4. I have to acknowledge some assistance from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in reading this inscription; but, of course, without binding him to any of the details of it, as here published.—The **weight** of the seal is 3 lbs. 6 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of much the same type as those of the Aśîrgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxA.; but the forms are rather more conservative in details.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *puttra*, lines 2 and 7.

The **seal** is one of **Harshavardhana,** king of **Kanauj,** who began to reign[3] A.D. 606 or 607; and it is of peculiar interest, as being the first of his own epigraphical records that has ever come to light. I have made every effort to discover the plate to which it belongs; as the inscription on the plate would make the genealogy perfect, and also, if belonging to the early years of Harshavardhana's reign, would probably shew what era was used by him prior to the establishment of his own. But I have not succeeded in obtaining any information about it; and it seems to have been hopelessly lost sight of. The present owner of the seal states that there is no record of the plate itself having ever been in the possession of his family; so it is very doubtful whether it is now in existence.

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[1] The 'Sonipat, Soonput, and Sunput,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 59′ N; Long. 77° 3′ E.

[2] Other forms of the name are Sônêpat, and Sunpat.

[3] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 420, note 37.

TEXT.[1]

1 .... y . . . śrîma(?)hâ(?dâ) . .
2 ...... paramâdityabha[ktô mahârâ]ja-śrî-**Râjyavarddhanaḥ** [||*]
Tasya puttras=tat-p[â]-
3 [d-ânudhyâtaḥ] śrî(?)-**Ma(?)hâ(?)dêvyâm**=[utpannaḥ paramâ]dityabhaktô
mahârâja-śrîmad-**Âditya-**
4 **[varddhanaḥ[2]]** [||*] [Ta]sya [puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ śrî]-**Mahâ[3]-**
sênaguptâ-dêvyâm=utpanna ......
5 ....y . sarv[v]a-varṇṇ-âśrama-vyavasthâpana-
pravṛi-
6 [ttaḥ] .....y...va(?) prava[r]ddh .... paramâdityabhaktaḥ
paramabhaṭṭâraka-
7 mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Prabhâkaravarddhanaḥ** [||*] Tasya puttras=tat-pâd-
ânudhyâ[ta] ....
8 ....i.......... śr[î]matyâ[ṁ] **Yaś[ô]maty[âm**=utpannaḥ]
paramasô(sau)gata ....
9 ...... [paramabhaṭṭâraka]-mahârâjâdhi[râja]-śrî-**Râjyava[rddhanaḥ]** [||*]
10 [Tasy=ânujas=tat-pâd-ânu]dhyâtô mahâdêvyâ[ṁ] **Yaśômatyâ-**
11 [**m**=utpannaḥ] .... [pa]-
12 [ramabhaṭṭâraka-ma]hârâjâ[dhi]râja-śrî-**Harsha-**
13 **varddhanaḥ[4]** [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(*There was*) .... the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Râjyavardhana (I.)** His son, [who meditated on] his feet, (*was*) the [most devout] worshipper of the Sun, the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Âdityavardhana,**[5] [begotten] on the illustrious **Mahâdêvî**(?). His [son, who meditated on his feet], (*was*) .... the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Prabhâkaravardhana,** begotten on the *Dêvî*, [the illustrious] **Mahâsênaguptâ,** .... (*and*) who was employed in regulating all the castes and stages of religious life. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout follower of Sugata,[6] the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Râjyavardhana (II.),** begotten on .... the glorious **Yaśômatî.** [His younger brother], who meditated on [his feet], (*is*) .... the [*Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and] *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Harshavardhana,** [begotten] on the *Mahâdêvî*, **Yaśômatî.**

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[1] From the original seal.

[2] This part of the name is quite illegible; but the analogy of the other names seems to indicate that the termination here was the same, viz. *vardhana.*

[3] These two *aksharas*, *mahâ*, are very indistinct; but I think they may be accepted as certain.

[4] These three *aksharas*, *varddhanaḥ*, are rather small and cramped, in the centre of the bottom of the seal.

[5] See note 2 above.

[6] *paramasaugata* is a Buddhist sectarian title. Sugata, *lit.* 'well-gone; well-bestowed; one who has attained a good state,' was one of the names or titles of Buddha.

Nos. 53 & 54; PLATE XXXIII A & B.

NACHNE-KI-TALAI STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAHARAJA PRITHIVISHENA.

THESE two inscriptions were discovered by General Cunningham in 1883-84, and were brought to notice by him in 1885, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XXI. p. 97 f., where he published his reading of the text of the complete one, No. 54, accompanied by lithographs of both of them (*id.* Plate xxvii.)

Nachnê-kî-talâî,[1] meaning literally the "tank of Nachna," is a small village or collection of huts, about seven miles south-west of Jasô,[2] the chief town of the Jasô State in the Bundêlkhaṇḍ division of Central India. When I drafted the title of the Plate, I understood that the inscriptions were on a boulder lying in the jungle; whereas it now appears, from General Cunningham's published account, that they are on a loose slab which was found lying at 'Lakhura, Lakhuria, or Lakhâwara,' which is the name of the ground outside the fort of 'Kûthara or Kûtharagarh,' which again is given as an older name of the site on part of which the village of Nachna or Nachnê-kî-talâî now stands. The inscription of four lines, No. 54, is on the face of the slab; and the incomplete inscription, No. 53, on the side or edge of it. The explanation of No. 53 probably is, that this side was intended to be the front of the stone; but that the stone was then found to be too rough, and this face was made the side of it, and the inscription was commenced again and finished on what is now the front of it. And I am extremely doubtful whether the inscription on the side, No. 53, really consists of more than one line. Some signs resembling the syllables *vyâghra* are pencilled-in on the impressions that were sent to me; but I was unable to depute my own copyists to Nachnê-kî-talâî for the purpose of taking fresh impressions to settle this point, or to go there myself.

The **writing** of No. 53 covers a space of about 1′ 9¾″ broad by 7½″ high; and of No. 54, about 1′ 9″ broad by 1′ 1″ high. The imperfections of some of the letters appear to be due to incomplete engraving, owing to irregularities of the stone, rather than to subsequent injury. In the centre of No. 54 there is a **sculpture** which may be either a Buddhist wheel, or the sun-symbol.—The **size** of the letters varies from ⅞″ to 1½″. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, which I have noticed at page 18 f. above.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and both the inscriptions are in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point calling for remark is the doubling of *dh*, before *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, in line 2 of No. 54.

As regards the contents of the **inscriptions,** No. 53 gives simply the name of the *Mahârâja* **Pṛithivishêṇa** of the **Vâkâṭaka** tribe or dynasty. No. 54 repeats this, and adds the name of a feudatory of his, **Vyâghradêva.** No date is given; and nothing to shew any sectarian purpose. And the record simply refers to **Vyâghradêva** having made something or other, which must have been either a temple, or a well or tank, of which this slab evidently formed a part.

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[1] The 'Nachna, Nâchna, and Narhua,' of maps, &c. It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70, but is not entered there. Lat. 24° 24′ N.; Long. 80° 30′ E.

[2] The 'Jasso, Jusso, and Jussoo,' of maps, &c.

As regards the name of this family, **Vâkâṭaka,** General Cunningham[1] has proposed its identification with the modern **Bhândak,**[2] a place evidently of considerable antiquity, the chief town of the Bhândak Parganâ in the Chândâ District in the Central Provinces, fifteen miles north-west of Chândâ,[3] and eleven miles south-east of Warôḍâ.[4] It is possible that Bhândak may have been the Vâkâṭaka capital. But the identity of the two names cannot be upheld. In the first place, there is the difficulty of accounting for the disappearance of the *k* in the second syllable of Vâkâṭaka, and for the change of the lingual *ṭ* into the dental *d*, with a nasal before it. In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler,[5] there is an insuperable obstacle, in the suggested change of *v* into *bh*. And, in the third place, I have to point out that the name Vâkâṭaka must be derived from an original *vakâṭa*; like, for instance, Mâhâkântâraka from Mahâkântâra, Kausalaka from Kôsala, Kairaḷaka from Kêraḷa, and Paishṭapuraka from Pishṭapura, in line 19 of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above; and like Traikûṭaka from Trikûṭa, in line 1 of the 'Pardi' grant[6] of the Traikûṭaka *Mahârâja* Dahrasêna of the year 207. If any trace of the name is to be found in the maps of the present day, we must look for some such place as Wakâṭ, Bakâṭ, Bakaṭ, Bakṭôr, or Bakṭaulî; and it might possibly be found in 'Waktapur,' in the Rêwâ-Kâṇṭhâ Agency.

TEXT.[7]

No. 53.

1 **Vâkâṭakânâṁ** mahâ[8]râja-śri(śrî)-**Pṛithivishêṇa** ......
2 **Vyâ(?)ghra(?)**[9]

No. 54.

1 **Vâkâṭakâna[ṁ*]** mahârâja-śri(śrî)-
2 **Pṛithivishêṇa** - pâd - â[10]nuddhyâtô
3 **Vyâghradêvô** mâtâpitrô[ḥ*] puṇy-
[â*]rtthaṁ
4 kṛitam[11]=iti [||*]

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[1] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 121 f.

[2] The 'Bhanduk' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 73. Lat. 20° 6′ N.; Long. 79° 9′ E.

[3] The 'Chandah' of maps.

[4] The 'Warorá and Wurroda' of maps, &c.

[5] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 117 f.; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 239 f.—Dr. Bühler speaks of Vâkâṭaka as being the name of a country, as well as of the tribe governing it. It probably did, in the usual way, denote the country, as well as the tribe or dynasty. But it does not occur in the compound quoted by him, 'Pavarajja-Vâkâṭaka,' which exists only in the original misreading, for Pavarajjavâṭaka, in line 22 of the Siwanî grant, No. 56 below, page 246.—Vâkâṭaka has also been supposed to occur as the name of a place or country in line 161 of the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of the Kâkatiya chieftain Rudradêva; but this, again, is only due to the original misreading (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 903, 908); the place that is really mentioned is Kaṭaka, as is shewn by the lithograph published with my own reading of this inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 11, 16, 20).

[6] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 347.

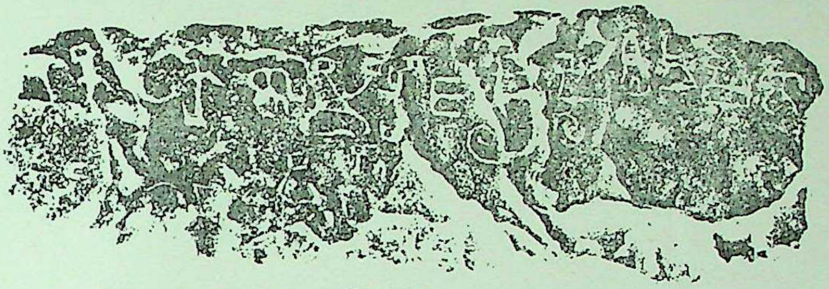
[7] From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impressions; so also the lithographs.

[8] This *há* was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

[9] These two *aksharas* are very doubtful; they are pencilled-in on the ink-impression, and there may be some traces of them; but the impression is not deep enough for them to shew in relief on the back of it

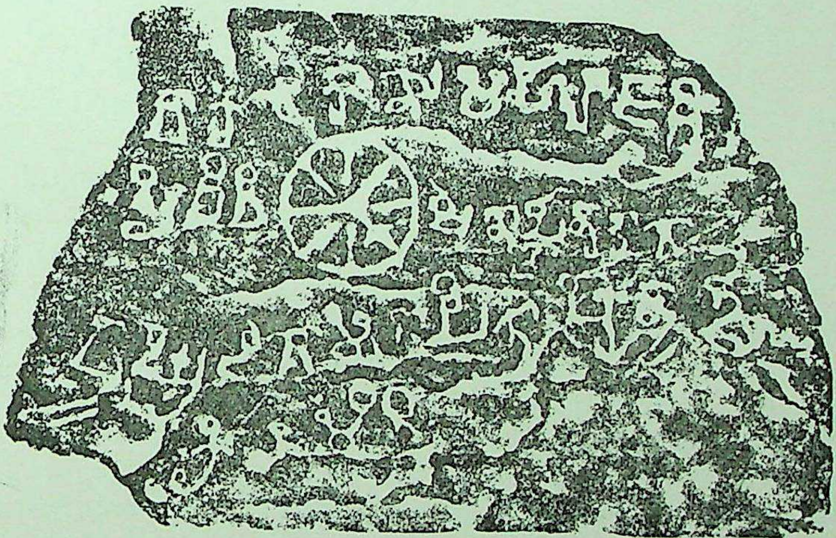
[10] This *dá* was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

[11] Read *kṛitavân.*



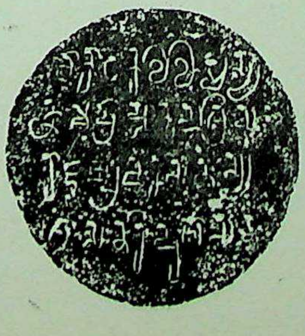
A —Nachne-ki-talai Rock Inscription of the Maharaja Prithivishena.

SCALE .25

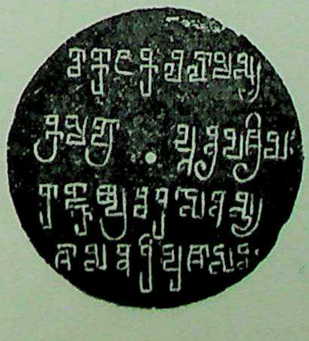


B.—Nachne-ki-talai Rock Inscription of the Maharaja Prithivishena.

SCALE .25



C.—Seal of the
Chammak Plates of
the Maharaja Pravarasena II.



D.—Seal of the
Siwani Plates of
the Maharaja Pravarasena II.

TRANSLATION.

Vyâghradêva, who meditates on the feet of the *Mahârâja* of the **Vâkâṭakas,** the illustrious **Pṛithivishêṇa,** has made (*this*) for the sake of the religious merit of (*his*) parents.

No. 55; PLATE XXXIV.

CHAMMAK COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA PRAVARASENA II.

THIS inscription was discovered about 1868, and,—the original plates having been obtained by Major H. Szczepanski, and forwarded by him to Dr. John Wilson, of Bombay,—was first brought to notice in 1879, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's reading of the text, published in *Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta,*[1] p. 54 ff.—And in 1883, Dr. G. Bühler, C.I.E., published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 116 ff., and also, accompanied by a lithograph of the plates, but not of the seal, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 239 ff.

The inscription is on some copper-plates that were found in ploughing a field at **Chammak,**[2] the ancient **Charmâṅka** of the inscription, a village about four miles south-west of Ilichpur,[3] the chief town of the Ilichpur District in the Commissionership of East Berar, in the Haidarâbâd Assigned Districts. The original plates, which I obtained for examination from Dr. Burgess, are now, I understand, again in the possession of Major Szczepanski.

The **plates,** of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are seven in number, each measuring from $7\frac{3}{8}''$ to $7\frac{1}{2}''$ by from $3\frac{1}{2}''$ to $3\frac{5}{8}''$. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. A few of the letters on the first and last plates have been damaged by rust; but the rest of the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The plates are fairly thick and substantial; and the letters, which are not very deep, do not shew through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew here and there marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the top of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $3\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter. It was not soldered into the socket of a seal; but the ends of it were flattened off, as if to overlap and fasten with a pin or bolt; there is, however, no hole in them to shew that they were ever actually secured in this way. The **seal**[4] is a flat disc of copper, rising slightly towards the centre, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $2\frac{7}{8}''$ in diameter. To the centre of the back of it, there is soldered a small ring, by which it slides on the larger ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal, there is the **legend,** in four lines, of which the text and translation are given below.—The **weight** of the seven plates is about 6 lbs. 14 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, about $14\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total 7 lbs. $12\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 18f. above. But, whether intentionally or accidentally, the heads of the letters were scooped out hollow through nearly the whole of this inscription; and the true box-shaped tops are discernible in only a few places; *e.g.* in lines 58 and 59. The characters include forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8 and 10, in line 60, and for 8,000, in line 19.—The **language** is Sanskṛit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 36 to 39, is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmânîya*, in *râjñaḫ=pravara*, line *c*; *pâṇêḫ=prasâda*, line 13; *śambhôḫ=prasâda*, line 16; and *rakshitavyaḫ=pari*, line 32; but not in *kâlîyaḥ putra*, line 30; (2) the occasional doubling of *k* and *d*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *kkrama*, line *b*; *kkriyâbhis*, line 31; and *ddrôha*, line 4; (3) the doubling of *th* and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *bhâgîratthy-amala*, line 6, and *sarvvâddhyaksha*, line 21; and (4) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvâra*, in *saṁvvatsarê*, line 60.

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[1] No. 9 of the separate pamphlets of the Archæological Survey of Western India.

[2] The 'Chamuck' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 21° 12′ N.; Long. 77° 31′ E.—In *Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta,* p. 54, the plates are said to have been obtained from Sâgar in the Central Provinces. And in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 234, they are called the Ilichpur grant. But in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 116, it is stated explicitly that they were found in a ploughed field at Chammak.

[3] The 'Ellichpur' of maps, &c.

[4] See Plate xxxiiiC.

The **inscription** is one of the *Mahârâja* **Pravarasêna II.**, of the **Vâkâṭaka** tribe or dynasty; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the town of **Pravarapura.** It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the eighteenth year (of his government), on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by **Pravarasêna II.**, to a thousand Brâhmaṇs, of the village of **Charmâṅka,** *i.e.* the modern **Chammak** itself, in the **Bhôjakaṭa** kingdom.

TEXT.[1]

The Seal.

a **Vâkâṭaka**[2]-lalâmasya
b kkrama-prâpta-nṛipa-śriyaḥ
c râjñaḫ=**Pravarasênasya**
d śâsanaṁ ripu-śâsanaṁ [||*]

First Plate.

1 Dṛishṭaṁ[3] [||*] Svasti **Pravarapurâd**=agnishṭôm-âptôryyâm-ôkthya-shôḍaśy-âtirâtra-[4]

2 vâjapêya - bṛihaspatisava - sâdyaskra - chaturaśvamêdha - yâjinaḥ

3 **Rvi(vi)shṇ[u]v[ṛi]ddha**-sagôtrasya samṛâḍ **Vâkâṭakânâṁ**[5] mahârâja-śṛi(śrî)-**Pravarasênasya**

4 sûnôḥ sûnôḥ atyanta-[S]vâmi-Mahâbhairava-bhaktasya a[ṁ*]sa-bhâra-santi(nni)vêśi-

5 ta-Śiva-liṅg-[ô]dvahana-Śiva-suparitushṭa-samutpâdi[ta]-râjava[ṁ*]śâ-

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

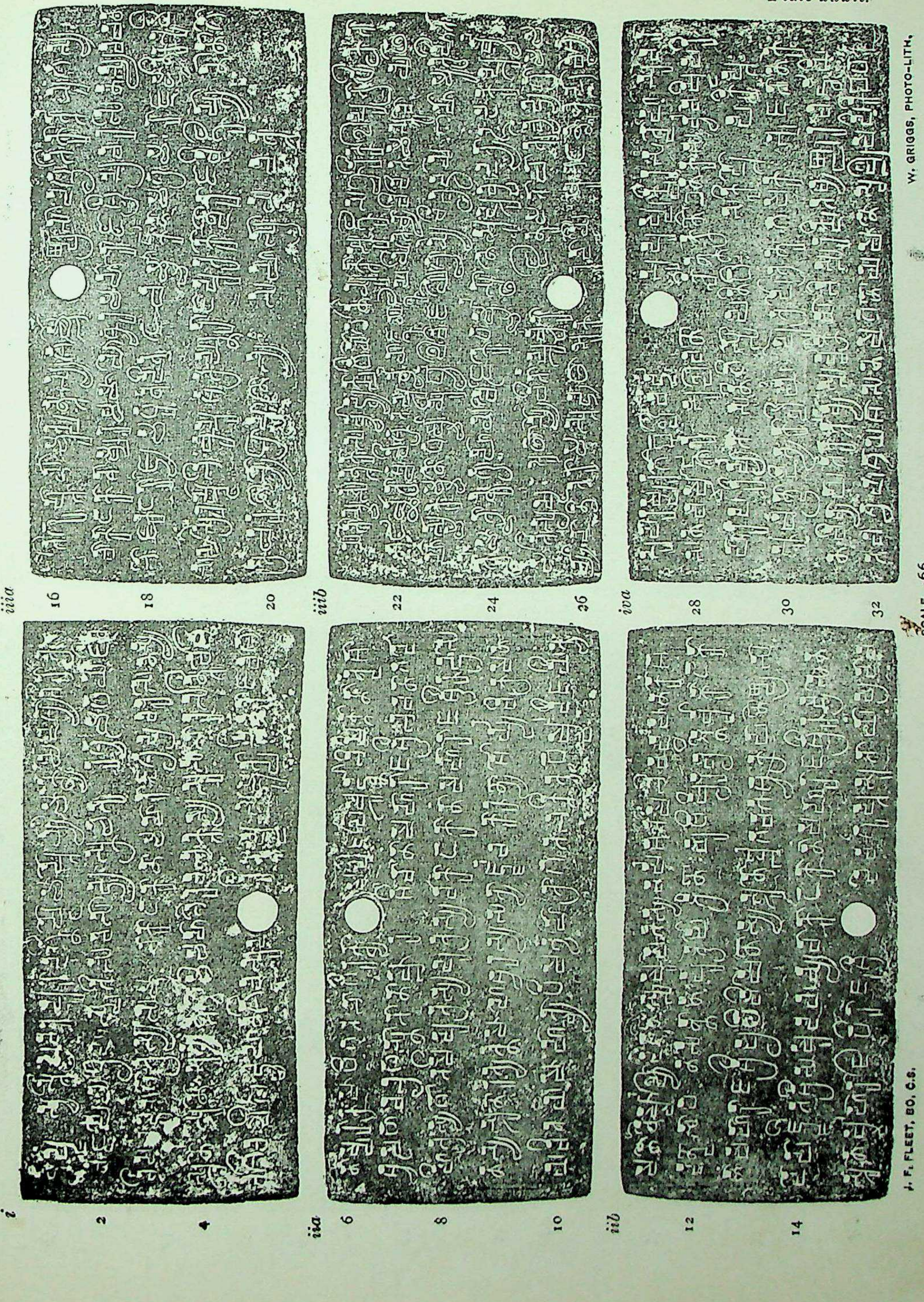
[3] See page 240 below, note 2.

[4] See page 241 below, note 6.

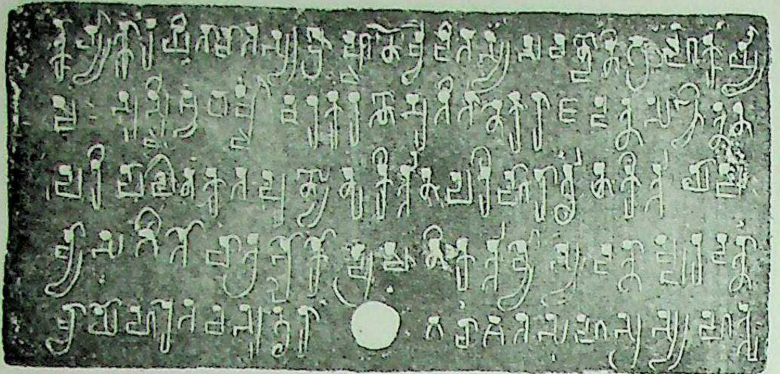
[5] Read *samrâḍ-Vâkâṭakânâṁ*, in composition.—The final *ḍ* of *samrâḍ* (or possibly *ṭ* of *samrâṭ*), rather small and faint, stands below the line, and just above the *mi* of *svâmi* in the next line.

Plate xxxiv.

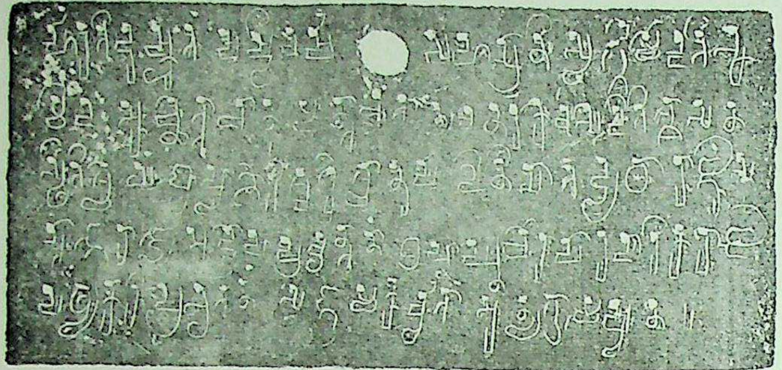
Chammak Plates of the Maharaja Pravarasena II.


i
2
4
iia
6
8
10
iib
12
14
iiia
16
18
20
iiib
22
24
26
iva
28
30
32
SCALE .66
J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.
W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

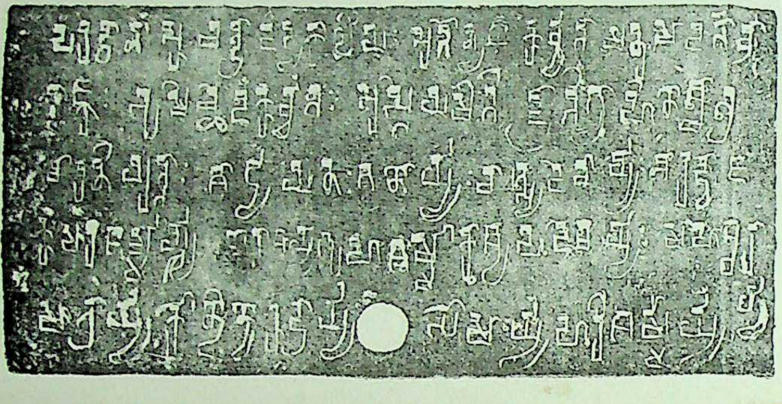
ivb



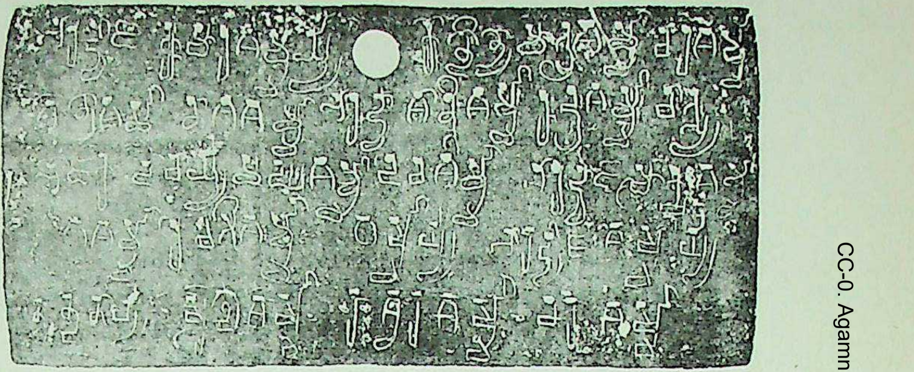
va



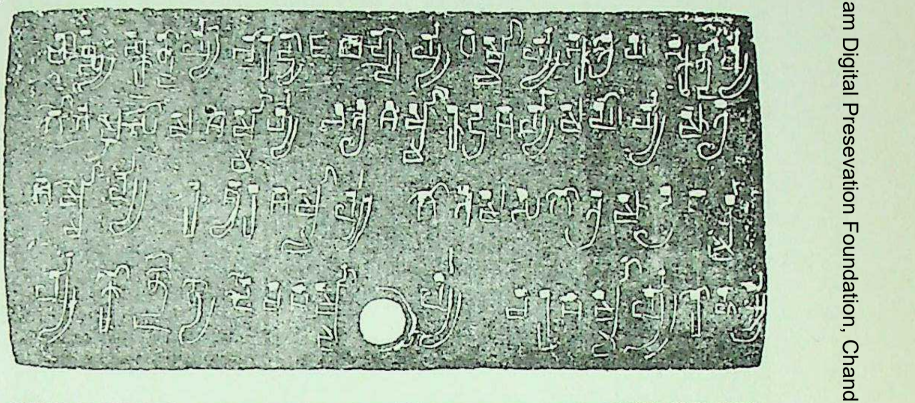
vb



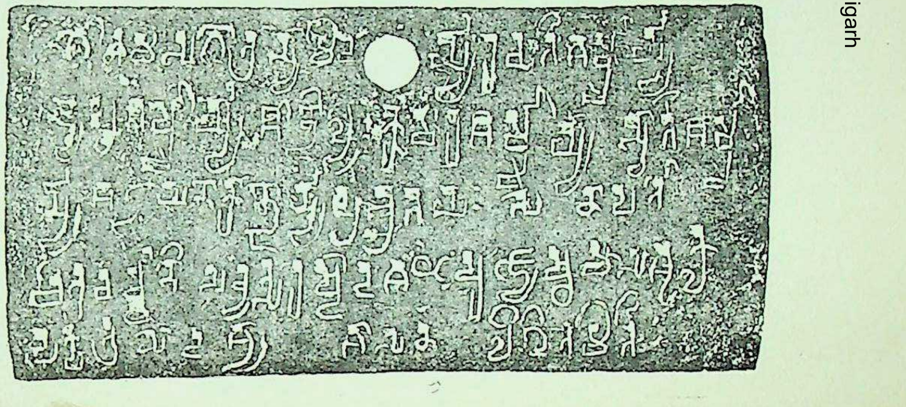
via



vib



vii



Second Plate; First Side.

6 nâm=parâkram-âdhigata-Bhâgîratthy-â(a)mala-jala-mûrddhn(rddh)-âbhishiktânân=daś-â-

7 śvamêdh-âvabhṛitha-snânânâm=**Bhâraśivânâṁ** mahârâja-śrî-**Bhavanâga**-dau-

8 hitrasya **Gautamî[1]putrasya** putrasya **Vâkâṭakânâṁ** mahârâja-śrî-**Rudrasê-**

9 **nasya** sûnôr=atyatna(nta)mâhêśvarasya saty-ârjjava-kâruṇya-śauryya-vikrama-na-

10 ya - vinaya - mâhâtmy - âdhima(ka)tva - hâ[2](pâ)tr - âgata - bhaktî(kti)tva-dharmmavî(vi)jayî(yi)tva-

Second Plate; Second Side.

11 manônairmmâ(rmma)ly-âdi-guṇais=samupêtasya varsha-śatam=abhivarddhamâna-kôśa-

12 daṇḍasâdhana-sannâ(ntâ)na-putra-pautriṇaḥ Yudhishṭhira-vṛitnê(ttê)r=**Vâkâṭakâ-**

13 **nâṁ** mahârâja-śrî-**Pṛithivishêṇasya** sûnôr=bbhagavataś=Chakrapâṇêḥ=prasâ-

14 d-ôpârjji[3]ta-śrî-samudayasya **Vâkâṭakânâṁ** mahârâja-śrî-**Rudrasêna-**

15 **[sya*]** sûnôr=mmahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Dêvagupta**-sutâyâṁ **Prabhâva-**

Third Plate; First Side.

16 **tiguptâyâm**=utpannasya Śambhôḥ=prasâda-dhṛiti-kârttayugasya

17 **Vâkâṭakânâm** = paramamâhêśvara - mahârâja - śrî - **Pravarasênasya** vachanâ[t*]

18 **Bhôjakaṭa**-râjyê **Madhunadi(dî)**-taṭê **Charmmâṅka**[4]-nâma-gr[â*]maḥ râjamânika-bhu(bhû)mî-

19 sahasrair=ashṭâbhiḥ[5] 8000 **Śatṛ[u*]ghnarâja**-putra-**Koṇḍarâja**-vijñâptyâ nânâ-gô-

20 tra-charaṇêbhyô brâhmaṇêbhyaḥ sahasrâya dattaḥ [॥*]

Third Plate; Second Side.

21 Yatô=smat-santakâ[ḥ*] sarvvâddhyaksh-âdhiyôga-niyuktâ âjñâsañch[â*]ri-kulaputr-âdhikṛitâ

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[1] The form of superscript *î* that we have here, is somewhat different from that which occurs throughout the rest of this inscription.—In line 7 of the next inscription, page 245 below, this syllable has the short vowel *i*, as is optionally allowable.

[2] The engraver first formed *hi*, and then partially cancelled the *i*. Probably the man who wrote the copy from which he engraved, had hesitated between *hit-âgata* and *pâtr-âgata*.—The form of superscript *i* used here, was not of general use till somewhat later times. But, in the present inscription, it occurs again distinctly twice in *ti*, in line 16, in *ni*, line 21, and twice in *vi*, line 23; and in other places; and, in many other instances throughout the inscription, there is a tendency to form it in the same way.

[3] The engraver first formed *jji*, and then corrected it into *rjji*.

[4] The engraver first formed *ṅkâ*, and then partially cancelled the *â*.

[5] We have to supply *parimitaḥ*, or some similar word, after this instrumental case.

22 bhaṭâch(ś)=chhâtrâś=cha viśruta-pûrvvay=âjñay=âjñâpayitavyâ Viditam=astu vô yath=ê-

23 h=âsmâkam=manô[1] dharmm-âyur-bva(bba)la-vijay-aiśvaryya-vivṛiddhayê ih-âmutra-hit-â-

24 rttham=âtm-ânugrahâya vaijaikê[2] dharmmasthânê apûrvva-dat[t*]yâ udaka-purvva-

25 m=atisṛishtaḥ [I] ath=âsy=ôchitâṁ pûrvva-râj-ânumatâṁ châtur-vvaidya-grâma-ma-

26 ryyâdân(m)=vitarâmas=tad=yathâ a-karadâyî[3] a-bhaṭa-chhchha-(chchhâ)tra-prâvêśya[ḥ*]

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

27 a-pârampara-gô-balivardda[ḥ*] a-pushpa-kshîra-satdô(ndô)ha[ḥ*] a-ch[â*]râ-

28 sana-charmm-âṅgâra[ḥ*] a-lavaṇa-klinna-kkrêṇi-khanaka[ḥ*] sarvva-vê(vi)shṭi-pari-

29 hâra-parîrhṛitaḥ[4] sa-nidhis=s-ôpanidhiḥ sa-kli(klṛi)pt-ôpakli(klṛi)ptaḥ

30 â-chandr-âditya-kâlîyaḥ putra-pautr-[â*]nugamakaḥ [I*] bhu[ṁ*]jatâṁ na kê-

31 nachi[d*]=vyâghâtaṁ(ḥ) karttavyas=sarvva-kkriyâbhis=sa[ṁ*]rakshitavyaḥ=par[i*]varddhayi-

32 tav[y*]aś=cha [I*] yaś=ch=âyaṁ[5] śâsanam=a-gaṇayamânô(naḥ) svalp[â*]m=api [pa*]ribâdhâṁ-[6]

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

33 n(ṅ)=kuryyât=kârayitâ vâ tasya brâhmaṇair=vvêditasya sa-va(da)ṇḍa-nigrahaṁ kuryyâ-

34 ma II Asmi[ṁ*]ś=cha dharmm-âvara-karaṇê ati(tî)t-ânêka-râja-datna(tta)-sañchitna(nta)na-

35 paripâlanaṁ kṛita-puṇy-ânukîrttana-parîhâr-ârttham na kîrttayâmaḥ [II*]

36 Vyâsa-gîtau ch=âtra ślôkau pra[7]mâni(ṇî)karttavyau [I*] Sva[8]-datnâ(ttâ)m=para-datnâ(ttâ)ṁ

37 vvâ(vâ) yô harêta vasundharâṁ gavâṁ śata-sahasrasya hantu-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

38 r=harati dushkṛitaṁ [II*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâni(ṇi) svarggê môdati bhû-

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[1] Read *yath=aisha âtmanô.*

[2] Read *vaijayikê.*

[3] The engraver first formed *yai*, and then corrected it into *yî*.

[4] Read *parihṛitaḥ*.

[5] Read *yaś=ch=êdaṁ.* The *cha* of *ścha* closed up again, almost entirely, after the engraving.

[6] After this word, *kuryyâ* was engraved and then cancelled.—The *anusvâra* is not required; since, in the next line, we have *n*, by mistake for *ṅ*, connecting *paribâdhâm* in *saṁdhi* with *kuryyât*.

[7] The engraver first formed *ḥ=pra*, and then cancelled the *ḥ*.

[8] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh) ; and in the following verse.

39 mi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha[1] tâny=êva narakê vasệd= iti [||*] Śśâ(śâ)sana-

40 sthitiś=ch=êyaṁ brâhmaṇair=îśvaraiś=ch=ânupâlanîyâ tad=yathâ râjñâṁ sa-

41 ptâṅgê râjyê a-ddrôha-pravṛintâ(ttâ)nâṁ [a*]-brahmaghna-chaura[2]-pâradârika-râjâ-

42 pathyakâri-prabhṛiti(tî)nâṁ [a*]-saṅgr[â*]ma-kurvvatâṁ anya-grâmêshv=an-a- ||

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

43 par[â*]ddhânâṁ[3] â-chandr-âditya-kâlîyaḥ [|*] atô=nyathâ kurvvatâm=anumôdatâṁ vâ[4]

44 râjñaḥ bhu(bhû)mi-chchhêdaṁ kurvvataḥ a-stêyam=iti [||*] Prâ(pra)tigrâ[5]hiṇaś=ch=âtra

45 vâra-niyuktâḥ [|*] Śâṭyâyanaḥ Gaṇâryyaḥ Vâtsya-Dêvâryyaḥ Bhâradvâja-

46 Kumâraśarmmâryya[ḥ*] Pârâśaryya-Guhaśarmmâ Kâśyapa-Dêv[â*]ryyaḥ Mahêśvarâryya[6][ḥ*]

47 Mâtrâryya[ḥ*] Kauṇḍinya-Rudrâryya[ḥ*] Sômâryya[ḥ*] Hariśarmmâryya[ḥ*]

Sixth Plate; First Side.

48 Bhâradvâja-Kumâraśa[r]mm[â]ryya[ḥ*] Kauṇḍiṇya(nya)-Mâtṛri(tṛi)-śarmmâ Varaśarmm[â*]

49 Gôṇḍaśarmmâ Nâgaśarmmâ Bhâradvâ[ja*]-Śântiśarmmâ Rudra-śarmmâ Vâtsyaḥ

50 Bhôjakad[ê*]vâryya[ḥ*] Maghaśarmmâ Dêvaśarmmâ Bhâradvâja-Môkshaśarmm[â*]

51 [Nâ]gaśarmmâ Rêvatiśarmmâ Dharmmâryya[ḥ*] Bhâradvâja-Śarmmâryya[ḥ*]

52 Nandanâryya[ḥ*] **Mûlaśarmmâ** | Îśvaraśarmmâ | Varaśarmmâ

Sixth Plate; Second Side.

53 Chânsya[7]-Skandâryya[ḥ]* Bhâradvâja-Bappâryya[ḥ*] Dharm-mâryya[ḥ*] Âtrêya-Skandâryya[ḥ*]

54 Gautama-Sômaśarmmâryya[ḥ*] Bha[r*]tṛiśarmmâ Rudraśa[rmmâ*]-ryya[ḥ*] Maghâryya[ḥ*] Mâtṛi-

55 śarmmâryya[ḥ*] Îśvaraśarmmâryya[ḥ*] Gautama-sagôtra-Mâtṛi-śarmmâ-

56 ryya[ḥ*] Kauṇḍiṇya(nya)-Dêvaśarmmâryya[ḥ*] Varaśarmmâryya[ḥ*] Rôhâryya[ḥ*]

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[1] The engraver first formed *chcha* or *chchha*, and then cancelled the lower *ch*, or the *chha*.

[2] The engraver first formed *râ*, and then cancelled the *â*.

[3] Read *an-apar[â*]ddhânâṁ*, omitting the mark of punctuation.

[4] The engraver first formed *vvâ*, and then cancelled the lower *v*.

[5] The engraver first formed *gvâ*, and then corrected it into *grâ*.

[6] This *ryya* stands at the end of the line, below the *râ* of *mahêśvarâ*; but this is evidently the place to which it properly belongs.

[7] Read *vâtsya*.

Seventh Plate

57 Gautama-sagôtra-Svâmidê[vâ*]ryya[ḥ*] Rêvatiśarmmâryya[ḥ*]
58 Jyêshṭhaśarmmâryya[ḥ*] Śâṇḍilya-Kumâraśarmmâryya[ḥ*] Svâti-śarmmâ-
59 ryya[ḥ*] Ś[â*]ṭyâyaṇa(na)-Kâṇḍ[â*]ryya-prabhṛitayaḥ [॥*] Sênâpatau
60 **Chitravarmmaṇi** saṁvvatsarê=shṭâdaśa[mê*] 10 8 Jyêshṭha-mâsa-śukla-
61 paksha-trayôdaśyâ[ṁ*] śâsanaṁ likhitam=itiḥ[1] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of king **Pravarasêna,** the ornament of the **Vâkâṭakas,** who has attained royal dignity by inheritance, (*is*) a charter for (*the observance of even his*) enemies!

The Plates.

Sight has been attained![2] Hail! From the town of **Pravarapura;**—(Line 17.)—At the command of the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the *Mahârâja* of the **Vâkâṭakas,** the illustrious **Pravarasêna (II.),**[3] who was begotten on **Prabhâvatiguptâ,** the daughter of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Dêvagupta;** who, through possessing the favour of (the god) Śaṁbhu, is (*as virtuous as*) one belonging to the **Kṛita** age;—

(Line 13.)—(*And*) who is the son of the *Mahârâja* of the **Vâkâṭakas,** the illustrious **Rudrasêna (II.),** who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapâni;—

(L. 9.)—Who[4] was the son of the *Mahârâja* of the **Vâkâṭakas,** the illustrious **Pṛithivishêṇa,** who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara; who was endowed with an excess of truthfulness, straightforwardness, tenderness, heroism, prowess, political wisdom, modesty, and high-mindedness, and with devotion to worthy people and guests, and with the condition of being victorious through religion, and with purity of mind, and with other meritorious qualities; who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons, whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years; who behaved like Yudhishṭhira;—

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[1] Read *iti.*—Two forms of the double mark of punctuation are used in this inscription; the upright form, after *anyagrâmêshv=ana* in line 42; and the horizontal form, after *kuryyâma* in line 33-34. The latter rather resembles the *visarga*. And thus the engraver came to form a *visarga*, instead of a double mark of punctuation, after the word *iti*.

[2] As regards the Text and my Translation here, Dr. Bühler, while admitting that the opening *aksharas* looked like *dṛishṭaṁ* or *dṛiptaṁ*, interpreted them as *ôṁ ôṁ*.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read them as *dṛishṭaṁ*.—The mark over the *dṛi* is not an *anusvâra*, but only a rust-mark. And the reading is as indisputably *dṛishṭaṁ* here, as it is *dṛishṭam* at the commencement of the next inscription.—The same word occurs, if possible still more clearly, in the margin of the first plate of the Goa grant of Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 348 ff.), where Mr. K. T. Telang (*id.* p. 360, note) suggested that it might mean 'sanctioned.' But it is of course the remnant of some such expression as *dṛishṭaṁ bhagavatâ*, "sight (*i.e.* clearness of perception in religious matters; a thorough insight into the nature of the universe and everything connected with it) has been attained by the Divine One;" see my remarks on *siddham*, page 25 above, note 4.

[3] The context is "the village named Charmâṅka" &c., in line 18 ff. below.

[4] *i.e.* **Rudrasêna II.**

(L. 4.)—Who[1] was the son of the *Mahârâja* of the **Vâkâṭakas,** the illustrious **Rudrasêna (I.),** who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Svâmi-Mahâbhairava; who was the daughter's son of the illustrious **Bhavanâga,** the *Mahârâja* of the **Bhâraśivas,** whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of (the god) Śiva, (*caused*) by (*their*) carrying a *liṅga* of Śiva placed as a load upon (*their*) shoulders, (*and*) who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhâgîrathî that had been obtained by (*their*) valour, (*and*) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten *aśvamêdha*-sacrifices;—who[2] was the son of **Gautamîputra;**[3]—

(L. 1.)—(*And*) who[4] was the son of the son of the *Mahârâja* of the sovereign **Vâkâṭakas,** the illustrious **Pravarasêna (I.),** who celebrated the *agnishṭôma,*[5] *aptôryâma, ukthya, shôḍaśin, âtirâtra,*[6] *vâjapêya, bṛihaspatisava,*[7] and *sâdyaskra*[8] sacrifices and four *aśvamêdha*-sacrifices, (*and*) was of the **Vishṇuvṛiddha** *gôtra*;—

(L. 18.)—The village named **Charmâṅka,** on the bank of the river **Madhunadî,** in the **Bhôjakaṭa** kingdom, (*measured*) by eight thousand *bhûmîs,*[9] (*or in figures*) 8000, according to the royal measure, is, at the request of **Koṇḍarâja,** the son of **Śatrughnarâja,** given to one thousand Brâhmaṇs of various *gôtras* and *charaṇas*.

(L. 21.)—Wherefore Our[10] obedient and high-born[11] officers, employed in the office of general superintendents,[12] (*and Our*) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be (*thus*) directed with a command preceded by (*the words*) 'O illustrious one':—"Be it known to you, that, in order to increase Our religion and life and strength and victory and dominion, (*and*) for the sake of (*Our*) welfare in this world and in the next, (*and*

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[1] *i.e.* Pṛithivishêṇa.

[2] *i.e.* Rudrasêna I.

[3] See page 237 above, note 1.

[4] *i.e.* Rudrasêna I.

[5] The *agnishṭôma, lit.* 'praise of the god Agni, or fire,' was a protracted sacrifice, extending over five days in spring, and forming one of the parts of the Jyôtishṭôma, which was one of the principal sacrifices connected with the sacred Sôma plant and juice. Other parts of the Jyôtishṭôma sacrifice were the *aptôryâma, ukthya, shôḍaśin, âtirâtra,* and *vâjapêya* ceremonies, which are mentioned in the text here; the seventh, and last, part being the *atyagnishṭôma,* which is not here mentioned.

[6] Monier Williams, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, gives only the form *atirâtra,* with the short vowel *a* in the first syllable; so also Max Müller in his *Sanskṛit Literature,* p. 177, note. But the Text here distinctly gives the long vowel *â.* And, though in line 1 of the next inscription, page 245 below, the vowel is rather imperfectly formed, yet a comparison with *bhâgîratthy-âmala,* in line 5 of the same, shews that there also the vowel *â* is intended.

[7] The *bṛihaspatisava* was another sacrifice, lasting a day, apparently connected with Bṛihaspati, the priest and preceptor of the gods.

[8] The *sâdyaskra* was another sacrifice, of which I have not been able to find any explanation in the books of reference available.

[9] *bhûmî, lit.* 'land, the earth,' is evidently used here as some technical land-measure, the value of which is not known.

[10] *asmat-santaka, lit.* 'belonging to Us;' see Childers' Pâli Dictionary, s. v. *santaka.*

[11] *kulaputra.*

[12] *Sarvâdhyaksha.*

generally) for Our benefit, this (*village*) is granted, in (*Our*) victorious office of justice, as a grant not previously made, with libations of water.

(L. 25.)—" Now We grant the fixed usage, such as befits this (*village*), (*and*) such as has been approved of by former kings, of a village which belongs to a community of *Chaturvêdins*; namely, it is not to pay taxes; it is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers; it does not carry with it (*the right to*) cows and bulls in succession of production,[1] or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state; it is entirely free from (*all obligation of*) forced labour; it carries with it the hidden treasures and deposits, and the *klṛipta* and *upaklṛipta*;[2] it is (*to be enjoyed*) for the same time with the moon and the sun; (*and*) it is to follow (*the succession of*) sons and sons' sons. No hindrance should be caused by any one to those who enjoy it. It should be protected and increased by all (*possible*) means. And whosoever, disregarding this charter, shall give, or cause to be given, even slight vexation, We will inflict on him punishment, together with a fine, when he is denounced by the Brâhmaṇs."

(L. 34.)—And in this document, which has at least (*the merit of*) religion,[3]—in order to avoid boasting of (*other*) meritorious actions performed (*by Us*),—We do not recite (*Our*) care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone.

(L. 36.)—And two verses, sung by Vyâsa, are to be cited as an authority on this point:—Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another, he incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

(L. 39.)—And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brâhmaṇs and by (*future*) lords; namely (*the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brâhmaṇs*) for the same time with the moon and the sun, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of seven constituent parts,[4] of (*successive*) kings; that they are not slayers of Brâhmaṇs, and are not thieves, adulterers, poisoners of kings, &c.; that they do not wage war; (*and*) that they do no wrong to other villages. But, if they act otherwise, or assent (*to such acts*), the king will commit no theft in taking the land away.

(L. 44.)—And the recipients, appointed for the occasion in this matter, (*are*):—Gaṇârya, of the Śâṭyâyana (*gôtra*). Dêvârya, of the Vâtsya (*gôtra*). Kumâraśarmârya, of the Bhâradvâja (*gôtra*). Guhaśarman, of the Pârâśarya (*gôtra*). Dêvârya, of the

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[1] The interpretation here is not quite certain. But this and the next three expressions seem to reserve certain rights for the villagers against the grantees.

[2] These are technical fiscal expressions, the meaning of which is not known.

[3] This is in accordance with Dr. Bühler's rendering (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 123, note 8). —As regards *karaṇa* in the sense of 'a document,' it is borne out by *Karaṇika*, which is of constant occurrence in evidently the meaning of 'one who has to do with documents, a writer, a scribe;' *e.g.* in the passage from the 'Dewal' inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1049, referred to at page 201 above. —Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to correct the text into *dharmm-âdara*, probably meaning "in this act of respect for religion."

[4] The *saptâṅga*, or 'aggregate of the seven constituent elements (of a kingdom),' consists of the king, and his ministers, ally, territory, fortress, army, and treasury.

Kâśyapa (*gôtra*) ; Mahêśvarârya, (*and*) Mâtrârya. Rudrârya, of the Kauṇḍinya (*gôtra*) ; (*and*) Sômârya, (*and*) Hariśarmârya. Kumâraśarmârya, of the Bhâradvâja (*gôtra*). Mâtriśarman, of the Kauṇḍinya (*gôtra*) ; (*and*) Varaśarman, Gôṇḍaśarman, (*and*) Nâgaśarman. Śântiśarman, of the Bhâradvâja (*gôtra*) ; (*and*) Rudraśarman. Bhôjakadêvârya, of the Vâtsya (*gôtra*) ; (*and*) Maghaśarman, (*and*) Dêvaśarman. Môkshaśarman, of the Bhâradvâja (*gôtra*) ; (*and*) Nâgaśarman, Rêvatiśarman, (*and*) Dharmârya. Śarmârya, of the Bhâradvâja (*gôtra*) ; (*and*) Nandanârya, Mûlaśarman, Îśvaraśarman, (*and*) Varaśarman. Skandârya, of the Vâtsya (*gôtra*). Bappârya, of the Bhâradvâja (*gôtra*) ; (*and*) Dharmârya. Skandârya, of the Âtrêya (*gôtra*). Sômaśarmârya , of the Gautama (*gôtra*) ; (*and*) Bhartṛiśarman, Rudraśarmârya, Maghârya, Mâtṛiśarmârya, (*and*) Îśvaraśarmârya. Mâtṛiśarmârya, of the Gautama *gôtra*. Dêvaśarmârya, of the Kauṇḍinya (*gôtra*) ; (*and*) Varaśarmârya, (*and*) Rôhârya. Svâmidêvârya, of the Gautama *gôtra* ; (*and*) Rêvatiśarmârya, (*and*) Jyêshṭhaśarmârya. Kumâraśarmârya, of the Śâṇḍilya (*gôtra*) ; (*and*) Svâtiśarmârya. (*And*) Kâṇḍârya, of the Śâṭyâyana (*gôtra*) ; and so forth.

(L. 59.)—(*This*) charter has been written, while **Chitravarman** is the *Sênâpati*, in the eighteenth year, (*or in figures*) 10 (*and*) 8, on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha.

No. 56; PLATE XXXV.

SIWANI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA PRAVARASENA II.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1836, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 726 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. D. M. McLeod, Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxiii. Nos. 1 and 2).

The inscription is on some copper-plates which were obtained by me for examination from the possession of a Zamîndâr or land-holder named Hazari Gond Malguzar, living at the village of Piṇḍarâî, in the Siwanî Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Siwanî-Chhapârâ District[1] in the Central Provinces. I have no information as to where the plates were originally found ; and, as they have always been known as the **Siwanî** grant, it seems desirable to continue that name ; though, of course, in the absence of any local identification of the places mentioned in the inscription, this name indicates only in a general way the part of the country to which the grant belongs.

The **plates,** of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about $8\frac{3}{16}''$ by $4\frac{1}{2}''$ at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are rather thin, and the letters shew through on the reverse sides, so clearly that many of them can be read there ; in a very exceptional manner, this is noticeable even on the intermediate plates ; though, of course, not to such an extent as to make the letters of one side of a plate legible on the other in the lithograph. The engraving is very good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew in a few places marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $3\frac{7}{8}''$ in diameter. The ends of it were flattened off, so as to overlap, and were fastened with a pin or bolt; they were still secured in this manner, when the grant came into my hands. The **seal**[1] is a thin flat disc of copper, about $3\frac{3}{16}''$ in diameter. A bolt in the centre of it secures it to a thin band of copper, about $\frac{5}{8}''$ broad and $3\frac{1}{4}''$ in circumference, by which it slides on the ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal, there is the **legend,** in four lines, of which the text and translation are given below.—The **weight** of the five plates is about 3 lbs. $4\frac{1}{4}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, $5\frac{1}{4}$ oz.; total 3 lbs. $9\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$; except on the seal and on the last plate, where they are rather larger. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give a very perfect and beautiful illustration of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 18 f. above. They include two forms of *b*; one, the customary form of this alphabet, occurs in *bṛihaspati*, line 1, and in other places in this and the preceding inscription; the other, a square and more antique form, occurs only in *beṇṇâ*, line 17; in the lower *b* in *âyur-bbala*, line 26; and in *bâppa*, line 36.—The **language** is Sanskṛit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 39 to 42, is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmânîya*, once, in *râjñaḫ=pravara*, line *c*; (2) the use of the dental *n*, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś* and *s*, in *vanśa*, lines 5 and 17, and *ansa*, line 4; (3) the doubling of *th* and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *ukthya*, line 1, and *bhâgîratthy-amala*, line 5, and in *sarvvâddhyaksha*, line 24; (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *v*, in *addhvaryavê*, line 19-20; and (5) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvâra* (which, however, was omitted in the actual engraving), in *saṁvvatsarê*, line 18.

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[1] The chief town is Siwanî ; the 'Seoni and Seonee' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 79. Lat. 22° 5′ N. ; Long. 79° 35′ E.

The **inscription** is another record of the *Mahârâja* **Pravarasêna II.,** of the **Vâkâṭaka** tribe or dynasty. The place whence the charter was issued, is not recorded. It is dated, in words, in the eighteenth year of his government, on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phâlguna (February-March). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant to a Brâhmaṇ, by **Pravarasêna II.,** of the village of **Brahmapûraka,** in the **Beṇṇâkârpara** *bhâga*.[2]

Of the villages mentioned in defining the position and boundaries of the village that was granted, **Kollapûraka** is possibly the modern 'Kolapoor' of the map,[3] twenty-one miles south of Ilichpur.

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[1] See Plate xxxiiiD.

[2] *bhâga, lit.* 'a part, share, division, allotment,' is a technical territorial term, of rare occurrence, the exact purport of which is not apparent.

[3] Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 20° 56′ N.; Long. 77° 34′ E.—The same name, in a slightly different form, occurs in the Kollâpura of the southern inscriptions (*e.g.* line 48 of the Têrdâḷ inscription; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 18; see also *id.* p. 23, note 22), as the ancient name of the modern Kôlâpur, the chief town of the Kôlâpur State in the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT.[1]

The Seal.

a **Vâkâṭaka**[2]-lalâmasya
b krama-prâpta-nṛipa-śriyaḥ
c râjñaḥ=**Pravarasênasya**
d śâsana[ṁ*] ripu-śâsanam [‖*]

First Plate.

1 Dṛishtam Siddham[3] ‖ Agnishṭôm-âptôryyâm-ôktthya-shôḍaśy-âtirâtra[4]-vâjayê(pê)ya-bṛihaspatisava-

2 sâdyaskra-va(cha)turaśvamêdha-yâjinaḥ **Vishṇuvṛiddha**-sagôtrasya sashraṭ **Vâkâṭakânâ-**

3 **m**[5]=mahârâja-śrî-**Pravarasênasya** **sûnôḥ** sûnôḥ atyanta-Svâmi-Mahâ-

4 bhairava-bhaktasya ansa-bhâra-sanniv[ê*]śita-Śiva-liṅg-ôdvaḥana-Śiva-suparitushṭa-

5 samutpâdita-râjavanśânâm parâkram-âdhigata-Bhâgîratthy-â(a)mala-jala-mûrddh-âbhi-

Second Plate; First Side.

6 shiktânâm daś-âśvamêdh-âvabhṛitha-snânânam=**Bhâraśivânâm**=mahâ-râja-śrî-**Bhavanâ-**

7 **ga**-dauhitrasya |[6] **Gautami**[7]**putrasya** putrasya | **Vâkâṭakânâm**=mahârâja-śrî-

8 **Rudrasênasya** sûnôḥ atyantamâhêśvarasya | saty-ârjjava-kâruṇya-śau-

9 ryya - vikrama - naya - vinaya - mâhâtmy[8]-[â*]dhima(ka)tva-pâtr-[â*]gata-bhaktitva-dharmmavijayi-

10 tva-manônairmmaly-âdi-guṇa-samuditasya | varsha-śatam=abhivarddha-mâna-kôśa-

11 daṇḍasâdhana-santâna-putra-pautriṇaḥ Yudhishṭhira-vṛittêr=**Vvâkâṭa-kânâm**=mahârâja-

Second Plate; Second Side.

12 śrî-**Pṛithivishêṇasya** sûnô[ḥ*] bhagavataś=Chakrapâṇêḥ prasâd-ôpârjjita-

13 śrî-samudayasya | **Vâkâṭakânâm**=mahârâja-śri(śrî)-**Rudrasênasya** sûnôḥ

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh)

[3] In the original, this word, *siddham*, stands between the lines, below *dṛishṭam.*—As regards *dṛishṭam*, see page 240 above, note 2.

[4] See page 241 above, note 6.

[5] Read *samrâḍ-vâkâṭakânâm*.

[6] This and the following marks of punctuation, down to line 23 are unnecessary.

[7] See page 237 above, note 1.

[8] In this compound, the *t* is formed very anomalously; but the character cannot stand for anything else.

14 pûrvva-râj-ânuvṛitta-mârgg-ânusâriṇaḥ sunaya-bala-parâkkram-ô-

15 chchhinna-sarvva-dvishaḥ mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Dêvagupta**-sutâyâm= **Prabhâvati-**

16 **guptâyâm**=utpannasya Śambhô[ḥ*] prasâda-dhṛiti-kârttayugasyaḥ[1] **Vâkâṭaka-**

Third Plate; First Side.

17 vanś-âlaṅkâra-bhûtasya | mahârâja-śrî-**Pravarasênasya** **vachanât** **Beṇṇâ-**

18 **kârppara**-bhâgê pravarddhamâna-râjya-sa[ṁ*]vvatsarê | ashṭâdaśamê | Phâlgu-

19 ṇa(na)-śukla-dvâdaśyâm Maudgalya-sagôtrâya | Taittiri(rî)yây=âddhvaryya-

20 vê Dêvaśarmm-âchâryyây=ôdaka-pûrvvam sa-koraṭaḥ sa-pañchâśatkaḥ

21 **Brahmapûrakan**=nâma grâmô=tisṛishṭaḥ **Vaṭapûrakasy**=ôttarêṇa | **Kiṇihikhê-**

22 **ṭakasy**=âparêṇa | **Pavarajjavâṭakasya** dakshiṇêta(na) | **Kollapûrakasya**

Third Plate; Second Side.

23 purvvêṇa | sva-simâ-par[i*]chchh[ê*]dêna **Karañjavi(?chi)raka-**taṭê |(||) Atr=âsmat-santakâḥ

24 sarvvâddhyaksha-n[i*]yôga-n[i*]yuktâḥ **âjñâsañchâri**-kulaputr-âdhikṛitâḥ bhaṭâḥ-

25 ś[2]=chhâtrâś=cha viśruta-pûrvvayâ **âjñayâ** **âjñâ**payitavyâḥ [|*] Vidita-

26 m=astu ta(va)ḥ yath=aishô=smâbhiḥ **âtmanô** dharmm-âyur-bbala-vijay-aiśvaryya-vi[3]vṛi[d*]dhayê

27 ih-[â*]mutra-hit-ârttham=âtv(tm)-ânugrahâya |[4] vaijayikê dharmma-sthânê[5] | a-bhaṭa-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

28 chchh[â*]tra-prâvêśyaḥ a-pârampara-gô-balivarddaḥ a-pushpa-kshîra-sandôha[ḥ*] a-châ-

29 râsana-charmm-âṅgâraḥ a-la[6]vaṇa-tlinva[7]-krêṇi-khanakaḥ |[8] sarvva-vishṭi-parihâra-

30 parihṛitaḥ sa-nidhiḥ s-ôpanidhiḥ sa-kli(klṛi)pt-ôpakli(klṛi)ptaḥ â-chandr-âditya-

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[1] Read *kârttayugasya.*

[2] Read *bhaṭâś.*

[3] First *vṛi* was engraved here, and then, it was corrected into *vi,* by adding the *i* and partially erasing the *ṛi.*

[4] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[5] After this word, we require *atisṛishṭaḥ,* or some similar word, as in line 24 f., of the preceding inscription, page 238 above.

[6] First *li* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *la* by partial erasure of the *i.*

[7] Read *klinna.*

[8] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary

31 kâli(lî)yaḥ putra-pautr-ânugâmî I bhujyamânô na kênachid=vyâghâtayi-

32 tavyaḥ sarvva-kriyâbhiḥ saṁrakshitavyaḥ parivarddhayitavyâ(vya)ś=cha [I*] yaś=ch=âsma-

33 cn-chhâsanam=a-gaṇayamânaḥ svalpâm=api paribâdhân(ṅ)=k[u*]ryyât=kârayîta[1] vâ I[2]

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

34 tasya brâhmaṇair=âvêditasya I sadaṇḍa-nigrahaṁ kuryyâma kârayêma v=êti [II*]

35 Sênâpatau **Bâppadêvê** likhitaṁ âchâryyêṇa II Asmi[ṁ*]ś=cha dharmm-âdhikara-

36 ṇê I[3] ati(tî)t-ânêka-râja-dattâs[4]-saṁchintana-paripâlana[ṁ*] kṛita-pu-

37 ṇy-ânukîrttayâmaḥ[5] [I*] êshyantatkâla-prabhavishnûnaṁ[6] gauravâd=bhavishyân=vi-

38 jñâpayâmaḥ II Vyâsa-gîtau ch=âtra ślôkau pramâṇi(ṇî)-karttavyau II(I)

Fifth Plate.

39 Shashṭi[7]-varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânumattâ(ntâ)

40 cha tâny=êva narakê vasêta(t) II Sva-dattâm=paradattâv(m)=vâ yô harê-

41 ta vasundharâma(m) gavâṁ śata-sahasrasya hantur=harati dushkṛitam=iti II

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of king **Pravarasêna,** the ornament of the **Vâkâṭakas,** who has attained royal dignity by inheritance, (*is*) a charter for (*the observance of even his*) enemies!

The Plates.

Sight has been attained! Perfection has been attained!—(Line 17.)—At the command of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Pravarasêna (II.),** who follows the path of imitating the behaviour of previous kings; who has extirpated all enemies by (*his*) excellent policy and strength and prowess; who was begotten on **Prabhâvatiguptâ,** the daughter of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Dêvagupta;** who, through possessing the favour of (the god) Śambhu, is (*as virtuous as*) one belonging to the Kṛita age; who is the ornament of the lineage of the **Vâkâṭakas**;—

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[1] Read *kârayitâ*, as in line 33 of No. 55 above, page 238; or *kârayêta*.

[2] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary; also that in the next line.

[3] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[4] Read *datta.*

[5] Read *kṛita-puṇy-ânukîrttana-parihâr-ârtthaṁ na kîrttayâmaḥ*, as in line 35 of the preceding inscription, page 238 above.

[6] Read *êshyatkâla-prabhavishṇûnâṁ.*

[7] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

(Line 12.)—(*And*) who is the son of the *Mahârâja* of the **Vâkâṭakas,** the illustrious **Rudrasêna (II.),** who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapâṇi;—

(L. 8.)—Who[1] was the son of the *Mahârâja* of the **Vâkâṭakas,** the illustrious **Pṛithivishêṇa,** who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara; who was possessed of an excess of truthfulness, straightforwardness, tenderness, heroism, prowess, political wisdom, modesty, and high-mindedness, and with devotion to worthy people and guests, and with the condition of being victorious through religion, and with purity of mind, and with other meritorious qualities; who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons, whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years; who behaved like Yudhishṭhira;—

(L. 3.)—Who[2] was the son of the *Mahârâja* of the **Vâkâṭakas,** the illustrious **Rudrasêna (I.),** who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Svâmi-Mahâbhairava, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious **Bhavanâga,** the *Mahârâja* of the **Bhâraśivas,** whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of (the god) Śiva, (*caused*) by (*their*) carrying a *liṅga* of Śiva placed as a load upon (*their*) shoulders, (*and* who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhâgîrathî that had been obtained by (*their*) valour, (*and*) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten *aśvamêdha*-sacrifices;—who[3] was the son of **Gautamiputra**;[4]—

(L. 1.)—(*And*) who[5] was the son of the son of the *Mahârâja* of the sovereign **Vâkâṭakas.** the illustrious **Pravarasêna (I.),** who celebrated the *agnishṭôma*, *aptôryâma*, *ukthya*, *shôḍaśin*, *âtirâtra*, *vâjapêya*, *bṛihaspatisava*, and *sâdyaskra* sacrifices, and four *aśvamêdha*-sacrifices, (*and*) was of the **Vishṇuvṛiddha** *gôtra*;—

(L. 17.)—In the **Beṇṇâkârpara** *bhâga*,—in the eighteenth year of the augmenting reign; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Phâlguna,—the village named **Brahmapûraka,**—(*which*), according to the specification of its boundaries (*is*) on the bank of the (river) **Karañjaviraka,**[6] on the north of (the village of) **Vaṭapuraka,** on the west of (the village of) **Kiṇihikhêṭaka,** on the south of (the village of) **Pavarajjavâṭaka,** (*and*) on the east of (the village of) **Kollapûraka,**—is given, with libations of water, together with the *koraṭa*[7] and the fifty (*hamlets* ?), to the *Adhvaryu*, the *Âchârya* Dêvaśarman, of the Maudgalya *gôtra*, (*and*) of the Taittirîya (*śâkhâ*).

(L. 23.)—In this matter, Our obedient and high-born officers, employed in the office of general superintendents, and (*Our*) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be

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[1] *i.e.* Rudrasêna II.

[2] *i.e.* Pṛithivishêṇa.

[3] *i.e.* Rudrasêna I.

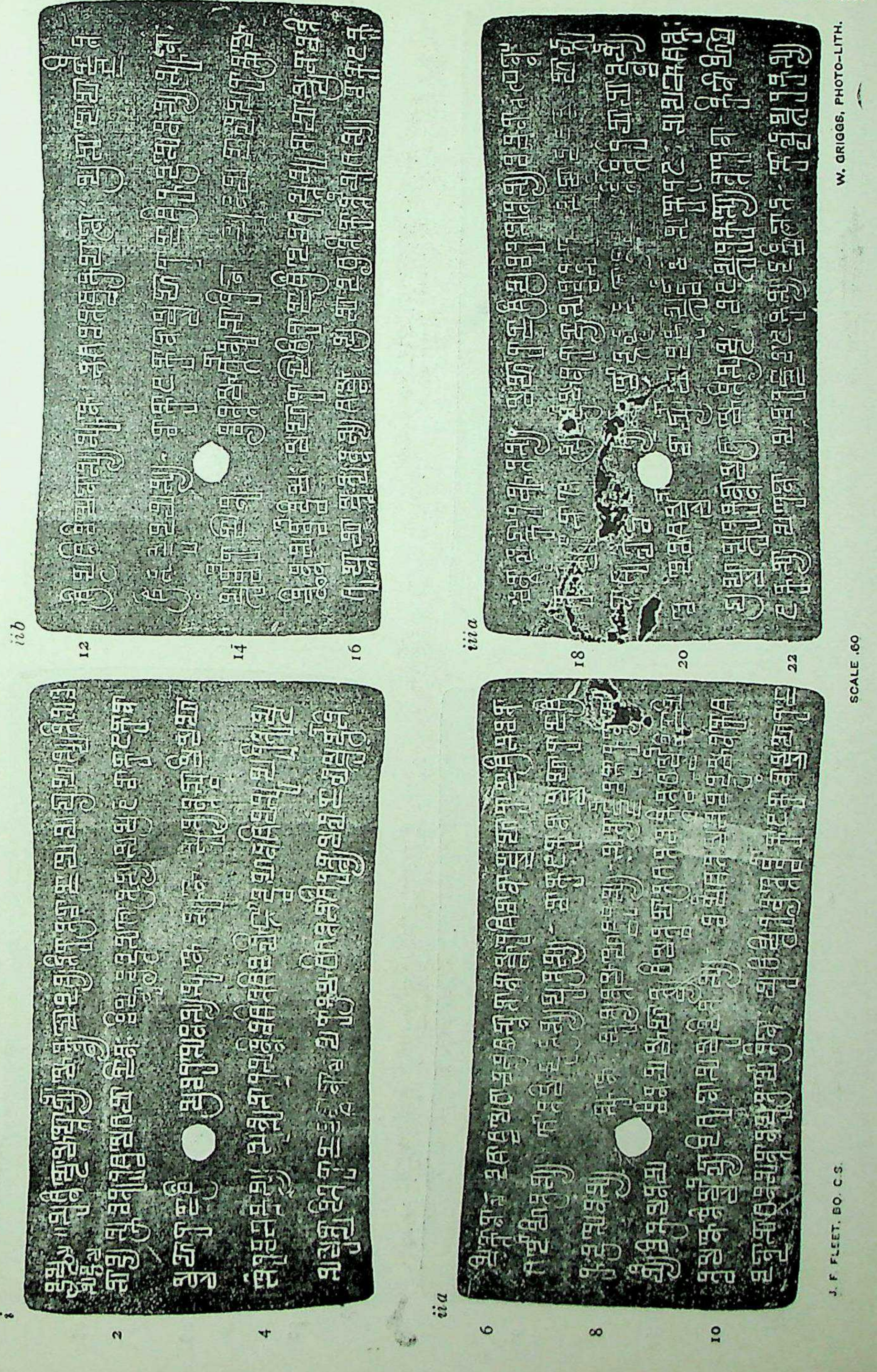
[4] See page 237 above, note 1.

[5] *i.e.* Rudrasêna I.

[6] Or, perhaps, Karañjachiraka.

[7] *sa-koraṭa* is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not known. But *koraṭa* has a Drâviḍian appearance and sound, and is perhaps an old form of the Kanarese *koraḍu*, *koraṇḍu*, *koraṇṭu*, 'a pollard, the trunk of a lopped tree; a log, stump, short stick.'—In Marâthî we have, *kôraṭ*, 'spun silk, while still raw or unboiled;' *kôraṇṭâ*, *kôrâṇṭâ*, Barleria or Amaranth; and *kôraḍâ*. 'dry, empty, yielding no returns or profit.'

Plate xxxv



i
2
4
iia
6
8
10
iib
12
14
16
iiia
18
20
22
SCALE .60
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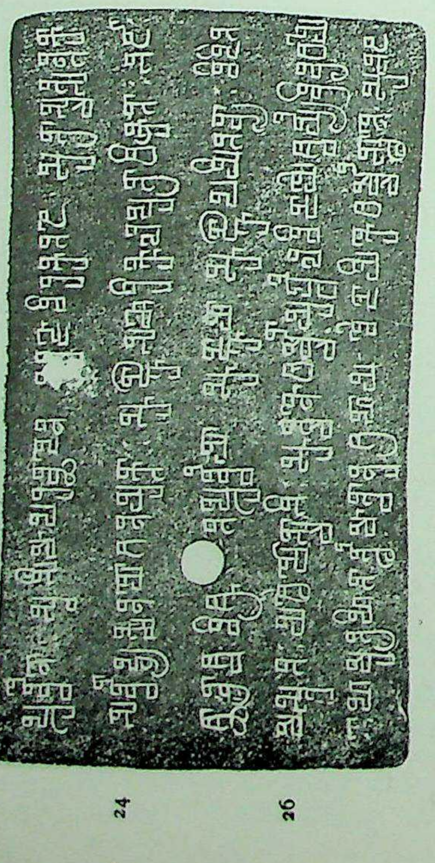
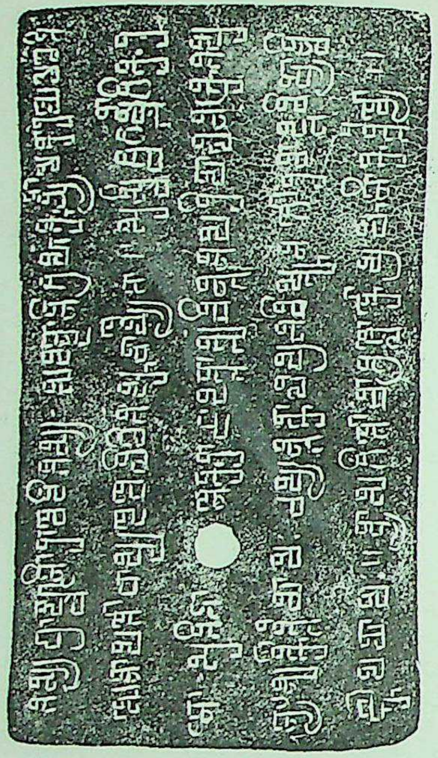
J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

Siwani Plates of the Maharaja Pravarasena II.

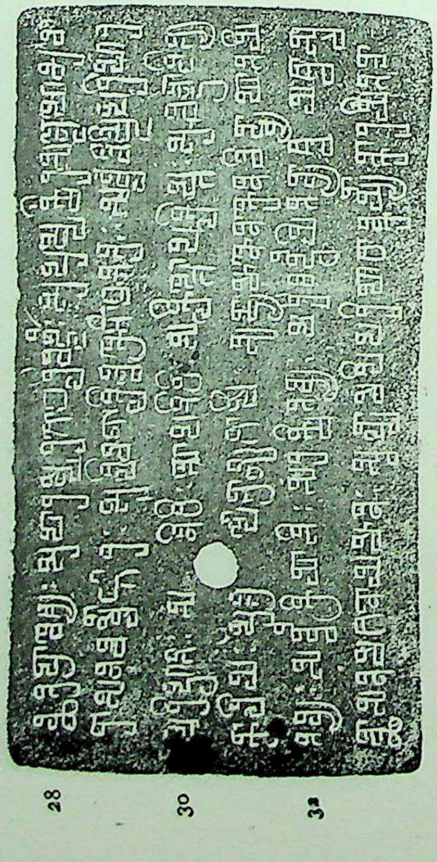
iiib



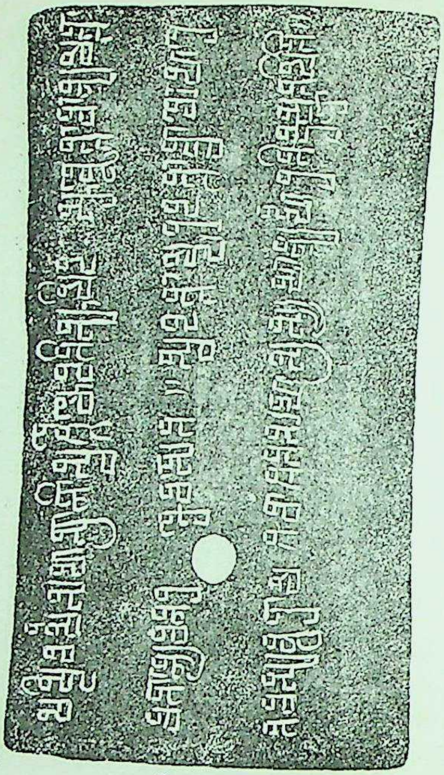
ivb



iva



v



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(*thus*) directed with a command preceded by (*the words*) 'O illustrious one:'—"Be it known to you, that, in order to increase Our own religion and life and strength and victory and dominion, (*and*) for the sake of (*Our*) welfare in this world and in the next, (*ana generally*) for Our benefit, this (*village*) [is granted*] in (*Our*)victorious office of justice.

(L. 27.)—"It is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers; it does not carry with it (*the right to*) cows and bulls in succession (*of production*), or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state; it is entirely free from all (*obligation of*) forced labour; it carries with it the hidden treasures and deposits, and the *klṛipta* and *upaklṛipta*; it is (*to be enjoyed*) for the same time with the moon and the sun; (*and*) it is to follow (*the succession of*) sons and sons' sons. The enjoyment of it should not be obstructed by any one. It should be protected and increased by all (*possible*) means. And whosoever, disregarding Our charter, shall give, or cause to be given, even slight vexation, We will inflict on him, or will cause to be inflicted, punishment, together with a fine, when he is denounced by the Brâhmaṇs."

(L. 35.)—(*This charter*) has been written by the *Âchârya*, while **Bâppadêva** is the *Sênâpati*.

(L. 35.)—And in this subject-matter of religion,—in order to avoid boasting of (*other*) meritorious actions performed (*by Us*),—We do not recite the religious merit acquired by (*Our*) care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone. (*But*), out of respect for those who shall be pre-eminent in times to come, We make a request (*for protection of the grant*) to future (*kings*).

(L. 38.)—And two verses, sung by Vyâsa, are to be taken as an authority on this point:—The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another, he incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows!

No. 57; PLATE XXXVI A.

PAHLADPUR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in 1838, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 1055, where Mr. James Prinsep published the text of it, as read by Pandit Kamalakanta from Captain Burt's facsimile, and, with the text, his own translation.

Pahlâdpur[1] is a village near the right bank of the Ganges, six miles east by south of **Dhânâpur**, the chief town of the Mahâîch Pargaṇâ in the Zamânîyâ[2] Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Ghâzîpur District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on a sandstone monolith column,—about three feet in diameter; polished and rounded for a length of twenty-seven feet; with a rough base of nine feet; the total length being thirty-six feet,—which was found lying here, more than half buried in the ground, and was afterwards, in or about 1853, removed to Benares and set up in the grounds of the Sanskṛit College there, on the north side, where it still stands. At the village of 'Lathiya,' one and a half miles east of Zamâniyâ, there stands another sandstone column, rather smaller in its dimensions, which is supposed to be the sister-column of the Pahlâdpur pillar; but it is not inscribed.

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[1] The 'Palladpur and Puhladpoor' of maps, &c. Lat. 25° 26′ N.; Long. 83° 31′ E.—It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103, almost opposite the village of 'Puharpoor' on the other side of the river; but it is not entered there.

[2] The 'Zamania, Zaminea, Zeemaneea, and Zumeniah,' of maps, &c.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 4′ 11″ broad by 4″ high, is about ten feet above the place where the column starts from its present pedestal; and, commencing on the north-west, it runs a little more than half-way round the column. The greater part of it is in a state of very good preservation; but a few letters in the third *pâda* of the verse, containing the name of the king, if it was recorded, have unfortunately quite peeled off, and are entirely illegible. There are several inscriptions in the so-called "shell-characters" on this column; but, apparently, no sculptures connected with the inscription now published.—The **size** of the letters varies from ½″ to ¾″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indo-Scythic form of *m*, which disappeared in Northern India very soon after the commencement of the Early Gupta period; and its appearance here is sufficient to stamp this record as being at least as early as any other inscription in this volume.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription consists only of one verse, preceded by the word *iha*, 'here.'—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** is not dated, and is non-sectarian. It only commemorates the fame of a king whose name, if it was recorded, is unfortunately peeled away and lost. Mr. Prinsep suggested, from the comparison in the last *pâda* of the verse, that his name was Lôkapâla. From the rhyming ends of the four *pâdas*, it seems that his name must have ended in *pâla*. But, in the third *pâda* of the verse, we have certainly the well-known name of **Śiśupâla;** and,—whether the name as it stands here is that of the king himself, or is that of the Purâṇic king Śiśupâla of Chêdî, with whom he is compared,—the inference seems to be that the name of the king, whose inscription is on the pillar, was **Śiśupâla.** The chief interest of the inscription, however, is in the early date of it, as shewn by the characters; and in there being the possibility that it is a record of the **Pallavas** in Northern India. The king is called *pârthiv-ânîka-pâlaḥ*. This might be rendered by simply "the protector of the armies of kings." But *pârthiva* has so much the appearance of standing as a proper name here,[1] that I think the correct translation is "the protector of the army of the **Pârthivas.**" And, if Dr. Oldhausen's derivation of the name Pallava, through the form Pahlava, from Parthava, *i.e.* Parthian,[2] can be upheld, there will be no objection to considering that we have in this record a fuller and more completely Sanskṛitised form of the early name of this tribe.

TEXT.[3]

1 Iha [|*] Vipula[4]-vijaya-kîrt[t*]iḥ kshatra-saddharma-pâlaḥ satata-dda(da)yita-
p[â*]rtthaḥ **P[â*]rthiv**-âni(nî)ka-pâlaḥ diśi-diś[i] **Śiśupâla**[—]timâ
[— ◡]pau(?)laḥ vihita iva Vidhâtrâ pañchamô lô[kapâ]laḥ [||*]

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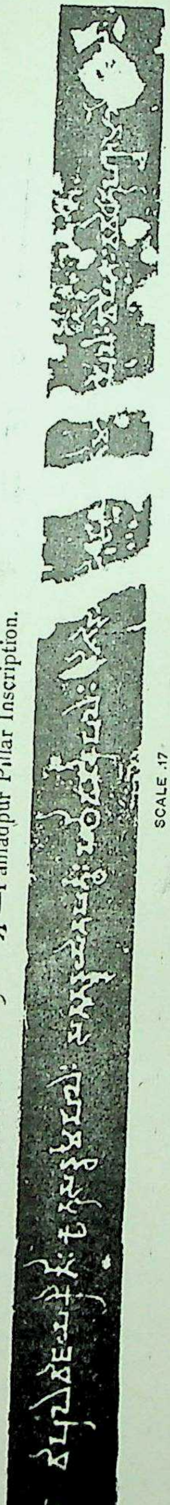
[1] As a Hindu name, it denotes one of the families of the Kauśikas, descended through Viśvâmitra from Kuśika who was brought up among the Pahlavas (see Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I. p. 351 ff.).

[2] See Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 188, note 201.

[3] From the original pillar.

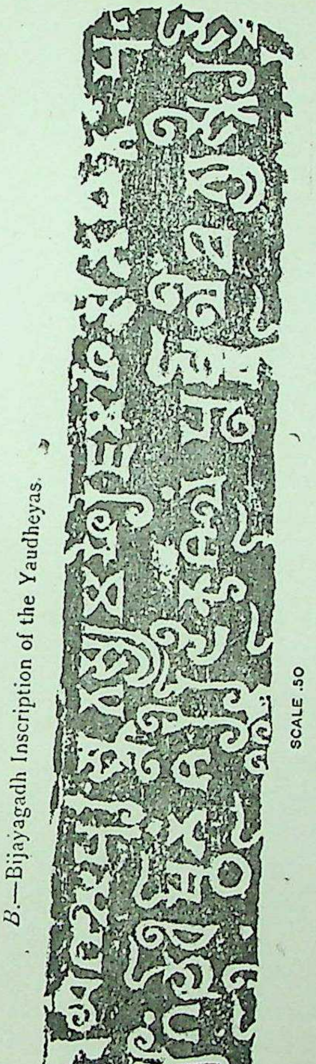
[4] Metre, Mâlinî.

Plate xxxvi



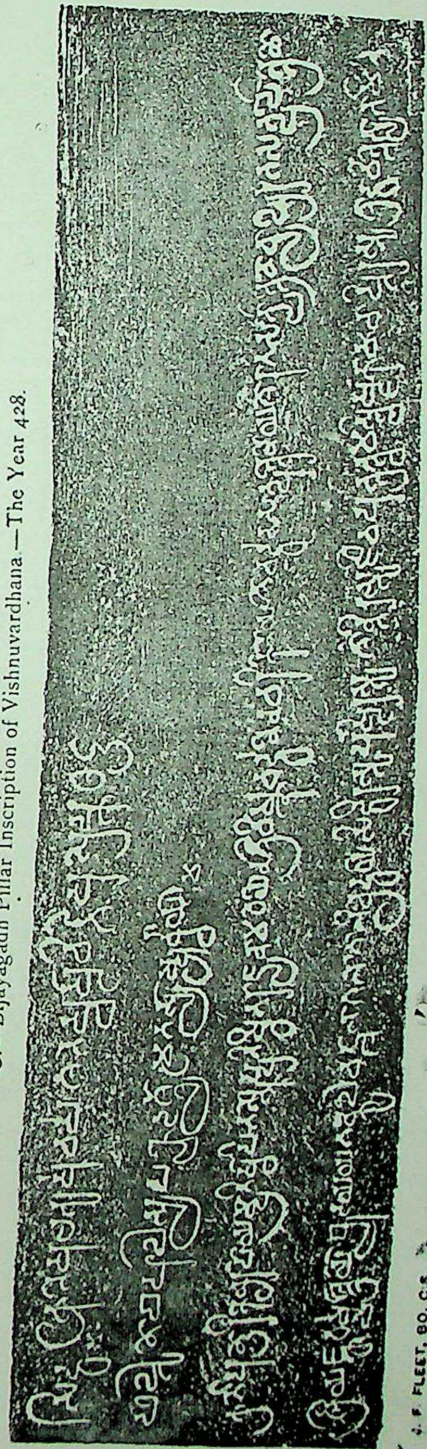
A.—Pahladpur Pillar Inscription.

SCALE .17



B.—Bijayagadh Inscription of the Yaudheyas.

SCALE .50



C.—Bijayagadh Pillar Inscription of Vishnuvardhana.—The Year 428.

SCALE .08

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J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

TRANSLATION.

Here, he,—who is possessed of extensive victory and fame; who is the protector of the true religion of the warrior caste; who always cherishes princes; who is the protector of the army of the **Pârthivas**;[1] who day after day .... **Śiśupâla** ....,—was created, as if he were a fifth *Lôkapâla*,[2] by (the god) Vidhâtṛi.

No. 58; PLATE XXXVI B.

BIJAYAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE YAUDHEYAS.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by myself in 1885, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 8, and is now edited for the first time. It is from a stone that was found by my copyists, built into the inside of the Fort wall, near the pillar which has on it the following inscription of the Varika Vishṇuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59, Plate xxxviC., in the hill-fort of **Bijayagaḍh** or **Bêjêgaḍh,** about two miles to the south-west of Byânâ,[3] the chief town of the Byânâ Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Bharatpur[4] State in Râjputânâ.

The **writing,** which covers the whole front of the stone, about 1′ 5½″ broad by 2⅝″ high, except for a margin of about an inch at the beginning of each line, is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment of the original inscription. An indefinite amount is lost at the end of each line; and also an indefinite number of lines below line 2. Every effort was made to discover the rest of the inscription, but without success.—The average **size** of the letters is about ½″. The **characters** must be considered as belonging to the northern class of alphabets; and the so-called Indo-Scythic form of the *m* stamps them at once as of decidedly early date. But they are of such a peculiarly ornate type, that, having no inscription of known date with which to compare them, it is not possible at present to suggest any definite period for them.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the extant portion of the inscription is entirely in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

All the historical contents of the **inscription,** including the name, except perhaps the first syllable and part of the second, of the *Mahârâja* and *Mahâsênâpati* whose titles occur in line 1, are lost. The interest of the inscription lies in its being a record of the tribe of the **Yaudhêyas,** who are mentioned elsewhere in this volume only in line 22 of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, No. 1 above, where they are included among the tribes subjugated by the Early Gupta king Samudragupta.

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[1] See the introductory remarks.

[2] The four *Lôkapâlas*, or regents of the quarters of the world, are—Indra, of the east; Yama, of the south; Varuṇa, of the west; and Kuvêra, of the north.—The number is sometimes increased to eight, by the addition of Agni at the south-east, Sûrya at the south-west, Vâyu at the north-west, and Chandra at the north-east.

[3] The 'Byana' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 50. Lat. 26° 57′ N.; Long. 77° 20′ E.—Other writers give the name as 'Baiâna, Bayâna, Biâna, and Biânah;' but this is wrong; the name, of which the mediæval form is said to have been Bêhayânâ, is dissyllabic.—As regards Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle's utterly untenable derivation of Byânâ from the name of the demon Bâṇâsura, see my remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 9.—The ancient Sanskṛit name of the place was Śrîpathâ; see *id.* pp. 8 f., and 10; and Vol. XV. p. 239.

[4] The 'Bhurtpoor' of maps, &c.

TEXT.[1]

1 Siddham [||*] **Yaudh[ê]ya**-gaṇa-puraskṛitasya mahârâja-mahâsênâpatêḥ pu ....

2 brâhmaṇa-purôgaṁ ch=âdhishṭhânaṁ śarîr-âdi-kuśalaṁ pṛishṭvâ likhaty= Asti Rasmâ ....

3 [2]...

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Of the *Mahârâja* and *Mahâsênâpati*, who has been made the leader of the **Yaudhêya** tribe, ...

and having asked the settlement, headed by the Brâhmaṇs, as to the health of (*their*) bodies &c., writes—"There is ....

No. 59; PLATE XXXVI C.

BIJAYAGADH STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE YEAR 428.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, and was first brought to notice by him in 1878, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 59 ff., where he published Dr. G. Bühler's reading of the text and translation,[3] from an ink-impression supplied by himself, with a lithograph (*id.* Plate viii). It is on a monolith red-sandstone pillar that stands in a conspicuous position, near the south wall of the Fort, inside the hill-fort of **Bijayagaḍh** or **Bêjêgaḍh** near Byânâ,[4] the chief town of the Byânâ Sub-Division of the Bharatpur State in Râjputânâ. The pillar stands on a rubble masonry platform, which is about 13′ 6″ high and 9′ 2″ square at the top. The height of the pillar above the plinth is 26′ 3″. The base is square, to the height of 3′ 8″; each face measuring 1′ 6″. Above this, the pillar is octagonal, for a length of 22′ 7″; and it then tapers off to a point. The extreme top, however, is broken; and a metal spike, which projects from it, indicates that it was originally surmounted by a capital. The inscription is towards the south side of the pillar; it runs vertically down the pillar, and is read from the top downwards;[5] and the lowest letter of line 3, the longest line, is about 7′ 0″ above the level of the plinth. The platform, on which the pillar stands, is plainly of much more recent construc-

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[1] From the ink-impression.

[2] Several superscript vowels are legible along this line; but the consonants are all broken away and lost.

[3] Both more or less mutilated in publication.

[4] See page 251 above, and note 3.

[5] On this point, Mr. Carlleyle's account is exactly the opposite; but he is wrong; as is, in fact, shewn by his further statement that line 2 is on the left of line 1, and so on; this could not be the case, if the inscription ran from the bottom upwards.

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tion than the pillar itself; and this suggests that possibly the present position of the pillar is not its original one. On the south side of the pillar, towards the top of the square base, there is engraved, in two lines of rather rough Dêvanâgarî characters of about the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., *Śrî-yôgî Vra*(*bra*)*hmasâgara*, "the holy ascetic, Brahmasâgara;" with perhaps an imperfect date below, of (Vikrama-Saṁvat) 1008 (A.D. 951-52). And this may possibly indicate the period when the pillar was placed in its present position.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 9′ 4″ broad by 2′ 6½″ high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout.—The **size** of the letters varies from 1⅝″ to 2″. The **characters** must be regarded as belonging to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indo-Scythic form of *m*, quite in accordance with the date of the record. They also include, in line 1, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8, 20, and 400.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvâmûlîya* in *yaśah-kula*, line 4; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, in *viṅśêshu*, line 1, and *vaṅśa*, line 4; (3) the doubling throughout of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *puttrêṇa*, line 2; (4) the doubling of *p*, once, under the same circumstances, in *suppratishṭhita*, line 2; (5) the very exceptional doubling of *ś*, in conjunction with a following *r* and *y*, in *śśrêyô*, line 4, and *pañchadaśśyâm*, line 2; (6) the doubling of *bh* in conjunction with a following *y*, in *abbhyudaya*, line 4; and (7) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *v*, in *puttrattva*, line 4.

The **inscription** is one of a *Râja* named **Vishṇuvardhana,** of the **Varika** tribe. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, when the year four hundred and twenty-eight had expired; on the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Phâlguna (February-March). The era is not stated; but the type of the characters indicates, with the locality of the inscription, that we must refer the date to the Mâlava or Vikrama era, with the result of A.D. 371-72 expired, and A.D. 372-73 current. And this shews that the Varika **Vishṇuvardhana** was in all probability a feudatory of the **Early Gupta** king **Samudragupta.**[1] The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it only being to record the erection, by **Vishṇuvardhana,** of this pillar, which is called a *yûpa* or 'sacrificial post,' on the completion of a *puṇḍarîka*-sacrifice.

TEXT.[2]

1 Siddham [||*] Kṛitêshu chatursh u varsha-śatêshv=ashṭâviṅśêshu 400 20 8
2 Phâlguṇa(na)-bahulasya pañchadaśśyâm=êtasyâm=pûrvvâyâm[3] [||*]
3 Kṛitau puṇḍarîkê yûpô=yam=pratishṭhâpitas=suppratishṭhita-râjya-nâmadhêyêna
śrî-**Vishṇuvarddhanêna** **Varikêṇa** **Yaśôvarddhana**-sat-puttrêṇa
Yaśôrâta-sat-pauttrêṇa **Vyâghrarâta**-sat-prapauttrêṇa[4]

---

[1] If we refer the date to the Śaka era, the result, A.D. 506-7, might perhaps be used to identify this Vishṇuvardhana with the king of the same name mentioned in the Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 589 (A.D. 532-33). But there is nothing to justify us in assuming that the Śaka era was ever used in early times in this part of the country. Also, the form of *m*, as a northern letter, is too early for that period. And, as is shewn by his titles of *Râjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*, as well as by the general tenor of his inscription, the Vishṇuvardhana of the Mandasôr record was a far greater person than this Vishṇuvardhana, the Varika.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Supply *tithau*.

[4] The form of *ṇa* that occurs here differs from the form used in the other instances throughout this inscription, in the distinct loop on the right hand of the bottom of the letter.

4 śrî-yajña - dharmma - śśrêyô - bbhyudaya - yaśaḥ - kula - vaṅśa - bhâga - bhôg - âbhivṛiddhayê [||*] Siddhir=astu pushṭir=astu śântir=astu jîvaputtrattvam=astv=ishṭa-kâm-âvâptir=astu śrâ(śra)ddhâ-vittê syâtâm=iti[1] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Four centuries of years, together with the twenty-eighth (*year*), (*or in figures*) 400 (*ana*) 20 (*ana*) 8, having been accomplished;[2] on the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Phâlguna;—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as aforesaid:—

(Line 3.)—On the ceremony of the *puṇḍarîka*-sacrifice (*having been performed*), this sacrificial post has been caused to be set up by the **Varika,** the illustrious **Vishṇuvardhana,** whose royalty[3] and name are well established,—who is the excellent son of **Yaśôvardhana;** (*and*) the excellent son's son of **Yaśôrâta;** (*and*) the excellent son of the son's son of **Vyâghrarâta,**—for the purpose of increasing (*his*) splendour, sacrifices, religion, welfare (*in the other world*), prosperity, fame, family, lineage, good fortune, and enjoyment.[4]

(L. 4.)—Let there be success! Let there be increase! Let there be tranquillity! Let there be the condition of (*his*) having a son who shall live! Let there be the attainment of desires that are wished for! May there be faith and wealth!

No. 60; PLATE XXXVII.

SPURIOUS GAYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 9.

THIS inscription, which is now published for the first time, is from a copper-plate that was obtained a few years ago by General Cunningham at **Gayâ,**[5] the chief town of the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency, and was, I think, first brought to notice by him in 1883, in his *Book of Indian Eras*, page 53, where it is entered as being dated in the year 40. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from General Cunningham.

The **plate,** which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 8″ by 7⅛″. It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. About half-way down the proper left side, the plate has laminated rather seriously; and there is also a small crack just below this place, and another in the top of the plate, in the word *vâsakât*; but, except at these places, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plate is fairly thick and substantial; and the letters, which are shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—Onto the proper right side of the plate, there is fused a **seal,** oval in shape, about $2\frac{7}{8}''$ by $3\frac{3}{8}''$. It has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—at the top, Garuḍa, represented as a bird, standing to the front, with outstretched wings; and, below this, a **legend** in five lines, which, being also in relief, is so worn, that nothing of it can be read except a few disconnected letters here and there, and *Sam*[*u*]*drag*[*u*]*p*[*taḥ*], very faintly, at the end of line 5. It must have contained a succinct recital of the genealogy, after the fashion of the Aśîrgaḍh seal of Sarvavarman, No. 47 above, page 219, and the Sônpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 above, page 231.—The **weight** of the plate, with the seal, is 2 lbs. 10 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is $\frac{3}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 14, forms of the **numerical symbols**[1] for 9 and 10.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In line 3-4, we have, instead of the usual expression *utsanna*, the word *uchchanna*, which, as used here, is, according to Sir Monier Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, a Prâkṛit corruption of the Sanskṛit *utsanna*.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the doubling of *t* throughout, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *prapauttrasya*, line 4; *pittrôr*, line 8; and *sagôttrâya*, line 9; (2) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *ayôddhyâ*, line 1; (3) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *bô*, line 8, and *sambat*, line 14; and (4) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vrâhmaṇa*, lines 7 and 10; *vahṛichâya*, line 9; and *savrahmachâriṇê*, line 9-10.

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[1] As is seen in the lithograph, there is no foundation whatever for the additional letter *yô* which, in Mr. Carlleyle's published lithograph, follows this *ti*, or, rather, the *kâ* into which the *ti* was so gratuitously converted by him. The result was naturally such as to puzzle Dr. Bühler as to the close of the inscription.

[2] *kṛitêshu*; see page 73 above, note 1.

[3] Or, more technically, 'condition of being a *Râja*.'

[4] Or perhaps *bhâgabhôga* should be taken as one word, meaning 'enjoyment of taxes; lordship, royalty;' see Monier Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, s. v. *bhâgabhuj*, which is explained by 'enjoying taxes; a king, a sovereign.'

[5] The 'Gya' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104 Lat. 24° 48′ N.; Long. 85° 3′ E.

The **inscription** purports to be one of the **Early Gupta** king **Samudragupta,** and to record a charter issued from his camp at the city of **Ayôdhyâ.**[2] It purports to be dated, in numerical symbols,[3] in the year nine (A.D. 328-29), on the tenth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Vaiśâkha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it simply being to record the grant to a Brâhmaṇ, ostensibly by **Samudragupta,** of the village ot **Rêvatikâ** in the **Gayâ** *vishaya*.

The legend on the seal of this grant is in characters which present a very different appearance to those of the body of the inscription; as also does the copper of the seal, as compared with the substance of the plate; and the seal is in all probability a genuine one of Samudragupta, detached from some other plate. The inscription itself, however, is undoubtedly spurious. This is shewn conclusively, if by nothing else, by the fact that from *uchchhêttuḥ*, line 1, to *dauhittrasya*, line 5, the epithets of Samudragupta are uniformly in the genitive case; the drafter of the inscription was copying from a grant of Chandragupta II. or some other descendant of Samudragupta;[4] he only then recognised that this construction would not suit a supposed inscription of Samudragupta himself, which was required in accordance with the seal that was to be attached; and he promptly then adopted the nominative construction, *utpannaḥ* .... *Samudraguptaḥ*, without taking the trouble to correct the preceding passages. It is difficult to suggest any definite time for the fabrication of this grant; on the one side, some of the characters are antique, *e.g.* the forms of *k*, *p*, *m*, and *r*, and particularly *h*; on the other side, others are comparatively modern, especially the *sh* in *valatkaushabhyâm*, line 7-8. But it has the general appearance of having been made somewhere about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Points which may hereafter serve to fix its date more definitely are (1) the use of the Prâkṛit corruption *uchchhanna*, in line 3-4; and (2) the opening expression *mahâ-nau-hasty-aśva &c.*, in line 1; the only other instances of similar expressions being in line 1 of the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II., No. 46 above, page 215, and in line 1 of the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant[1] of the *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla, of A.D. 761-62, and of the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant[2] of the *Mahârâja* Vinâyakapâla, of A.D. 794-95.

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[1] The symbol which I take to be meant for 9, was interpreted by Gen. Cunningham as 40. But it certainly is not 40. It resembles most the decimal figure 2. But the day of the month is distinctly marked by a form of the numerical symbol for 10. This shews that the sign here also is intended for a numerical symbol; and the only symbol to which it approximates, is that for 9.

[2] The modern Ajôdhyâ or Ajûdhyâ (the 'Oudh or Ajoodhia' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 87). Lat. 26° 48′ N.; Long. 82° 14′ E., on the south bank of the river 'Ghâgra or Ghôgra,' about four miles north-east of Faizâbad, the chief town of the Faizâbâd Division of Oudh in the North-West Provinces.

[3] See note 1 above.

[4] Compare the construction in the Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 above, page 25, and in the Bhitarî pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 above, page 52.

TEXT.[3]

1 Ôm Svasti Mahâ-nau-hasty-aśva-jayaskandhâvârâj(d)=**Â(a)yôddhyâ**-vâsakât=sarvva-râj-ôchchhêttu[ḥ*] pṛi-

2 thivyâm=a-pratirathasya chatur-udadhi-salil-âsvâdita-yaśa[sô*[4]] Dhanada-Varuṇ-Êndr-Â-

3 ntaka-samasya Kṛitânta-paraśôr=nyây-âgat-ânêka-gô-hiraṇya-kôṭi-pradasya chir-ôchchha-

4 nn[5]-âśvamêdh-âharttu[ḥ*] mahârâja-śrî-**Gupta**-prapauttrasya[6] mahârâja-śrî-**Ghaṭôtkacha**-pauttrasya[7]

5 mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya[8] **Lichchhivi**-dauhittrasya[9] mahâdêvyâ[ṁ*] **Ku-**

6 **mâ[10]radêvyâm**=utpanna[ḥ*] paramabhâgavatô mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Samudra-**

7 **guptaḥ** **Gayâ**-vaishayika-**Rêvatikâ**-grâmê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-purôga-grâma-vala-

8 tkaushabhyâm=âha I Êva ch=ârtha[ṁ*] viditam=bô(vô) bhavatv=êśa(sha) grâmô mayâ mâtâpittrôr=â-

9 tmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê Bhâradvâja-sagôttrâya Va(ba)hvṛichâya sav[r]a(bra)hmachâ-

10 riṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-Gôpadêvasvâminê s-ôparikar-ôddêśên=âgrahâratvên=âti-

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 112.

[2] *id.* p. 140.

[3] From the original plate.

[4] There is a mark over the *śa*, which may be only a rust-mark, but which renders it a little doubtful whether *yaśô-dhanada* was engraved, or *yaśa dhanada* with an omission of *sô*. The other inscriptions, however, shew that the correct reading is *yaśasô dhanada* &c.

[5] The other inscriptions all read *utsanna*.—Monier Williams, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, suggests that *uchchhanna*,—which, in the sense of 'uncovered,' is a regular derivative from *ud* + *chhad*,—is, in the sense of 'destroyed, fallen into disuse,' a Prâkṛit corruption of *utsanna*, from *ud* + *sad*.

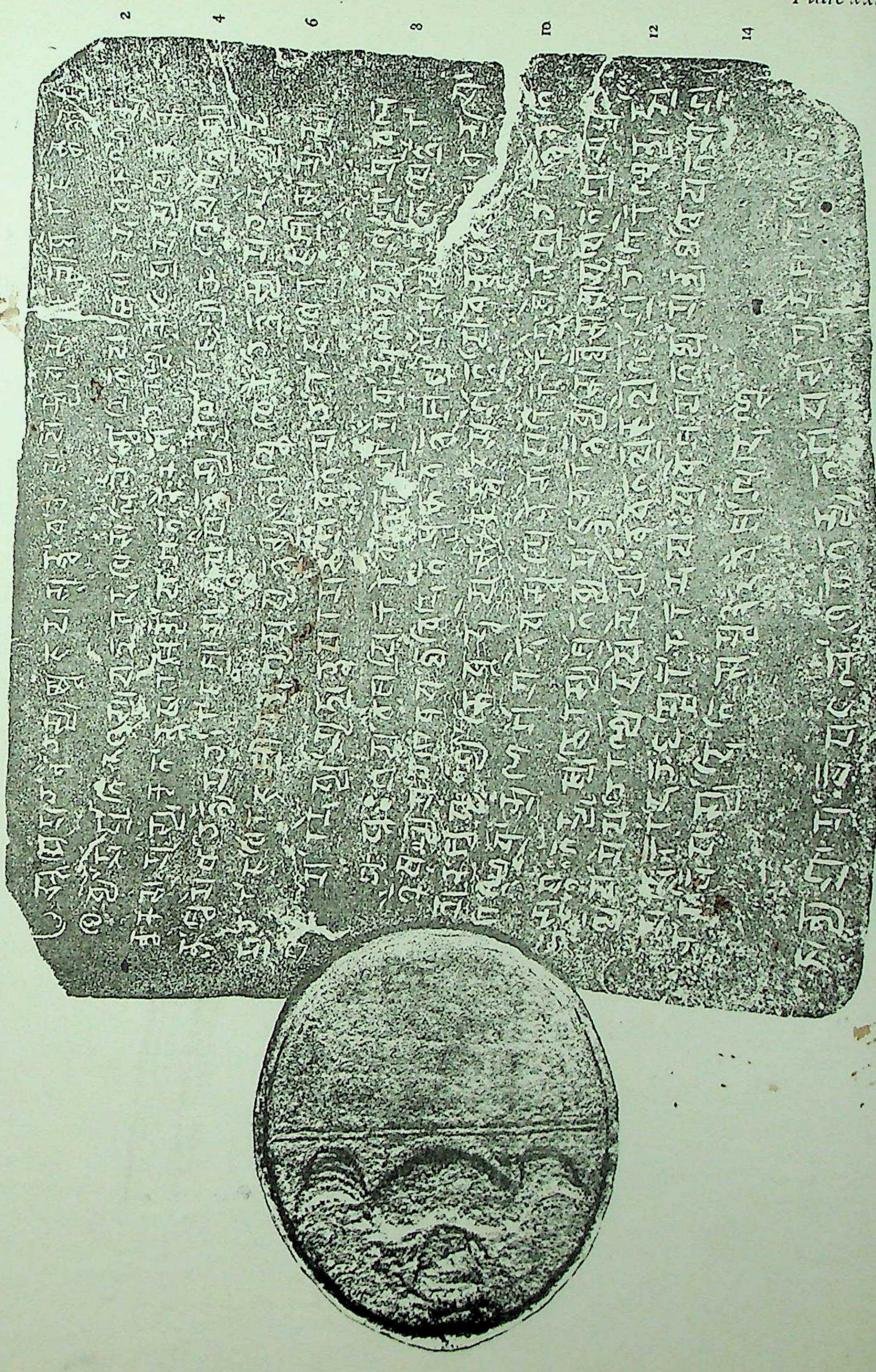
[6] In order to render the inscription capable of translation, read *prapauttraḥ*. And, at the same time, correct all the preceding genitives into nominatives.

[7] Read *pauttraḥ*.

[8] Read *puttraḥ*.

[9] Read *dauhittraḥ*.

[10] This *mâ* was first engraved closer to the margin of the plate, and then, being indistinct there, was repeated.



Spurious Gaya Plate of Samudragupta.—The Year 9.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE .90

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

11 sṛishṭaḥ [I*] tad=yushmâbhir=asya śrôtavyam=âjñâ cha karttavyâ sarvvê cha[1] sa[2]muchitâ grâma-pra-

12 tyayâ mêya-hiraṇy-âdayô dêyâḥ [I*] na ch=ê(ai)tat-prabhṛity=êtad-âgrahârikêṇ=[â*]nyad[3]-grâ-

13 m-âdi-karada-kuṭumbi-kâruk-âdayaḥ pravêśayitavyâ ma(a)nyathâ niyatam=â(a)gra-

14 hâr-âkshêpa[ḥ*] syâd=iti [II*] Samba(mva)t[4] 9 Vaiśâkha di 10 [II*]

15 Anya-grâm-âkshapaṭalâdhikṛita-**Dyûta-Gôpasvâmy**-âdêśa-likhitaḥ[5] [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! From the victorious camp, full of great ships and elephants and horses, situated at (the city of) **Ayôdhyâ,**—the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Samudragupta,**—who is the exterminator of all kings; who has no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world; whose fame is tasted by the waters of the four oceans; who is equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka; who is the very axe of (the god) Kṛitânta; who is the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who is the restorer of the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, that has been long in abeyance; who is the son of the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Gupta;** who is the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Ghaṭôtkacha;** (*and*) who is the son of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (I.),** (*and*) the daughter's son of **Lichchhivi,** begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* **Kumâradêvî,**—says to the two village *Valatkaushans*,[6] together with the Brâhmaṇs, at the village of **Rêvatikâ** belonging to the **Gayâ** *vishaya*;—

(Line 8.)—"Be it known to you! For the sake of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) parents and of myself, this village is granted by me, as an *agrahâra*, with the assignment of the *uparikara*, to the religious student, the Brâhmaṇ Gôpasvâmin, of the Bhâradvaja *gôtra* (*and*) the Bahvṛicha (*śâkhâ*).

(L. 11.)—"Therefore attention should be paid to him by you; and (*his*) commands should be obeyed; and all the customary tributes of the village, consisting of that which is to be measured, gold, &c., should be given. And, from this time forth, the tax-paying cultivators, artizans, &c., of other villages, &c., should not be introduced by the *Âgrahârika* of this (*village*) (*for the purpose of settling in it and carrying on their occupations*); (*for*) otherwise there would certainly be a violation of (*the privileges of*) an *agrahâra*." The year[7] 9; (the month) Vaiśâkha; the day 10.

(L. 15.)—(*This deed*) has been written by the order of **Dyûta-Gôpasvâmin,** the *Akshapaṭalâdhikṛita*[8] of another village.

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[1] *sa* was engraved here, and then corrected into *cha*.

[2] *cha* was engraved here, and then corrected into *sa*.

[3] Read *ânya*.

[4] As regards the interpretation of the first symbol, see page 255 above, note 1.

[5] Supply *ullêkhô=yam*, or any similar words.

[6] *Valatkaushan* is evidently a technical official title; but it occurs nowhere else; and I am not able to suggest an explanation of its meaning

[7] As regards the interpretation of the symbol, see page 255 above, note 1.

[8] *Akshapaṭalâdhikṛita*, meaning *lit.* 'he who is appointed to (the duties of) a depository of legal documents,' is an official title that is evidently synonymous with *Âkshapaṭalika* (see page 190 above, note 2).

No. 61; PLATE XXXVIII A.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 106.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 53 f., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it by Râjâ Siva Prasad, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xix).—And in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 309 f., Dr. E. Hultzsch, working from General Cunningham's facsimile, published his own revised reading of the text, and translation of it.

This is another inscription from **Udayagiri**,[1] in the Bhêlsâ Sub-Division of the Îsâgaḍh District of Scindia's Dominions in Central India. It is inside a cave-temple, which General Cunningham has named "No. 10, the Jain Cave." The cave, which is about a hundred yards beyond "No. 9, the Amṛita Cave," is readily discernible from the plain, by means of the rough stone wall which forms the front of the main part of it; it is high up in the north-western end of the hill, and is not very easy of access, in consequence of its having to be entered by a narrow and steep flight of steps on the very edge of the cliff. The inscription is on the smoothed face of the rock, on a partly natural and partly artificial low arch, leading from the principal room of the cave to the next room towards the east.

The **writing,** which covers an irregular space of about 1′ $3\frac{1}{4}''$ broad by $7\frac{3}{4}''$ high, has suffered a little damage at the beginning and end of some of the lines, owing to the chipping of the angular edges of the rock; but the readings here can be completed without any doubt; and the rest of the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Below the last line, there is a row of five roughly cut modern numerals, reading 31245, the tops of which can be seen in the lithograph; but they have no connection with the inscription.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the opening invocation of the saints or perfect ones, the inscription is in verse throughout.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for special remark.

The **inscription** refers itself to the period of the **Early Gupta** kings; but not to the reign of any particular sovereign. The recorded date, however, shews that it belongs to the time of **Kumâragupta.** It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and six (A.D. 425-26), on the fifth solar day of the dark fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November). It is a Jain inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the *Tîrthaṁkara* Pârśva, or Pârśvanâtha, at the mouth of the cave.

TEXT.[2]

1 Namaḥ siddhêbhyaḥ [||*] Śrî[3]-saṁyutânâṁ guṇa-tôyadhînâṁ **Gupt-ânvayânâṁ** nṛipa-sattamânâṁ

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[1] See page 22 above, and note 1.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Metre Indravajrâ.

2 râjyê kulasy=âbhivivarddhamânê shaḍbhir=yyutê varsha-śatê=tha mâsê [||*] Su[1]-Kârttikê bahula-dinê=tha paṁchamê

3 guhâ-mukhê sphaṭa-vikaṭ-ôtkaṭâm=imâṁ jita-dvishô Jina-vara-Pârśva-saṁjñikâṁ Jin-âkṛitiṁ śama-damavân=a-

4 chîkarat [||*] Âchâryya[2]-Bhadr-ânvaya-bhûshaṇasya śishyô hy=asâv=âryya-kul-ôdgatasya âchâryya-Gôśa-

5 rmma-munês=sutas=tu Padmâvatâv[3]=aśvapatêr=bbhaṭasya [||*] Parair[4]=a-jêyasya Ripughna-mâninas=sa Saṅghi-

6 lasy=êty=abhiviśrutô bhuvi sva-saṁjñayâ **Śaṅkara**-nâma-śabditô vidhâna-yuktaṁ yati-mâ-

7 rggam=âsthitaḥ [||*] Sa[5] uttarâṇâṁ sadṛiśê Kurûṇâṁ udag-diśâ-dêśa-varê prasûtaḥ

8 kshayâya karmm-âri-gaṇasya dhîmân yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad=apâsasarjja [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to the Perfect Ones![6] In the augmenting reign of the family of the best of kings, belonging to the **Gupta lineage,** who are endowed with glory (*and*) are oceans of virtuous qualities;—in a century of years, coupled with six; and in the excellent month of Kârttika; and on the fifth day of the dark fortnight;—

(Line 3.)—He[7] who has conquered the enemies[8] (*of religion*), (*and*) is possessed of tranquillity and self-command, caused to be made (*and set up*) in the mouth of (*this*) cave, this image of a Jina, richly endowed with (*the embellishments of*) the expanded hoods of a snake[9] and an attendant female divinity, (*and*) having the name of Pârśva, the best of the Jinas.

(L. 4.)—He is, indeed, the disciple of the saint, the *Âchârya* Gôśarman, who was the ornament of the lineage of the *Âchârya* Bhadra (*and*) sprang from a noble family; but he is more widely renowned on the earth (*as being*) the son, (*begotten*) on Padmâvatî,[1] of the *Aśvapati*,[2] the soldier Saṅghila, who, unconquerable by (*his*) enemies, took himself to be a very Ripughna;[3]—by his own appellation, he is spoken of under the name of **Śaṁkara**;—(*and*) he has adhered to the path of ascetics, conformable to the sacred precepts.

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[1] Metre, Ruchirâ.

[2] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[3] We have here the locative case of a base *padmâvati*, which, to suit the metre, is substituted for the proper base *padmâvatî*, the locative of which would be *padmâvatyâm*.

[4] Metre, Vaṁśastha.

[5] Metre, Upêndravajrâ.

[6] *siddhêbhyaḥ*. These Siddhas are not to be confused with the mythical semi-divine Siddhas who are mentioned, *e.g.*, in line 1 of No. 18 above, page 81. They are saints, who by austere practices have attained *siddhi* or 'perfection or final beatitude' (see the remarks on *siddham*, page 25 above, note 4) in the shape of some or all of the five states of *salôkatâ*, 'residence in the same heaven with any particular deity;' *sarûpatâ*, 'identity of form with the deity, or assimilation to him;' '*sâmîpya*, 'nearness to the deity;' *sâyujya*, 'absorption into the deity;' and *sârshṭitâ* or *samânaiśvaryatva*, 'equality with the supreme being in power and all the divine attributes.'—The Jain term *siddha* corresponds pretty closely to the Buddhist *samyak-saṁbuddha*, which occurs in line 1 of No. 11 above, page 46.

[7] *i. e.* Śaṁkara, whose name occurs in line 6 below.

[8] The allusion is to the *ari-shaṭka* or *ari-shaḍ-varga*; see page 156 above, note 5.

[9] Dr. Hultzsch wrongly read *sphuṭa*, and thus missed the meaning of this passage.—For *vikaṭâ*, which I have translated by 'an attendant female divinity,' see Monier Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, *s.v.*, where he explains it by 'a kind of female divinity, peculiar to Buddhists.'—The image referred to in this inscription, is not now in the cave. But, in support of my explanation of the passage, we may refer to a precisely similar image, in the Jain cave at Bâdâmi, described in *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 25. It represents the same Jina, Pârśvanâtha, with a five-hooded snake over him as a kind of nimbus, and a female on the right side, with a serpent's hood, holding up the rod of the umbrella that shades him

(L. 7.)—Born in the region of the north, the best of countries, which resembles (*in beatitude*) the land of the Northern Kurus,[4]—he, the wise one, has set aside whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), for the purpose of destroying the band of the enemies[5] of religious actions.

No. 62; PLATE XXXVIII B.

SANCHI STONE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 131.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., where Mr. James Prinsep published a very fair lithograph of it (*id.* Plate xxvi.), reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers, and, with it, his own reading of the text, and a translation of it.

This is another inscription from **Sâñchi**,[6] in the Diwâṇgañj Sub-Division of the Bhôpâl State in Central India. It is on the outer side of the centre rail in the fourth row outside and on the south side of the eastern gateway, and in a re-entering angle of the railing, of the Great *Stûpa*.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2 5″ broad by 2′ 0″ high, is in a very fair state of preservation, every letter being, with care, legible from beginning to end; but, owing to the discolouration of the stone from lapse of time, it is much easier to read in the ink-impression and lithograph, than on the original stone.—The **size** of the letters varies from ½″ to 1″. As in the case of the Sâñchi inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 93, No. 5 above, page 29, Plate iiiB., the **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are not so carefully formed as the characters of that inscription; but,

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[1] See page 259 above, note 3.

[2] *Aśvapati, lit.* 'lord of horses,' appears to be a technical official title.—See Prof. F. Kielhorn's note on the analogous term *Gajapati*, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 9, note 52.

[3] Or we may translate "took himself to be the slayer of (*all his*) foes."—But Ripughna seems to be intended as a proper name, and as a synonym for Ripuṁjaya, which was the name of three or four Purâṇic kings and heroes; or for Śatrughna, which was the name of one of the brothers of Râma. We may also compare the name of Śatrughnarâja, in No. 55 above, line 19, page 237.

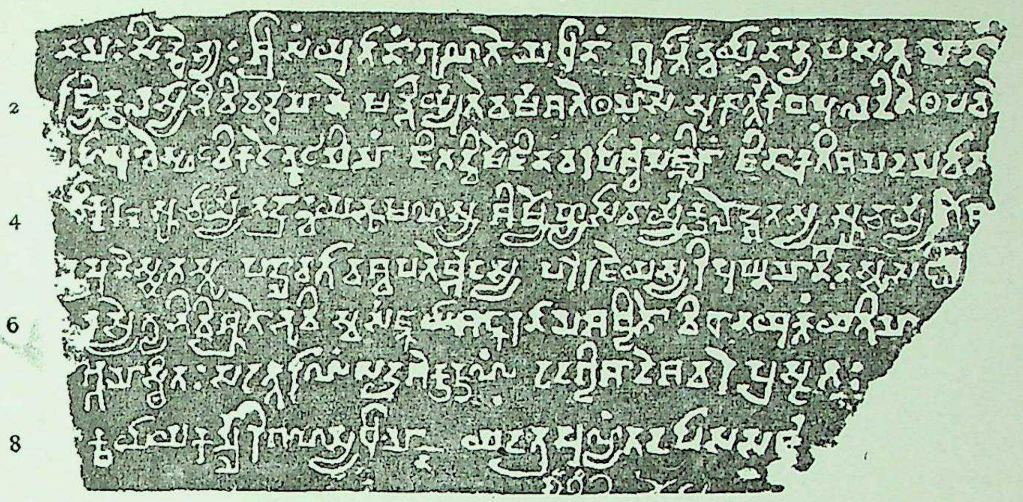
[4] The Kurus, one of the tribes of India, were divided into two branches, the northern and the southern. Uttarakuru, or the country of the Northern Kurus, is supposed to be a region beyond the most northern range of the Himâlaya mountains, and is described as a country of everlasting happiness.

[5] Here, again, the allusion is to the *ari-shaḍ-varga*; see page 156 above, note 5.

[6] See page 29 above, and note 2.—In connection with what I have said there, regarding the origin of the name of Sâñchi, I would add that we should compare, with Sâñchi or Sâchi and Kâchi, such instances as Tôṇḍal and Bôṇḍal, two villages next to each other, separated only by a stream, in the Mâḷsiras Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Shôlâpur District; and Hisrê and Phisrê, two contiguous villages in the Karmâḷêṁ Tâlukâ of the same District. Similar rhyming names may be found all over the country.

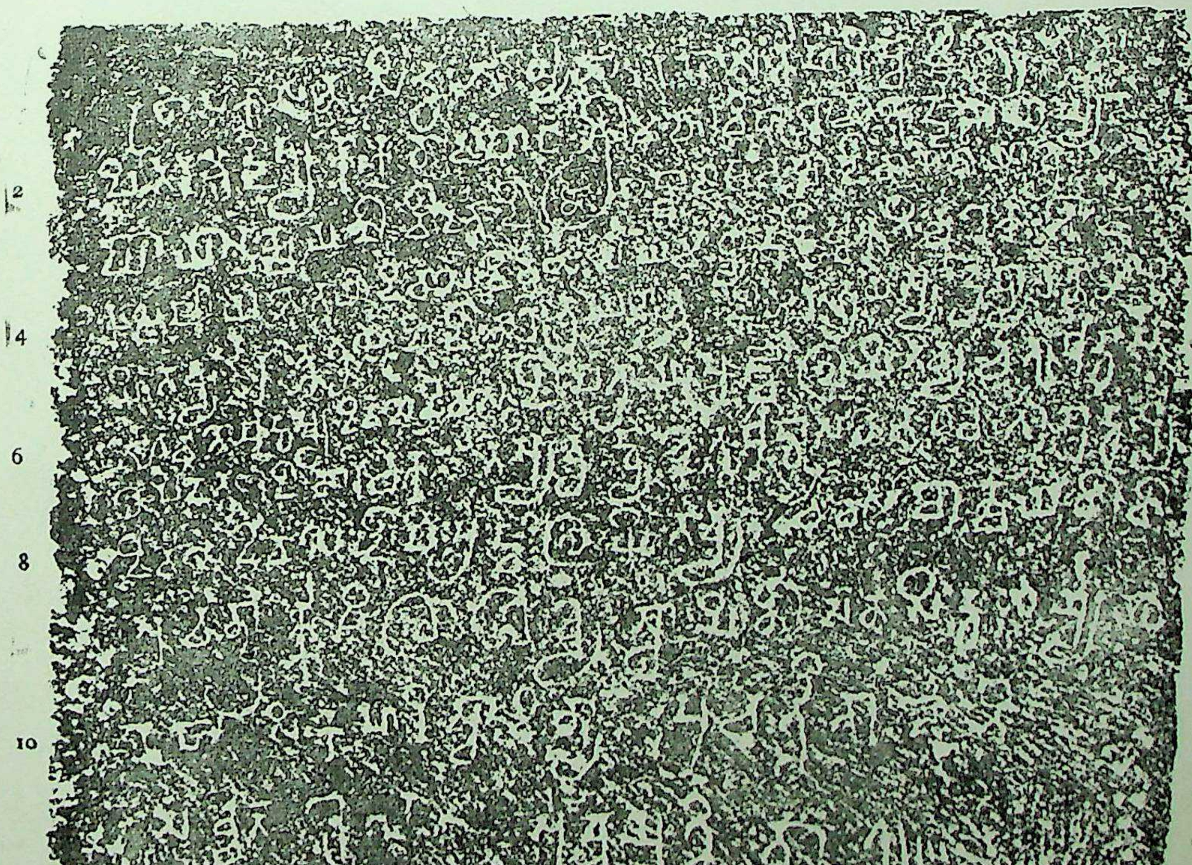
Plate xxxviii

A.—Udayagiri Cave Inscription.—The Year 106.



SCALE .40

B.—Sanchi Inscription.—The Year 131.



SCALE .25

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

allowing for this, the details shew no particular development. In line 11, they include forms of the **numerical symbols** for 1, 5, 30, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In *pravishṭaka*, line 4, we have to notice the affix *ka* which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of **orthography**, the only point that calls for remark, is the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvâra*, in *saṁvvat*, line 11.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king; but the date recorded in it, allots it to the time of either **Kumâragupta**, of the **Early Gupta** dynasty, or his son and successor **Skandagupta**. It is dated, in numerical symbols,[1] in the year one hundred and thirty-one (A.D. 450-51), on the fifth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Aśvayuj (September-October). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the *Upâsikâ* or lay-worshipper **Hari-svâminî**, the wife of the *Upâsaka* Sanasiddha, of certain sums of money to the *Ârya-Saṁgha*, or community of the faithful, at the great *vihâra* or Buddhist convent of **Kâkanâdabôṭa**,—*i.e.* the great *Stûpa* at Sâñchi,[2]—for the purpose of feeding one *Bhikshu* day by day, and of maintaining lamps in the shrines of Buddha.

TEXT.[3]

1 S[iddha]m[4] [॥*] Upâsaka-Sanasiddha-bhâryyayâ upâsik[â*]-**Harisvâminyâ** mâtâ-

2 pitaram[5]=uddiśya **Kâkanâdabôṭa**-śrî-mahâ-vihârê châturddiśây=âryya-saṁ-

3 ghâya akshaya[6]-nîvî dattâ dînârâ dvâdaśa [।*] êshâṁ dînârâṇâṁ yâ vṛiddhi-

4 r=upajâyatê tayâ divasê-divasê saṁgha-madhya-pravishṭaka-bhikshur=êkaḥ bhôja-

5 yitavyaḥ [॥*] Ratna-gṛihê=pi dînâra-trayaṁ dattaṁ [।*] [ta]d-dînâra-trayasya vṛi[d*]dhyâ ratna-gṛihê

6 bhagavatô Buddhasya divasê-divasê dîpa-trayaṁ prajvâlayitavyaṁ [॥*] Chatur-Buddh-âsa-

7 nê=pi dattaḥ dînâra êkaḥ [।*] tasya vṛiddhyâ chatur-Buddh-âsanê bhagavatô Buddhasya

8 divasê-divasê dîpaḥ prajvâlayitavyaḥ [॥*] Êvam=êsh=âkshaya-nîvî

9 â-chandr-ârkka-śilâ-lêkhyâ svâminî-Sanasiddha-bhâryyayâ

10 upâsik[â*]-**Harisvâminyâ** pravarttitâ iti [॥*]

11 Saṁvvat[7] 100 30 1 Aśvayug=di 5 ॥

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[1] Gen. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 193) read the first symbol as 300. But the two marks on the right side, required to convert 100 into 300, are entirely wanting; and he must have been misled by the natural marks of the stone becoming exaggerated in an imperfect ink-impression.

[2] See page 31 above.

[3] From the original stone.

[4] This word is in the margin, before *upâsaka*. The traces that remain of it are very faint.

[5] Read *mâtâpitarâv*.

[6] The initial *a* of this word is badly formed, and is partly run into the *ya* of *saṁghâya*. Perhaps *saṁghây=âkshaya* was being engraved, as required by *saṁdhi*, and then the initial *a* was inserted.

[7] As regards the reading of the first symbol, see note 1 above.

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! By the *Upâsikâ* **Harisvâminî,** the wife of the *Upâsaka* Sanasiddha, for the sake of (*her*) parents, twelve *dînâras* are given, (*as*) a permanent endowment, to the community of the faithful, collected from the four quarters of the world, at the holy great *vihâra* of **Kâkanâdabôṭa.** With the interest that accrues of these *dînâras*, day by day one *Bhikshu*, who has been introduced into the community, should be fed.

(Line 5.)—Also three *dînâras* are given in the jewel-house.[1] With the interest of these three *dînâras*, day by day three lamps of the divine Buddha should be lit in the jewel-house.

(L. 6.)—Also, one *dînâra* is given in the place where (*the images of*) the four Buddhas are seated.[2] With the interest of this, day by day a lamp of the divine Buddha should be lit in the place where (*the images of*) the four Buddhas are seated.

(L 8.)—Thus this permanent endowment,—written upon stone (*so as to endure*) for the same time with the moon and the sun,—has been accomplished by the *Upâsikâ* **Harisvâminî,** the noble lady,[3] the wife of Sanasiddha.

(L. 11.)—The year[4] 100 (*and*) 30 (*and*) 1; (the month) Aśvayuj; the day 5.

No. 63; PLATE XXXIX A.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 135.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 184 f., where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate ii. No. 8) reduced from General Cunningham's ink-impression.— And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 36 f., accompanied by a fresh lithograph (*id.* Plate xvi. No. 22).

The inscription is on the pedestal of a broken standing statue that was found in the Jail Mound at **Mathurâ,**[5] the chief town of the Mathurâ District in the North-West Provinces. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahâbâd; but it has now, I understand, been transferred to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Of the statue itself, all that remains is the feet, with part of a small kneeling figure at each side; and there is thus nothing to shew its nature; but, from the tenour of the inscription, it must have been a standing image of Buddha.

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[1] *ratna-griha*; see page 33 above, note 5.

[2] *chatur-Buddh-âsana.*—As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 191 f., this is explained by four statues of Buddha, seated, one opposite each entrance, which are in the circular enclosure that runs round the *Stûpa*, inside the railing. Owing, I suppose, to alterations made in the course of the restorations that have been carried out at Sâñchi, the statue at the south entrance is now a seated statue, similar in general design to the statues at the north, east, and west entrances; it is evidently the original statue, which had somehow been shifted, now restored to its proper place; and the standing statue, which was opposite the southern entrance when Gen. Cunningham wrote his description, now stands a little to the west of it.

[3] *svâminî.*—Or perhaps the word stands here for the fuller title, *Vihârasvâminî*, which occurs in the next inscription; see page 263 below, note 7.

[4] As regards the reading of the first symbol, see page 261 above, note 1.

[5] See page 26 above, and note 2.

At the commencement of the inscription, in the margin, there is engraved a Buddhist *dharmachakra*, or 'wheel of religion,' an emblem the object of which appears to be to denote the way in which religion encompasses and envelops everything.—The **writing** covers a space of about 1′ 6½″ broad by 2¾″ high; and is in a state of very good preservation, except in the last line, of which almost the whole of the last part is broken away and lost.—The average **size** of the letters is about ¼″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 1, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 5, 20, 30, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskrit. The first two lines are in prose, and the rest in verse.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvâra*, in *saṁvvatsara*, line 1.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king; but, from its date, it appears to belong to the time of the **Early Gupta** king **Skandagupta;** since his father, Kumâragupta, having commenced to reign in at least the year 96, can hardly have continued on the throne up to the present date. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and thirty-five (A.D. 454-55), and on the twentieth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pushya (December-January). From the expressions used, as well as from the emblem on the margin of the stone, it is evidently a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.[1]

1 Saṁvvatsara-śatê paṁcha-striś[2]-ôttaratamê 100 30 5 Pushya-mâsê
divasê vi[ṁ]ś[ê] di 20 [I*] Dêya-dharm[ô]=yaṁ vihârasvâminy[â]
2 **Dêvtâyâ**[3] [II*] Yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu mâtâpitrôḥ sarvva-
sat[t*]vânâñ=cha anuttara-jñân[4]-âptayê[5] II
3 Saubhâgyaṁ[6] pratiru(rû)patâ guṇavatî kîrttis=sapatna-kshayaḥ śrîman[t]ô
vibhavâ bhavâ[ḥ*] sukha-phalâ nirvvâṇam=aṁtê śivam
4 a-stabdhâ(?)ni bhavanti dâna-niratau chittaṁ niyôjy=aikadâ [—] î [— — ◡]
vichâ(?tâ)raṇa[◡ ◡]dhiyâṁ [— — ◡ — —] i [◡] yâm [II*]

TRANSLATION.

In a century of years, increased by the thirty-fifth (*year*), (*or in figures*) 100 (*and*) 30 (*and*) 5; in the month Pushya; on the twentieth day, (*or in figures*) the day 20;—this is the appropriate religious gift of the *Vihârasvâminî*[7] **Dêvatâ.** Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*),—let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by (*her*) parents and by all sentient beings!

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[1] From the original stone. [2] Read *triṁś.* [3] Read *dêvatâyâḥ.*

[4] This *n* is rather an anomalous one; but the character cannot stand for anything else.

[5] There is no objection to the present reading; but we usually have *avâptayê.*

[6] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[7] *Vihârasvâminî, lit.* 'mistress (lady-superintendent) of a *vihâra,*' seems, not to be a technical religious title denoting an office held by females, but to mean simply 'the wife of a *Vihârasvâmin*;' see page 279 below, note 5.—We may compare *Daṇḍanâyakiti,* in line 40-41 of the Kargudari in-

(Line 3.)—Good fortune; the condition of being a model (*worthy of imitation*), abounding in virtuous qualities; fame; the destruction of the enemies (*of religion*);[1] riches abounding in prosperity, births that result in happiness; (*and*) finally, an auspicious *nirvâṇa*;—(*all these*) are not permanent (?);[2] having once fixed the thoughts upon the happiness of making gifts, ...

No. 64: PLATE XXXIX B.

GADHWA INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham in 1874-75 or 1876-77, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 10 f., where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate v. Nos. 2 and 3).

It is another inscription from **Gaḍhwâ**,[3] in the Karchhanâ Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District in the North-West Provinces. It was found on pulling down a ruined wall; and is on two faces of a fragment of a square sandstone pillar which had been cut into four beams by splitting it down the middle of each face, in order to adapt it to some later building purposes. The other pieces were not found. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The **writing** includes the remains of two separate records, which, however, seem to refer to one and the same object of donation. On that face of the stone which is represented in the left part of the lithograph, we have the remains of fourteen lines, covering a space of about 3¾″ broad by 1′ 2¾″ high; and, on the other side, the remains of eight lines, covering a space of about 6½″ broad by 11½″ high. Such of the writing as remains, is fairly well preserved; but of course some of the letters are doubtful from want of the context to explain them.—The **size** of the letters varies from ⅜″ to ½″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of Nos. 7, 8, and 9 above, Plate ivB. C. and D. They include, in lines 18 and 19, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 1 and 2.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *viṅśati*, line 16.

From the letters visible at the end of line 1, the **inscription** may belong to the time of the **Early Gupta** king **Kumâragupta**. The details of the date, however, have been

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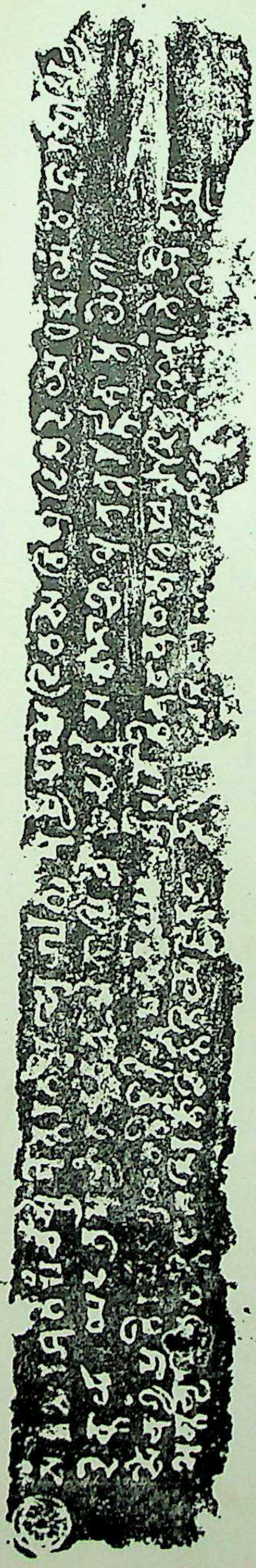
scription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1030 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252, and note 20); it means, not 'a female Leader of the Forces,' but 'the wife of a *Daṇḍanâyaka*.' Modern instances of finding appellations for women in the official titles of their husbands, are afforded by the Kanarese *Gauḍasâni*, and the Marâṭhî *Pâṭlîṇ*, as used to designate the wife of the *Gauḍa* or *Pâṭîl*, the village-headman.

[1] The allusion is to the *ari-shaḍ-varga* or *ari-shaṭka*; see page 156 above, note

[2] According to the Buddhist doctrine, it would appear that even *nirvâṇa*, or the extinction of existence, is not a permanent state, and does not free the individual who attains it from the liability of future births unless it is followed by *parinirvâṇa*, or absolute destruction of identity by complete absorption into the divine essence.

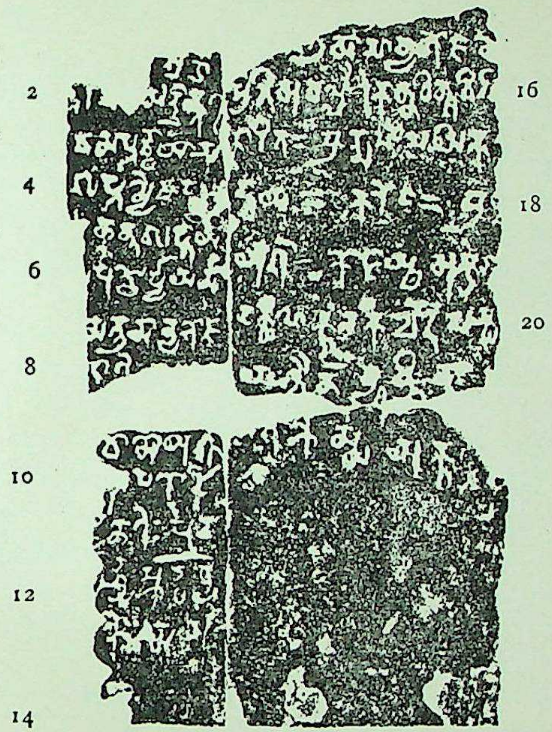
[3] See page 36 above, and note 1.



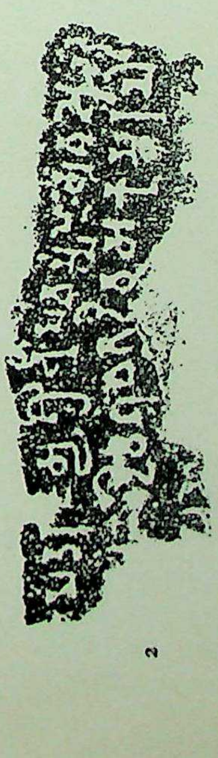
A.—Mathura Image Inscription.—The Year 135.

SCALE .50

B.—Gadhwa Inscription.

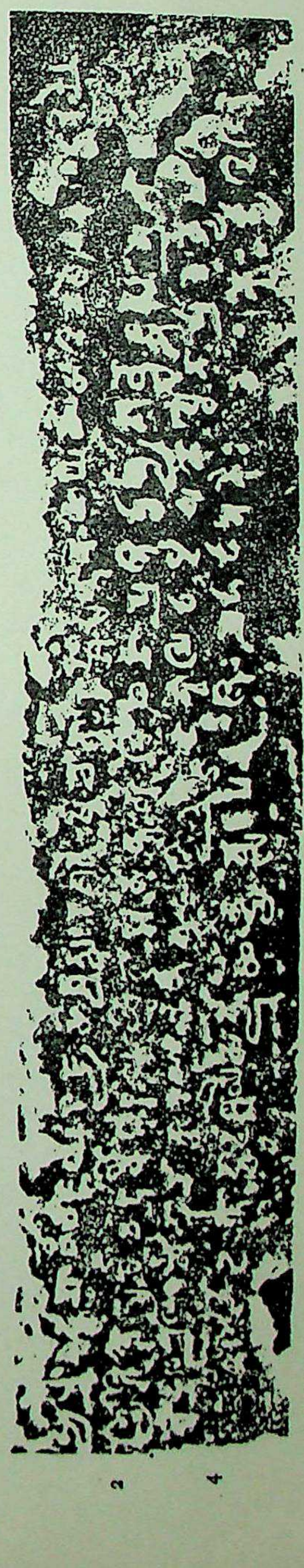


SCALE .25



C.—Kosam Image Inscription of the Maharaja Bhimavarman.—The Year 139.

SCALE .33



D.—Gadhwa Inscription.—The Year 148.

SCALE .33

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W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

entirely destroyed. The remnant of the inscription does not display any sectarian character. The object of it was to record certain grants to a *sattra*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

TEXT.[1]

First Part.

1 .... śr . ku-[2]
2 .... r ..... sattra yû(?) 9(?)
3 .... [di]vasa-pûrvvâyâṁ ma-
4 .... guptasy=aiva da . y .
5 .... [A]nantaguptâya(?yâ)
6 .... puṇy-âpyâyan-â-
7 [rtthaṁ] .... sattra-sâ[mâ*]nya-bhôja-
8 [na] .... [dî]nâraiḥ ......
9 .... vâsô-yugâ-
10 .... parô dî-
11 [nâra] .... dînâraiḥ dê(?)va-
12 .... [Yaś=ch=ainaṁ] dharmma-skandhaṁ vyu-
13 [chchhindyât=sa pañchabhir=mahâpâta]kaiḥ sa[ṁ]yu-
14 ktaḥ syâd=iti [II]

Second Part.

15 .... sat[t*]ra-sâmânya-bhôjanê ....
16 prati suvarṇṇair=êkân-na-viṅśatibhi[ḥ] ....
17 kâritaḥ [I*] Brâhma(?)ṇô mayika ....
18 dvayaṁ 2 karôṭa 2 bra ....
19 yugaṁ 1 koṭṭayba sukuṇ ....
20 dakshiṇa-kûla-kañchaḍaṁ paksha .... [II*]
21 Yaś=ch=ainaṁ vyuchchhin[dy]â[t=sa pañchabhir=mahâ]-
22 [pâ]takais=sa[ṁ*]yuktaḥ [s]y[âd=iti II]

TRANSLATION.

It is impossible to give any connected rendering of the contents of this inscription. We can only note that, in the First Part, we may perhaps have remnants of the name of **Kumâragupta** in line 1-2; that there is the name of Anantagupta or Anantaguptâ in line 5, evidently belonging to some private person; and that lines 7 to 12 appear to have recorded certain grants, fixed in *dînâras*, for the purpose of providing food in a *sattra* or 'almshouse,' and also to provide pairs of upper and lower garments. It ends with the usual imprecation against interfering with the continuance of the grant.

The Second Part, again, refers to food in an almshouse, recording something in connection with it at a cost of nineteen gold coins of the kind called *suvarṇa*. Other details follow, including two *karôṭas* or 'basins or cups,' and one pair [of upper and lower garments]. Then follows apparently a grant of some land, on the south bank of a river. And the inscription winds up, as before, with the usual imprecation against interfering with the grants.

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] Possibly the original had *śrî-Kumâraguptasya*.

No. 65; PLATE XXXIX C.

KOSAM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA BHIMAVARMAN.

THE YEAR 139.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 3, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate ii. No. 3).

Kôsam,[1] the ancient **Kauśâmbî,** is a small village near the left bank of the Jamnâ, about eight miles to the south of Karârî,[2] the chief town of the Karârî Parganâ in the Manjhanpur or Mânjhandpur Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the broken base of a sculptured standing group of Śiva and Pârvatî that was found buried in a field near the large monolith pillar inside the fort, which is described in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 309 ff.

The **writing,** which covers the whole face of the stone, measuring about 10½′ broad by 4″ high, is in a state of very fair preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment, as at least one line is almost entirely destroyed below line 2; and it is also impossible to say how much has been lost at each side of the stone.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{9}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include forms of the **numerical symbols** for 7, 9, 30, and 100, and perhaps[3] for 2.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the extant portion of the inscription is all in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** is one of a *Mahârâja* named **Bhîmavarman,** who, judging by the date, must have been a feudatory of the **Early Gupta** king **Skandagupta.** Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and thirty-nine (A.D. 458-59), and the seventh solar day, perhaps of the second fortnight of a month, or perhaps of the second month of a season;[4] but the details here are broken away and lost. It is evidently a Śaiva inscription; and the object of it must have been to record the gift or installation of the sculpture on the base of which it is engraved.

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[1] The 'Kosam and Kosim Kheraj' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 20′ N., Long. 81° 27′ E.—*Kheraj* is a mistake for *khirâj*; the village consisting of two parts, of which one is *inâm* or 'rent-free,' and the other is *khirâj* or 'rent-paying.'

[2] The 'Kuralee' of maps

[3] See note 4 below.

[4] Before the word *diva* there are two marks which seem to be the numerical symbol 2; and the passage might be completed either in accordance with the method of, for instance, the date of the Nâsik inscription of Puḷumâyi, "in the year nineteen, 19; in the second fortnight, 2, of the hot season; on the thirteenth day, 13" (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 108, No. 18); or the date of the Mathurâ inscription of Vâsudêva, "in the 44 (?74); in the first month of the rainy season; on the thirtieth day, 30" (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 32, No. 8). But I know of no other instance of these ancient methods being continued as late as the period of the present inscription; and this makes it doubtful whether the signs in question really are the numerical symbol 2.

TEXT.[1]

1 .... Mah[â*]r[â]jasya śrî-**Bhîmavarmmaṇaḥ** saṁva[t*] 100 30 9 ....

2 .... 2(?)[2] diva[3] 7 [1*] êtad-[d*]ivasa kumaramê ....

3 ....pa ....

TRANSLATION.

.... (*In the government*) of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Bhîmavarman**; —the year 100 (*and*) 30 (*and*) 9; .... 2 (?);[4] the day 7;—(*on*) this day ....

No. 66; PLATE XXXIX D.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 148.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 11, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate v. No. 4).—This rendering of the inscription has remained the only published version of it up to the present time. But in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. page 311, note 3, Dr. E. Hultzsch pointed out that the correct interpretation of the date gave the year 148; not 140, as read by General Cunningham.

This is another inscription from **Gaḍhwâ**,[5] in the Karchhanâ Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District in the North-West Provinces. It is on a sandstone fragment that was found in the pavement of the Daśâvatâra temple of Vishṇu, and is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

With the exception of a margin of about $1\frac{1}{2}''$ at the top and bottom, and at the end of the lines, the inscription covers the entire front of the stone, measuring about $2' 4''$ broad by $7\frac{3}{4}''$ high. The **writing** is a good deal damaged, but can be made out satisfactorily with a little trouble. It is, however, only a fragment; since the first part of each line, containing nearly as much as is now extant, has been cut away in adapting the stone to some later building purpose, and this part of the stone has not been found.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{7}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *chatvâriṅśad* and *viṅśati*, line 1; (2) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *chittra*, line 3; and (3) the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvâra*, in *saṁvvatsara*, line 1.

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[1] From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.

[2] See page 266 above, note 4.

[3] i.e. *divasa*, or *divasê*.

[4] See page 266 above, note 4.

[5] See page 36 above, and note 1.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of some particular king; but his name has been entirely broken away and lost in the first half of line 1. The recorded date, however, shews that it was either of the time of the **Early Gupta** king **Skandagupta,** or immediately after his reign. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-eight (A.D. 467-68), on the twenty-first solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Mâgha (January-February). It is a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Vishṇu, under the name of Anantasvâmin; and,—for the purpose of providing perfumes, incense, garlands, &c., and of executing repairs,—a grant, the details of which are lost, but which would seem to have consisted of some land at a village belonging to the same god under the name of Chitrakûṭasvâmin, or 'the lord of **Chitrakûṭa.**'[1]

TEXT.[2]

1 .... **sya** pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvvatsara[3]-śatê=shṭâ-
chatvâriṅśad-uttarê Mâgha-mâsa-divasê êka-viṅśatimê [I*]
2 .... puṇy-âbhivṛiddhy-arthaṁ vaḍabhîṁṅ=kârayayitvâ[4] Ananta-
svâmi-pâdâṁ[5] pratishṭhâpya gandha-dhûpa-srag .....
3 .... s[phu]ṭa-pratisaṁskâra-karaṇ-ârthaṁ bhaga[va]ch-Chittra-
[k]ûṭasvâmi-pâdîya-kôshṭhê(?)ta-prâvêśya-mati .
4 .... lâ dattâ dvâdaśa [II*] Yainaṁ[6]
vyuchchh[i]ndy[â]t=saḥ[7] paṁchabhiḥ mahâpâtakaiḥ sa[ṁy]uktaḥ
syâd=iti [II*]

TRANSLATION.

...... In the augmenting victorious reign[8] of .... in a century of years, increased by forty-eight, on the twenty-first day of the month Mâgha:—

(Line 2.)—Having caused (*a temple having*) a flat roof[9] to be made, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of .... (*and*) having installed the feet[10] of (the god) Anantasvâmin .... perfumes, incense, garlands .... for the purpose of repairing whatever may become .... torn, there have been given twelve .... belonging to the entrance of .... which belongs to the feet of the divine (god) Chitrakûṭasvâmin.

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[1] The Chitrakûṭa referred to here is the modern 'Chatarkot,' 'Chitarkot,' and 'Chitrakote Hill of maps, &c., in the 'Bânda' District of the North-West Provinces, forty-two miles south-east of Bânda,' and seventy-one miles south-west of Allahâbâd; Lat. 25° 12′ N.; Long. 80° 47′ E. It is a great place of pilgrimage, and is specially sacred to Vishṇu in his incarnation as Râma.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Read *râjyê saṁvvatsara*; see page 38 above, note 5.

[4] Read *vaḍabhiṁ kârayitvâ*, or *vaḍabhîṅ=kârayitvâ*.

[5] Read *pâdân* or *pâdau*.

[6] Read *ya ênaṁ*, or *yaś=ch=ainaṁ*.

[7] Read *sa*.

[8] See page 38 above, note 5.

[9] *vaḍabhî* (also *valabhî*, which occurs in line 6 of No. 18 above, page 81) is explained as meaning 'the wooden frame of a roof; a flat roof, house-top, top-room, turret, top-floor, balcony; any temporary erection on the top of a palace; an awning, a tent;' but it seems to refer to a building here, and to denote 'a flat-roofed temple.'

[10] *i.e.* "having installed an image;" see page 123 above, note 5. The use of the word *pâda*, not *pada*, shews that the inscription does not refer to the foot-prints or impressions of the feet, which are so frequently objects of worship. So, also, just below this passage, "the feet of the divine (god) Chitrakûṭasvâmin" means simply "the divine (god) Chitrakûṭasvamin."

(L. 4.)—Whosoever may interrupt this (*grant*), he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins!

No. 67; PLATE XL A.

TUSAM ROCK INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Bird, and was first brought to notice by General Cunninghan in 1875, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 138 ff., where he published a translation of it by Babu Pratap Chandra Ghosh, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xl. No. 5).

Tuśâm[1] or **Tusâm** is a village about fourteen miles to the north-west of Bhiwânî,[2] the chief town of the Bhiwânî Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Hisâr or Hissâr District in the Pañjâb. Immediately on the west of the village there is a steep isolated hill, that rises abruptly out of the plain to a height of some eight hundred feet. And the present inscription is on the surface of a rock, about half-way up the east side of this hill.

About a foot below the centre of the last line of the inscription, there is engraved on the rock an **emblem,** of which a complete restoration is given by General Cunningham in his published lithograph, and which may be either a Buddhist *dharmachakra* or 'wheel of religion,' or a sun-symbol. But there is nothing to connect it of necessity with the inscription now published; and it may belong to one of the shorter records, *e.g.* the *Jitaṁ bhagavatâ bhagavat-pâda-dêśê,* "victory has been achieved by the Divine One, in (*this*) region belonging to the feet[3] of the Divine One," which is engraved just above the present inscription, in large and somewhat irregular characters of about the same period.[4]—The **writing** covers an extreme space of about 4′ 2″ broad by 2′ 2¼″ high; the lines being of unequal length to suit the irregularities of the rock. The engraving was rather shallow, and some of the letters are a good deal weather-worn; but, on the original rock, the inscription is quite legible throughout.—The **size** of the letters varies from ¾″ to 1⅓″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; but in the word *aḷi,* 'a bee,' in line 1, they include the southern *ḷ,* which I have commented on at page 4 above.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *dh,* in conjunction with a following *y,* in *upâddhyâya,* line 5; and (2), as noted above, the use of the southern *ḷ* in *aḷi,* line 1, which is probably due to Sômatrâta, whose record this inscription is, being a Sâtvata from Central or Southern India.[5]

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[1] The 'Toosham and Tosham' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 51′ N.; Long. 76° 0′ E.—The name is written sometimes with the palatal sibilant, and sometimes with the dental; but with a preference for the former.—Gen. Cunningham wrote the name 'Tushâm,' and suggested that it is derived from *Tushâr-ârâma,* 'the Tushâra monastery.' But the sibilant is not the lingual *sh*; and the proposed etymology, due in the first instance to the supposition that the inscription mentioned a Tushâra king named Vishṇu, cannot be upheld.

[2] The 'Bhewani and Bhewannee' of maps.

[3] See page 123 above, note 5.

[4] See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. Pl. xl. No. 1; which, however, is not quite an accurate representation of the original.

[5] See page 271 below, note 1.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted to the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and the object of it is to record the making, by an *Âchârya* named **Sômatrâta,** of two reservoirs and a house, for the use of the god Vishṇu under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One.

The manipulation of General Cunningham's ink-impression, as shewn by the published lithograph, led to the introduction of the name of the **Early Gupta** *Mahârâja* **Ghaṭôtkacha** in line 2; and to the supposition that the name Vishṇu, in the same line, was that of a **Tushâra** king who conquered Ghaṭôtkacha, and who might be identified with the third Kaṇva or Kaṇvâyana prince Nârâyaṇa.[1] As is to be seen, however, in my lithograph now published, there is no foundation whatever for this; the *aksharas* that were supposed to give the name of Ghaṭôtkacha, being, in reality, nothing but *dânav-âṅganâ*, "(the women) of the demons;" and *tushâra* here has no meaning but that of 'frost.'

TEXT.[2]

1 Jitam[3]=abhîkshṇam=êva Jâmbavatî-vadanâravind-ôrjjit-âḷinâ I
2 dânav-âṅganâ-mukhâmbhôja-lakshmî-tushârêṇa Vishṇunâ I(II)
3 Anêkapurushâbhyâgat - âryyaSâtvata - y[4]ôgâchâryya -
4 bhagavadbhakta-Yaśastrâta-prapautrasy=âchâryya-Vishṇutrâta-
pautrasy=âchâryya-
5 Vasudatta-p[u]trasya Râvaṇyâm=utpannasya Gôtama-
sagôtrasy=âchâryy-ôpâddhyâya-
6 Yaśastrât-[ân]ujasy=âchâryya-**Sômatrâtasy**=êdaṁ bhagavat-
pâd-ôpayô-
7 jyaṁ kuṇḍam=uparyy-âvasathaḥ ku-
8 ṇḍaṁ ch=âparaṁ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Verily victory has been achieved again and again by (the god) Vishṇu, who is a mighty bee on the waterlily which is the face of Jâmbavatî, (*and*) a very frost to (*cause the withering of*) the beauty of the waterlilies which are the faces of the women of the demons!

(Line 3.)—This reservoir, intended for the use of the feet[5] of the Divine One, (*and*) the house above (*it*), and the second reservoir, (*are the work*) of the *Âchârya* **Sômatrâta,**—the son of the son's son of Yaśastrâta, who was the successor of many men (*of*

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[1] Mentioned, for instance, in the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, book IV. chap. xxiv.; F. E. Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. IV. p. 192.—The Tushâra, Tukhâra, or Tushkhara (? Turushka) kings are mentioned in the same volume, p. 203.

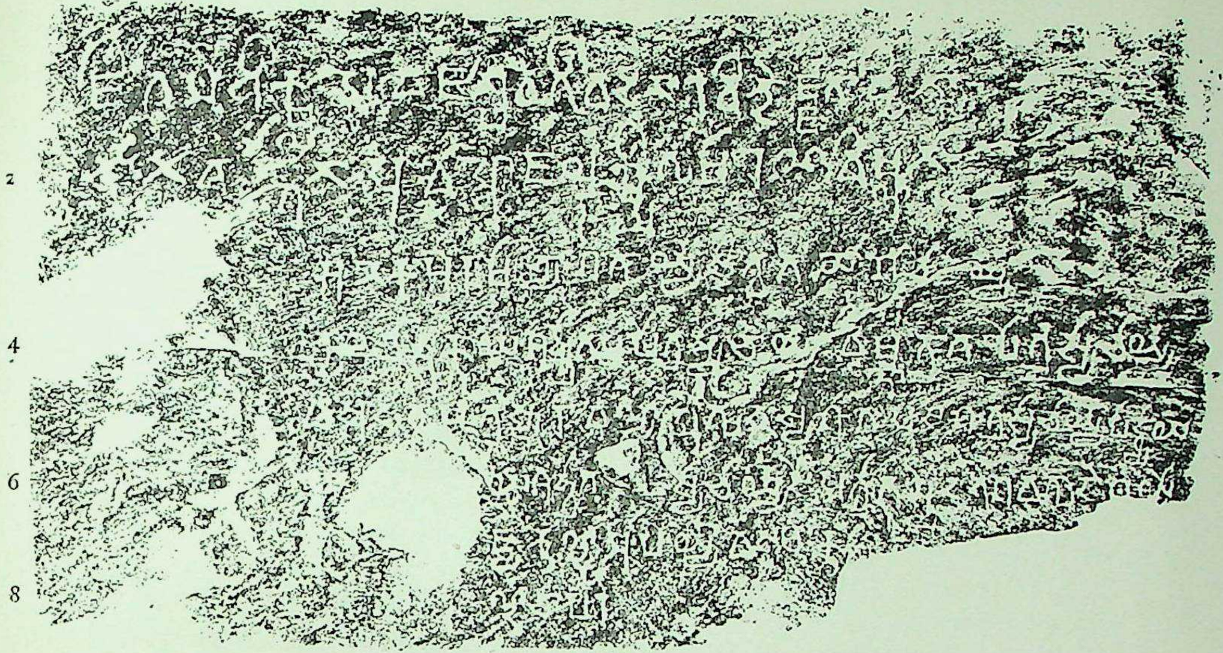
[2] From the original stone.

[3] Over this *m*, there are the vowel-marks for *ô*. But they are not connected in any way with the *m*; and it is not apparent why they were made, as they cannot possibly stand for the syllable *ôm*, and they are altogether superfluous and unmeaning.

[4] This *y* is rather an anomalous one; but the character cannot stand for anything else.

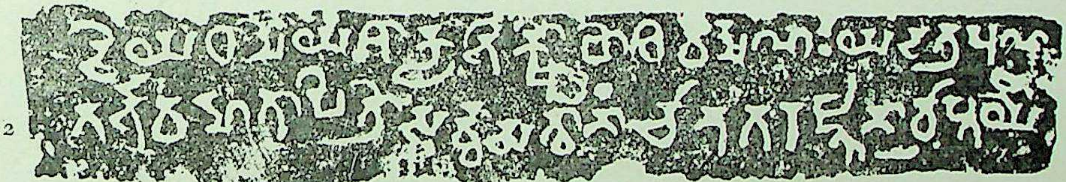
[5] See page 123 above, note 5.

A.—Tusam Rock Inscription.



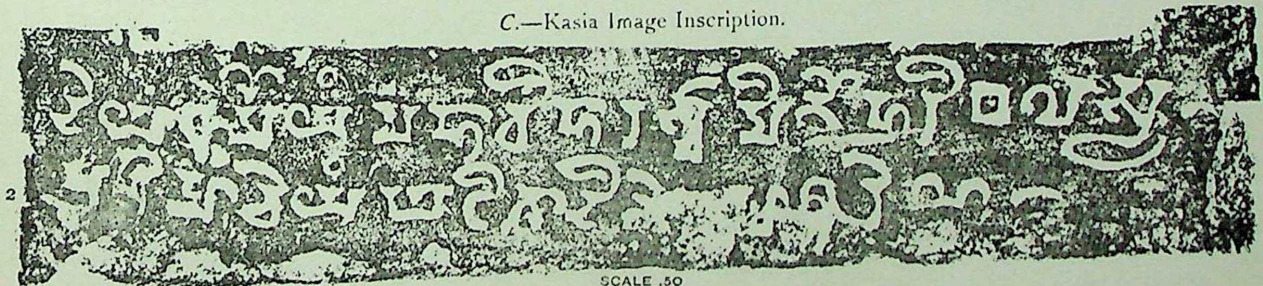
SCALE .15

B.—Deoriya Image Inscription.



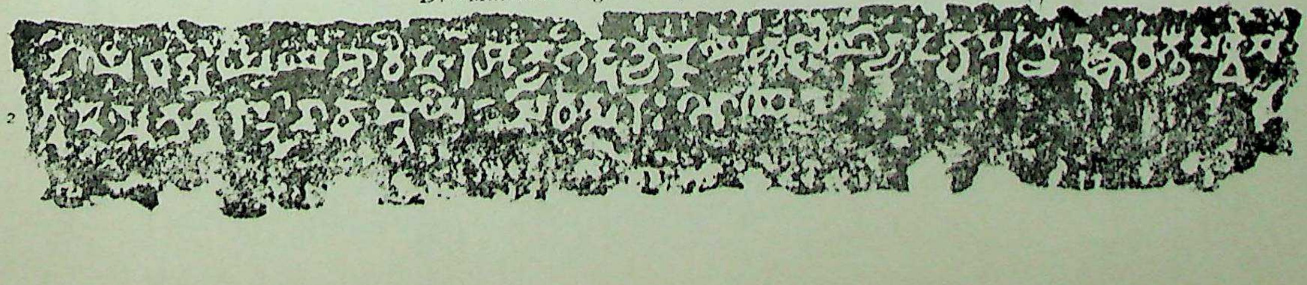
SCALE .50

C.—Kasia Image Inscription.



SCALE .50

D.—Mathura Image Inscription.—The Year 230



preceding generations); who was a highly esteemed Sâtvata;[1] who was an *Âchârya* of the Yôga philosophy; and who was a devotee of the Divine One;—the son's son of the *Âchârya* Vishṇutrâta;—the son, begotten on Râvaṇî, of the *Âchârya* Vasudatta;—a member of the Gôtama *gôtra*;—(*and*) the younger brother of the *Âchârya* and *Upâdhyâya* Yaśastrâta.

No. 68; PLATE XL B.

DEORIYA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1873, in the *Arçhæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 48 f., where he published his reading of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xviii D).

Dêôriyâ or **Dêwariyâ**[2] is a small village on the right bank of the Jamnâ, about eight miles towards the south-west of Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Pargaṇâ in the Karchhanâ Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the pedestal of a stone standing image of Buddha,—draped, and with small attendant figures kneeling at his feet, one on the right side, and two on the left,—that was found at this village. When I examined the image, it was in the Government Museum at Allahâbâd; but it is now, I understand, in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The **writing,** which covers the whole front of the pedestal, about 1′ 1″ broad by $2\frac{1}{4}$″ high, is in a state of good preservation throughout.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{5}{16}$″ to $\frac{9}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; it may be allotted, however, on palæographical grounds, to about the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śâkya mendicant named **Bôdhivarman,** of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.[3]

1 Dêya-dharmmô=yaṁ Śâkya-bhikshô[r*]=**Bôdhivarmmaṇaḥ** [|*] Yad=atra puṇya[ṁ*]

2 tad[4]=bhava[tu*] mâtâpitrô[ḥ*] sarvva-sat[t*]vânâṁ ch=ânut[t*]ara-jñân-âvâptayê [||*]

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[1] Sâtvata is explained in Monier Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary as being a name of Vishṇu or Kṛishṇa, and also of a people, inhabiting a district in Central India, said to be the descendants of outcaste Vaiśyas.—It seems to be, as used here, the name of some special sect of Vaishnavas or Bhâgavatas, probably from Central or Southern India.

[2] The 'Deoriya and Deorya' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 19′ N.; Long. 81 51′ E.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji writes the name 'Dêvaliâ' (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 354).

[3] From the original stone.

[4] This *d* was at first omitted, and was then inserted above the line.

TRANSLATION.

This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śâkya *Bhikshu* **Bôdhivarman.** Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by (*his*) parents and by all sentient beings.

No. 69; PLATE XL C.

KASIA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1875-76 or 1876-77 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, and was first brought to notice by him in 1883, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVIII. p. 59, where he published his reading of the text and proposed interpretation of it, followed (*id.* p. 60, note 1) by my own reading of the text (of course mutilated in publication), and my translation as it then suggested itself to me.

Kasiâ[1] or **Kasyâ** is a village thirty-four miles due east of Gôrakhpur, in the Paḍraunâ[2] Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Gôrakhpur District in the North-West Provinces; and is the head-quarters of a Joint-Magistrate in charge of a Sub-Division of the District. The inscription is below the figure of a man, sitting in a squatting position, on the lower part of the western side of the pedestal of a colossal stone statue of Buddha, recumbent in the act of attaining *nirvâṇa*, which was found by Mr. Carlleyle in the course of excavations in a large mound of ruins at this village.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 1′ 3¾″ broad by 2¾″ high, is in a state of very good preservation, except that the name of the sculptor is partially illegible in line 2.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{7}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; on palæographical grounds, however, it may be allotted to about the end of the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a *Mahâvihârasvâmin*[3] named **Haribala,** of the figure below which it is engraved.

TEXT.[4]

1 Dêya-dharmmô=yaṁ mahâvihârasvâminô **Haribalasya** I
2 Pratimâ ch=êyaṁ ghaṭitâ Dinê .. mâ(?)śvarêṇa I(II)

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[1] The 'Kasia, Kassia, Kasya, Kesiya, and Kusya,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 102. Lac. 26° 45′ N.; Long. 83° 58′ E.

[2] The 'Paraona, Parâuna, and Pudrownan,' of maps, &c.

[3] *Mahâvihârasvâmin, lit.* 'a great master (superintendent) of a *vihâra,*' is evidently a technical religious title of office, denoting the officer who came, in the management of a *vihâra,* next above the *Vihârasvâmins* or 'masters (superintendents) of the *vihâra.*' The latter title occurs in the Sâñchi pillar inscription No. 73 below, Plate xlii A.

[4] From Mr. Carlleyle's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.

TRANSLATION.

This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the *Mahâvihârasvâmin* **Haribala.** And this image has been fashioned by Dinê .. mâśvara (?)

No. 70; PLATE XL D.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 230.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 185, where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate ii. No. 9) reduced from General Cunningham's ink-impression.—And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 37, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (*id.* Plate xvi. No. 23).

This is another inscription from **Mathurâ,**[1] the chief town of the Mathurâ District in the North-West Provinces; and is on the pedestal of a stone standing statue of Buddha, draped, and with a nimbus behind his head and shoulders, that was found in the Katrâ[2] mound. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahâbâd; but it is now, I understand, in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The **writing,** which covers a space about 1′ 4½″ broad by 2″ high on the upper part of the face of the pedestal, is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The average **size** of the letters is about ⅜″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 2, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 30 and 200. In the *rya* of *bhaṭṭâyâr=yad*, line 1, we have to notice that the *r* is formed on the line of writing, with a single *y* below it. And the same method of forming the *r* is followed in *dharmô* and *rjaya*, though not in *sarvva*, in the same line.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king. But its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and thirty (A.D. 549-50), without any further details. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śâkya female mendicant named **Jayabhaṭṭâ,** to a monastery called the **Yaśôvihâra,** of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.[3]

1 Dêya-dharmo=yaṁ **Yaśâ(śô)vihârê** Śâkya-bhikshuṇyar=**Jayabhaṭṭâyâr**=
Yad[4]=atra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu sarvva-sa-
2 tvanam[5]=anuttara-jñân âvâptayê I(II) Saṁvatsaraḥ 200 30 I(II,

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[1] See page 26 above, and note 2.

[2] See page 26 above, note 1.

[3] From the original stone.

[4] Read *bhikshuṇyâ Jayabhaṭṭâyâḥ* II *Yad.*

[5] Read *sattvânâm.*

TRANSLATION.

This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift, at the (monastery called) **Yaśôvihâra,** of the Śâkya *Bhikshuṇî* **Jayabhaṭṭâ.** Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings! The year 200 (*and*) 30.

No. 71; PLATE XLI A.

BODH-GAYA INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

THE YEAR 269.

THIS inscription, which was published by me, for the first time, quite recently, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 356 ff., is from a stone-tablet that was discovered in the course of the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. J. D. M. Beglar at **Bôdh-Gayâ,**[1] the famous Buddhist site about five miles due south of Gayâ, the chief town of the Gayâ District, in the Bengal Presidency. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone has the appearance of having been originally set in a socket about three inches deep, and morticed at the sides into a building. The front surface measures about 1′ 7½″ broad by 1′ 6″ high. Below the inscription, towards the proper right side of the stone, there are engraved in outline a cow and a calf, standing towards, and nibbling at, a small tree or bush; the tips of the ears of the cow are discernible in the lithograph, below the commencement of line 14.—The **writing,** which is in the upper part of the stone, and covers a space of about 1′ 7½″ broad by 1′ 0″ high, including a margin of about an inch all round, is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout.—The average **size** of the letters is about ¼″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. The form of *y*, throughout this inscription, is a slightly older variety of the fully developed Dêvanâgarî form exhibited throughout the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 42 above, page 200. In the conjunct letter *ry*, in *yatir=yataḥ*, line 7, we have to note that the *r* is formed on the line, with a single *y* below it. The characters include, in the last line, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 7, 9, 60, and 200.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the opening symbol representing *ôm*, and for the date at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** the only points calling for notice are (1) the occasional doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *chakkrais*, line 13; *tanttra*, line 2; and *chaïttra*, line 14; and (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, *e.g.* in *vandhu*, lines 2 and 8; *vabhûva*, line 6; and *vôdhi*, lines 10 and 12.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king. Its date, in numerical symbols,[2] is the year two hundred and sixty-nine (A.D. 588-89), on the seventh solar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection, by a certain **Mahânâman,**—the second of that name mentioned in this inscription,—of a mansion of Buddha, *i.e.* a Buddhist temple or monastery, at the **Bôdhimaṇḍa,** or, rather, within the precincts of it; *i.e.* at the modern **Bôdh-Gayâ.**

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[1] The 'Bodh-Gya and Buddh-Gaya' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104. Lat. 24° 41′ N., Long. 85° 2′ E.

[2] As regards the third symbol in the years, 9, it occurs as the second symbol, in the record of the day, in line 9 of the Bhumarâ pillar inscription of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Śarvanâtha, No. 24 above; in connection with which instance, I remarked (page 110, note 2) that, though it resembles most a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9, yet it might possibly be 7 or 8. I also

With regard to the places mentioned in this inscription, **Lankâ** is, of course, one of the most well-known names of **Ceylon.** And General Cunningham tells me that **Âmradvîpa,** 'the mango-island,' is another of its names, derived from its resemblance in shape to a mango. **Bôdhimaṇḍa** is the name of the miraculous throne under the *bôdhi*-tree at **Bôdh-Gayâ,** also called the *vajrâsana* or 'diamond-throne,' on which Buddha and his predecessors sat, when attaining *bôdhi* or perfect wisdom.[1] And Professor Childers, in his Pâli Dictionary, added that he inferred that the term was also applied to the raised terrace built under the *bôdhi*-tree within the precincts of any Buddhist temple, in imitation, presumably, of Buddha's throne. This, rather than the throne itself, seems to be its meaning in the present inscription.

The chief interest of this inscription, lies in the probability that the second **Mahânâman** mentioned in it, is the person of that name who composed the more ancient part of the Pâli *Mahâvaṁsa*, or history of Ceylon. If this identification is accepted, it opens up a point of importance in the question of dates. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the date of the present inscription has to be referred to the Gupta era, with the result of A.D. 588-89. On the other hand, from the Ceylonese records, Mr. Turnour arrived at A.D. 459 to 477 as the period of the reign of Mahânâman's nephew (sister's son) **Dhâtusêna;**[2] and it was during his reign that **Mahânâman** compiled the history.

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then considered that the same symbol occurs, in the record of the day, in the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha, No. 25, above; in line 24 of which (page 115) I accordingly read the solar day as 29. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, has found, by actual calculation, that the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, which is mentioned in line 2 f. of that record (page 114), was the twenty-*seventh* solar day in the month. Accordingly, the symbol which we have there, in line 24, must be interpreted as 7; not 9.—On fuller consideration of the whole matter, with the help of Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculation, I find that, in the three passages, we are concerned with two separate symbols; not one and the same.—One is the symbol which is the third in the years of the present inscription of Mahânâman, and the second in the record of the day in the Bhumarâ pillar inscription; and I see no reason to alter my original opinion, that it is a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9. A sign extremely like it occurs, it is true, in the date of the Môrbî grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 258, and Plate, line 19), where the record in words compels us to interpret it as 8; but it is there a decimal figure, not a numerical symbol; and that record also comes from a far distant part of the country; so that we are not bound to adopt the same interpretation in the present instance.—The other symbol is the second in the record of the day in the grant of Saṁkshôbha. And an examination of the lithograph (Plate xv B.) will shew, that it really differs from the symbol which I interpre as through a slight mark below it, which, being a little detached from it, I took originally to be a rust-mark, and not part of the symbol itself. Taking it now as part of the symbol itself, it makes the symbol identical with, though in execution somewhat inferior to, the symbol for the day in the present inscription of Mahânâman; and, accordingly, the symbol for the day here must now be interpreted as 7; not as 8, which I took it to be in my original version of this inscription.—The same symbol occurs also in lines 19 and 21 of the Nêpâl inscription of Jishṇugupta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 172, and Plate); and it was Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's interpretation of it there as 8, which led me to read it originally as 8 in the present instance.

[1] See, amongst other authorities, Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 116.

[2] See Turnour's *Mahavanso*, pp. ii. liv. lxii. 254 ff.; and *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 922

The recorded date of the present inscription, therefore, shews,—if the identification suggested above is accepted,—either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be; or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working them out, and that they now require considerable rectification.

TEXT.[1]

1 Ôm [II*] Vyâptô[2] yên=â-pramêyaḥ sakala-śaśi-ruchâ sarvvataḥ sat[t*]va-dhâtuḥ kshuṇṇâḥ pâshaṇḍa-yôdhâs=sugati-patha-rudhas=tarkka-śastr-âbhiyuktâḥ sampûrṇṇô

2 dharmma-kôshaḥ prakṛiti-ripu-hṛitaḥ sâdhitô lôka-bhûtyai I[3] śâstuḥ Śâky-aika-va(ba)ndhôr=jjayati chirataraṁ tad=yaśas-sâra-tanttram II Nairôdhîṁ[4] śubha-bhâvanâ-

3 m=anusṛitaḥ saṁsâra-saṁklêśa-jin=Maitrêyasya karê vimukti-vaśitâ yasy=âdbhutâ vyâkṛitâ I nirvvâṇ-âvasarê cha yêna charaṇau dṛishṭau munêḥ

4 pâvanau I[5] pâyâd=vaḥ sa munîndra-śâsana-dharaḥ stutyô[6] **Mahâ-Kâśyapaḥ** II Saṁyukt-âgaminô viśuddha-rajasaḥ sat[t*]v-ânukamp-ôdyatâḥ śishyâ

5 yasya sakṛid=vichêrur=amalâṁ **Laṅk**-âchal-ôpatyakâm têbhyaḥ śîla-guṇ-ânvitâś=cha śataśaḥ śishya-praśishyâḥ kramâj=jâtâs=tuṅga-narêndra-

6 vaṁśa-tilakâḥ prôtsṛijya râjya-śriyam II Dhyân[7]-ôday-âhita-hitaḥ śubh-âśubha-vivêkakṛid=vihata-môhaḥ sad-dharmm-âtula-vibhavô **Bhavô** va(ba)bhûva

7 śramaṇas=tataḥ II **Râhul**[8]-âkhyâś=cha tach-chhishya **U[9]pasênô** yatir=yataḥ **Mahânâmâ** kramâd=êvam=**Upasênas**=tatô=paraḥ II Vâtsalyaṁ[10] śaraṇ-â-

8 gatasya satataṁ dînasya vaiśêshikaṁ vyâpat-sâyaka-santati-kshata-dhṛitêr=ârttasya ch=âpatyakaṁ I krûrasy=âhita-kâriṇaḥ pravitataṁ va(ba)ndhôr=yathâ-

9 bhâvataḥ êvaṁ sach-charit-ôdbhavêna yaśasâ yasy=âchitaṁ bhûtalaṁ II **Âmradvîp**[11]-âdhivâsî pṛithu-kula-jaladhis=tasya śishyô mahîyân

10 **Laṅkâ**-dvîpa-prasûtaḥ para-hita-nirataḥ san-**Mahânâma**-nâmâ I tên=ôchchair-**Vvô(bbô)dhimaṇḍê** śaśi-kara-dhavalaḥ sarvvatô maṇḍapêna I[12]

11 kântaḥ prâsâda êsha Smara-va(ba)la-jayinaḥ kâritô lôka-śâstuḥ II Vyapagata[13]-vishaya-snêhô hata-timira-daśaḥ pradîpa-vad=a-saṅgaḥ

12 kuśalên=ânêna janô vô(bô)dhi-sukham=anuttaraṁ bhajatâm II Yâvad[14]=dhvânt-âpahârî pravitata-kiraṇaḥ sarvvatô bhâti bhâsvân=yâvat=pûrṇṇô=mvu(mbu)-

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[3] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[4] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following verse.

[5] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[6] My original reading was *stutyai*. I owe the correction, as also that of *amalâṁ*, for *atulâṁ*, in line 5, to the kind suggestion of Dr. Kielhorn.

[7] Metre, Âryâ.

[8] Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

[9] From the vowel *ê* being partially engraved over this *u*, the engraver seems to have begun to form the *sê* here.

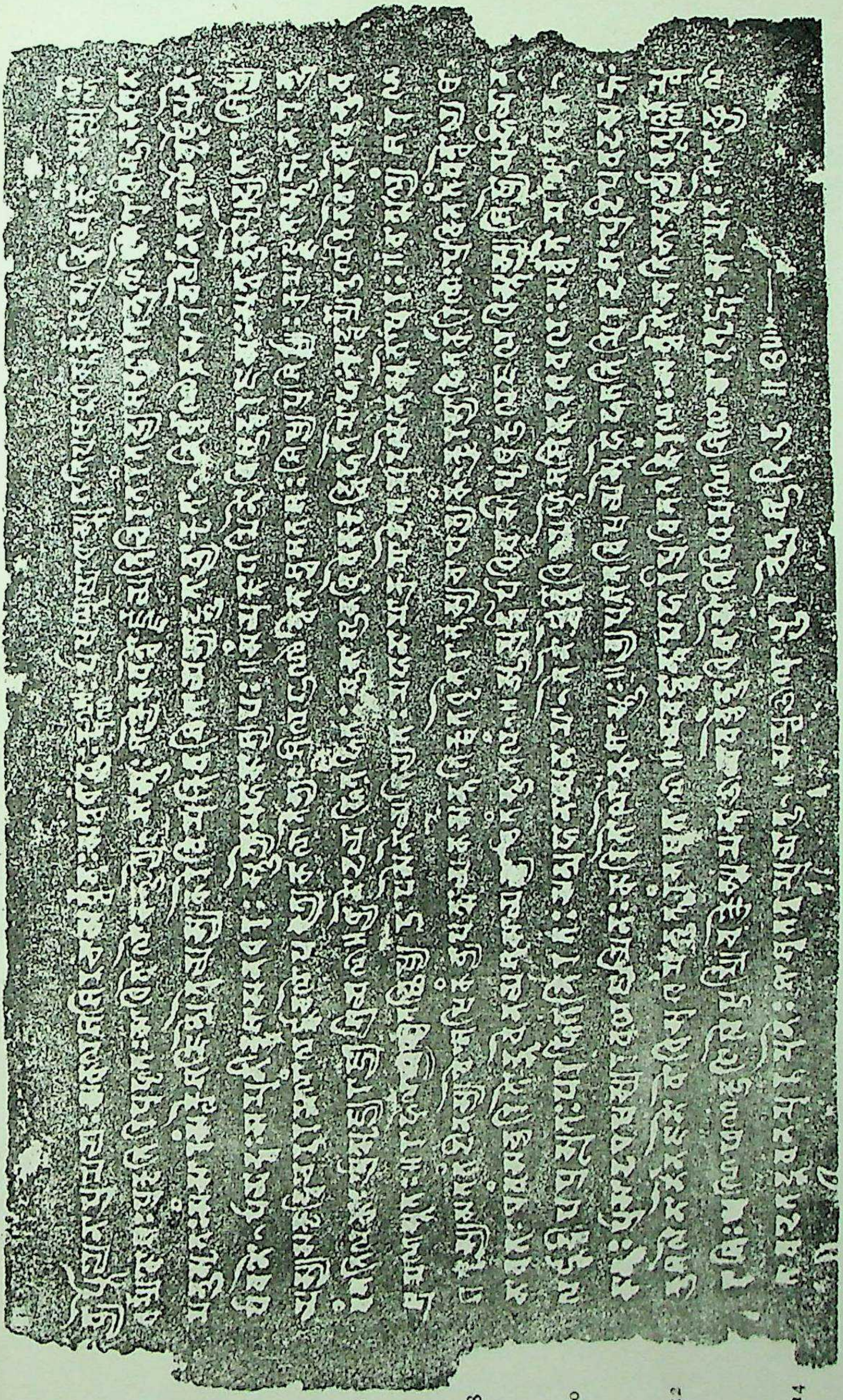
[10] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[11] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[12] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

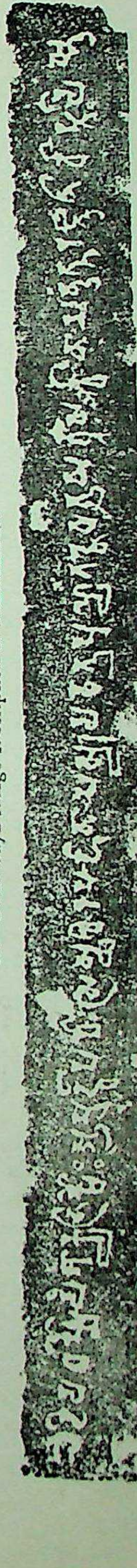
[13] Metre Âryâ

[14] Metre, Sragdharâ.



A.—Bodh-Gaya Inscription of Mahanaman.—The Year 269.

SCALE .50



B.—Bodh-Gaya Image Inscription of Mahanaman.

SCALE .50

W. GRIGGS. PHOTO-LITH.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

13 râśiḥ phaṇi-phaṇa-kuṇḍair=ûrmmi-chakkrais=samantât yâvach=ch=Êndr-âdhivâsô vividha-maṇi-śilâ-châru-sringaṇ Sumêruḥ śôbh-âḍhyam

14 tâvad=êtad=bhavanam=uru-munêḥ śâśvatatvam=prayâtu ॥ Samvat 200 60 9 Chaittra śu di[1] 7 ॥

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Victorious for a very long time is that doctrine, replete with fame, of the Teacher, the chief kinsman of the Śâkyas, by which, lustrous as the full-moon, the inscrutable primary substance of existence has been pervaded in all directions; by which the warriors, who are heretics, obstructive of the path of beatitude, have been broken to pieces, being assailed with the weapon of logic; (*and*) by which the whole treasure of religion, that had been stolen by the enemy which is original nature, has been recovered for the welfare of mankind!

(Line 2.)—May he, **Mahâ-Kâśyapa,** who is worthy of praise, protect you,—he who observed the precepts of (Buddha) the chief of saints; who practised that auspicious habit of abstract meditation which is of the nature of a trance; who overcame the anguish of successive states of existence; whose wonderful subjugation of the passions in final emancipation (*is to be*) displayed in the hand of Maitrêya;[2] and by whom the two pure feet of (Buddha) the saint were beheld at the time of attaining *nirvâṇa*![3]

(L. 4.)—His disciples, endowed with a connected tradition of doctrine, purified as to (*their*) emotions, (*and*) active in compassion for existing beings, roamed at one time over the stainless country at the feet of the mountains of **Laṅkâ**; and in succession from them there were born, in hundreds, disciples and disciples' disciples, possessed of the virtue of (*good*) character, who, without the glory of (*actual*) sovereignty, were the ornaments of a lofty race of kings.

(L. 6.)—Then there was the *Śramaṇa* **Bhava,** whose welfare was effected by the development of abstract meditation; who discriminated between good and evil; who destroyed error; (*and*) who possessed an unequalled wealth of true religion.

(L. 7.)—And his disciple (*was*) he who had the name of **Râhula**; after whom (*there came*) the ascetic **Upasêna (I.)**; then in succession (*there was*) **Mahânâman (I.)**; (*and*) after him another **Upasêna (II.),** whose special characteristic of affection, of the kind that is felt towards offspring,—for any distressed man who came to him for protection, and for any afflicted person whose fortitude had been destroyed by the continuous flight of the arrows of adversity,—extended, in conformity with the disposition of a kinsman, (*even*) to any cruel man who might seek to do (*him*) harm; (*and*) by whose fame, arising from good actions, the whole world was thus completely filled.

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[1] As regards the interpretation of the symbol for the day, see page 274 above, note 2.

[2] Maitrêya is a Bôdhisattva, at present in the Tushita heaven, who is to be the next Buddha. And the present passage, which is rather obscure, is perhaps explained by the injunction which Buddha, when on the point of attaining *nirvâṇa*, gave to Mahâ-Kâśyapa, to deliver over his *kâshâya* or yellow robe (and with it the transmission of the Buddhist doctrine) to Maitrêya, when he should attain the condition of a Buddha (see Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 142 ff.)

[3] Mahâ-Kâśyapa was seated in meditation, when suddenly a bright light burst forth, and he perceived the earth shaking. And then, exerting his divine sight in order to ascertain what wonderful event was indicated by this portent, he saw Buddha in the act of entering on *nirvâṇa* (see *id*. Vol. II. p. 161).

(L. 9.)—His disciple, greater (*even than himself*), (*is*) he who has the excellent name of **Mahânâman (II.)**; an inhabitant of **Âmradvîpa**; a very ocean of a mighty family; born in the island of **Laṅkâ**; delighting in the welfare of others;—by him this beautiful mansion of the Teacher of mankind, who overcame the power of (the god) Smara,[1]—dazzling white as the rays of the moon, with an open pavilion on all sides,—has been caused to be made at the exalted **Bôdhimaṇḍa.**

(L. 11.)—By means of this appropriate (*action*), let mankind,—freed from attachment to worldly things; having the condition of (*mental*) darkness dispelled; (*and*), like (*the flame of*) a torch, having no adhesion (*to material objects*),—enjoy the supreme happiness of perfect wisdom!

(L. 12.)—As long as the sun, the dispeller of darkness, shines in all directions with diffused rays; as long as the ocean (*is*) full on all sides with its circles of waves that are curved like the hoods of hooded snakes; and as long as (the mountain) Sumêru, the abode of (the god) Indra, has its summits made beautiful by various jewelled slabs, in such a way as to be full of lustre,—so long let this temple of the great saint attain the condition of being everlasting!

(L. 14.)—The year 200 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 9; (the month) Chaitra; the bright fortnight; the day[2] 7.

No. 72; PLATE XLI B.

BODH-GAYA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

THIS inscription, which, also, was published by me quite recently, for the first time, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 359, is from the pedestal of a Buddhist image that was discovered in the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar at **Bôdh-Gayâ**,[3] in the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 1′ 8$\frac{3}{4}$″ broad by 1$\frac{5}{8}$″ high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type with those of the preceding inscription of Mahânâman.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but the characters allot it to precisely the same time with the preceding Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, of A. D. 588-89. It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the presentation of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, by a *Sthavira* named **Mahânâman**, who is obviously the second Mahânâman mentioned in the preceding inscription.

As pointed out to me by General Cunningham, this inscription shews that **Mahânâman** must have been at least thirty years old when he visited Bôdh-Gayâ; by the Buddhist rules, he could not receive the *upasampadâ*-ordination, before attaining the age of twenty years; and, after that, he would have to wait at least ten or twelve years, before he could be invested with the title of *Sthavira* or *Thêra*. A further point to be noted, is, that Mahânâman's visit to Bôdh-Gayâ probably occurred before the time when Dhâtusêna became king of Ceylon,—during the flight of the uncle and nephew to avoid the persecution of the usurper Pâṇḍu; according to Mr. Turnour's deductions, this was between A.D. 434 and 439.

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[1] This refers generally to the subjugation of the passions; but also specially to the temptation by Mâra, or Love as the Destroyer, which is referred to in *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 69 ff.

[2] As regards the interpretation of the symbol for the day, see page 274 above, note 2.

[3] See page 274 above, and note 1.

TEXT.[1]

1 Ôm Dêya-dharmmô=yaṁ Śâkya-bhikshôḥ **Amradvîpa**-vâsi-sthavira-**Mahânâmasya**[2] [॥*] Yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu sarvva-sat[t*]vânâm=anuttara-jñân-âvâptayê=stu[3] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śâkya *Bhikshu*, the *Sthavira* **Mahânâman**, a resident of **Âmradvîpa**. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings!

No. 73; PLATE XLII A.

SANCHI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1854, in his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 199, where he published his reading of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxi. No. 199).

This is another inscription from **Sâñchi**,[4] in the Diwâṇganj Sub-Division of the Bhôpâl State in Central India. It is on the north side of part of a small monolith round pillar, broken, that stands a few yards to the north-east of the eastern gateway of the great *Stûpa*.

The **writing** covers a space of about $10''$ broad by $2\frac{3}{4}''$ high. Except for the first three letters, which are very much damaged, it is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment; the concluding part of it being broken away and lost.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}''$. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *puttra*.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated. But, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is evidently the remnant of a Buddhist inscription; and its object seems to have been to record the gift of the pillar, on which it is inscribed, by a *Vihârasvâmin*,[5] the son of

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[1] From Mr. J. D. M. Beglar's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.

[2] Read *mahânâmnaḥ*.

[3] This *stu* (*astu*) is redundant, as we have already had *bhavatu*. The same redundant *astu* occurs also in line 2 of the Bôdh-Gayâ image inscription, No. 76 below, page 282.

[4] See page 29 above, and note 2.

[5] *Vihârasvâmin*, *lit.* 'master of a *vihâra*,' is a technical religious title of office, applied to certain functionaries who came next in rank below the *Mahâvihârasvâmin*; see page 272 above, note 3.

Gôśûrasiṁhabala, whose name is partially destroyed, only the first two syllables, **Rudra,** remaining.

TEXT.[1]

1 A(?)ka .. vihârasvâmi-Gôśûrasiṁhabala-puttra-**Rudra** ....

TRANSLATION.

.... the *Vihârasvâmin* **Rudra** .... the son of Gôśûrasiṁhabala ....

No. 74; PLATE XLII B.

CALCUTTA MUSEUM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from the pedestal of a sandstone image that is in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. The image seems to have been originally a standing statue of Buddha; but the whole of the upper part of it, above the ankles, is broken away and lost. I have no information as to where it was found.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about $9\frac{3}{4}''$ broad by $2\frac{1}{2}''$ high, is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes; but it is only a fragment; the conclusion of it, in the third line, having been cut away, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}''$ to $\frac{7}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *attra* and *pittrôḥ*, line 2.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śâkya mendicant named **Dharmadâsa,** of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.[2]

1 Dêya-dharmô=yaṁ Śâkya-bhikshôr=**Dharmadâsasya** [I*] ya-
2 d=attra puṇyaṁ tan[3]=mâtâpittrô[ḥ*] sarva-sat[t*]vânâṁ ch=â-
3 [nuttara[4]-jñân-âvâptayê=stu II]

TRANSLATION.

This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śâkya *Bhikshu* **Dharmadâsa.** Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), [let] it [be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge] by (*his*) parents and by all sentient beings.

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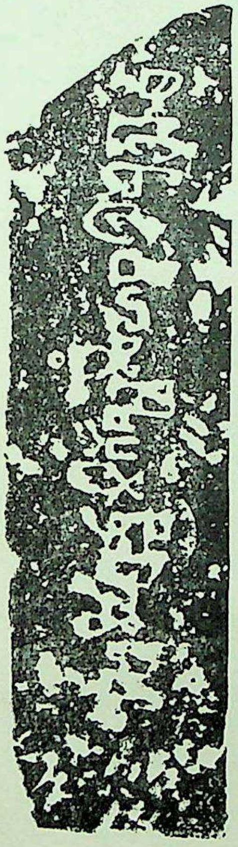
[1] From the original pillar

[2] From the original stone.

[3] This *n* was at first omitted, and then inserted above its proper place.

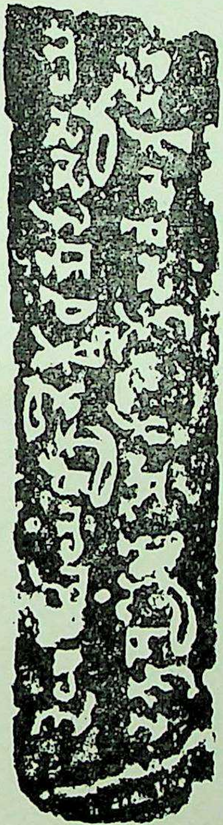
[4] This last line has been entirely cut away and lost, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose

Plate xli



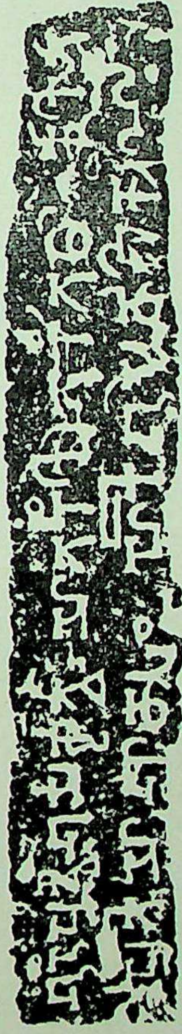
A.—Sanchi Pillar Inscription.

SCALE .50



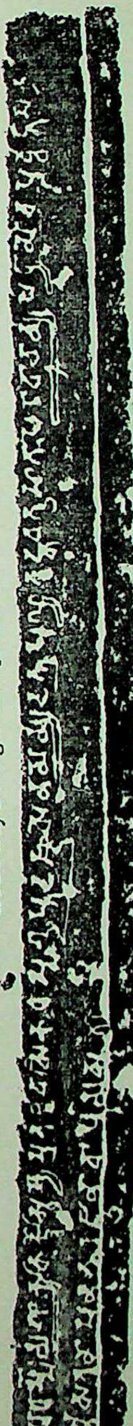
B.—Calcutta Museum Image Inscription.

SCALE .50



C.—Sarnath Inscription.

SCALE .50



D.—Bodh-Gaya Image Inscription.

SCALE .40

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

V. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

No. 75; PLATE XLII C.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1871, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 123, and Plate xxxiv. No. 4.

Sârnâth is the modern name of a large collection of Buddhist ruins, about three and a half miles north of Benares (properly Banâras or Baṇâras), the chief town of the Benares District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is below a sandstone bas-relief representation of three scenes in the life of Buddha, that was found here in the course of excavations. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 1′ $1\frac{3}{8}''$ broad by $2\frac{1}{4}''$ high, is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{7}{16}''$. The **characters** are a peculiarly square variety of the northern alphabet.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the inscription is in verse.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated. But, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record that the sculpture, below which it is engraved, was made by the order of a religious mendicant named **Harigupta.**

TEXT.[1]

1 Guruṁ[2] pûrvvaṁgamaṁ kṛitvâ |[3] mâtaraṁ pitaraṁ tathâ | kâritâ
2 pratimâ śâstuḥ |[4] **Hariguptêna** bhikshuṇâ ||

TRANSLATION.

Having placed first (*in the order of those who are to acquire religious merit from this act*) (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) mother (*and*) father, this image of the Teacher has been caused to be made by the *Bhikshu* **Harigupta.**

No. 76; PLATE XLII D.

BODH-GAYA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription, which does not appear to have been previously brought to notice, is from the pedestal of a Buddhist stone statue that was found by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar in their excavations at **Bôdh-Gayâ,**[5] in the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency. The original statue is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 1′ 11″ broad by 2″ high, towards the top of the pedestal, is in a state of very good preservation throughout.—The average

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[3] and [4] In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[5] See page 274 above, and note 1.

size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Bôdh-Gayâ image inscription of Mahânâman, No. 72 above, page 278, Plate xli B. But, as contrasted with the form in Mahânâman's inscription of the year 269, No 71 above, page 274, Plate xli A., we have to notice that, in conjunction with a following *y*, the *r* is here formed above the line, and the *y* is doubled.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography,** the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *attra*, line 1.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the sixth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the grant, by two Śâkya mendicants named **Dharmagupta** and **Daṁshṭrasêna,** natives of **Tishyâmratîrtha,** of the statue on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.[1]

1 Ôm Dêya-dharmmô=yaṁ Śâkya-bhikshvôs=**Tishyâmratîrtha**-vâsika-
Dharmmagupta-Daṁshṭrasênayôr=Yyad=attra puṇya[ṁ] tad=bhavatu
mâtâpi[ta*]râv=âchâryy-ôpâdhyâyau pûrvvaṅgama[ṁ] kṛitvâ
2 sarvva-satvanâm[2]=anuttara-jñân-âvâptayê=stu[3] ||

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the two Śâkya *Bhikshus*, **Dharmagupta** and **Daṁshṭrasêna,** residents of **Tishyâmratîrtha.** Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings, after (*their*) parents and (*their*) *Âchârya* and *Upâdhyâya.*

No. 77; PLATE XLIII A.

LAHOR COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA MAHESVARANAGA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a copper seal that was obtained by General Cunningham from a native dealer at **Lâhôr,**[4] the chief town of the Lâhôr District in the Pañjâb. It is not known where it was originally found. I obtained it, for examination, from General Cunningham.

The **seal** is on an exaggerated signet-ring, in shape closely resembling the ordinary English pattern, of the kind which may still be seen worn loosely on the thumbs of the ministers of Native States From the flat surface of the seal, to the bottom of the ring, it is about $1\frac{1}{4}$" high. The flat surface of the seal is about $\frac{1}{16}$" thick, and slightly oval in shape, about $1\frac{7}{8}$" by $1\frac{5}{8}$'. At the top there is a bull, recumbent to the proper left, with a crescent moon in front of its face; below this, a straight line, turned up at each end; below this, the legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; and, at the bottom, a curved line, which is evidently intended for a *nâga* or hooded snake. The legend is in reverse in the original, so as to give a direct impression on documents; and it is evidently for some purpose or other of this kind that the seal was used. I give a direct representation of it in the lithograph.—The **weight** of the seal and ring is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the legend is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] Read *sattvânâm*

[3] This *stu* (*astu*) is redundant, as we have *bhavatu* in line 1; see page 279 above, note 3.

[4] The 'Lahore' of maps, &c, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30. Lat. 31° 34′ N.; Long. 74° 21′ E

The **inscription** simply records the name of the *Mahârâja* **Mahêśvaranâga,** the son of **Nâgabhaṭṭa,** belonging, it may be presumed, to a branch of the well-known **Nâga** family or tribe. On palæographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the end of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT.[1]

1 Mahârâja-**Nâgabhaṭṭa-**
2 putra-**Mahêśvaranâga**

TRANSLATION.

The *Mahârâja* **Mahêśvaranâga,** the son of **Nâgabhatta.**

No. 78; PLATE XLIII B.

ROHTASGADH STONE SEAL-MATRIX OF THE MAHASAMANTA SASANKADEVA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, was discovered by Mr. Beglar cut in the rock at the hill-fort of **Rôhtâsgaḍh** or **Rôhitâsgaḍh,**[2] twenty-four miles south by west of Sahasrâm,[3] the chief town of the Sahasrâm Sub-Division of the Shâhâbâd (Ârâ) District in the Bengal Presidency.

In the upper part, there is a somewhat damaged representation of a bull, recumbent to the proper right, and below this, separated by a line about $\frac{8}{16}$″ broad, the legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; the whole being enclosed in a circle, about $4\frac{1}{4}$″ in diameter, with a breadth of circumference varying from $\frac{1}{8}$″ to $\frac{1}{4}$″. I give a direct representation in the lithograph. But the original, on the rock, is in reverse; and, with the bull, the circular surrounding line, and the line across the surface, the legend is countersunk, not in relief. It is plain that what we have here, is a mould or matrix, for casting copper-seals in relief, to be attached to copper-plate charters.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{9}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and the legend is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

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[1] From the original seal.

[2] The 'Rhotasgurh and Rohtásgarh' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104. Lat. 24° 37′ N.; Long. 83° 55′ E.

[3] The 'Sahsarâm, Sahseram, and Sasseram' of maps.—The name is understood to be a corruption of the Sanskṛit *sahasra-grâma*, 'the (circle of a) thousand villages.'

The **inscription** simply records the name of the *Mahâsâmanta*[1] **Śaśâṅkadêva.** The age of the characters would justify us in identifying him with the **Śaśâṅka** (*She-shang-kia*), king of **Karṇasuvarṇa** (*Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na*) in Eastern India,—the contemporary and murderer of **Râjyavardhana II.** of **Kanauj,**—who is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang as a persecutor of the Buddhists.[2] And, if this identification is accepted, it will refer the inscription to just about the commencement of the seventh century A.D.

TEXT.[3]

1 Śrî - mahâsâmanta-
2 **Śaśâṅkadêvasya**

TRANSLATION.

Of the illustrious *Mahâsâmanta* **Śaśâṅkadêva.**

No. 79; PLATE XLIII C.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRAKATADITYA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a stone that was discovered by General Cunningham at **Sârnâth,**[4] close to Benares. It has now, I think, been sent to the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The **writing,** which covers the entire front of the stone, about 2′ 0½″ broad by 1′ 6″ high, has suffered a great deal of injury; especially towards the bottom, where the first halves of lines 12 to 16 are now quite illegible; and I have to acknowledge some very appreciable assistance from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in respect of some of the more pointedly damaged passages. In addition to its being so worn, the extant record is only a remnant of what was originally engraved. Nothing is lost at the top and bottom; but parts of the original stone have been cut away at the sides, evidently in order to adapt it to some building purpose; and the verse commencing in line 3 and ending in line 4, shews that at least eighteen letters have been destroyed in this way, between the last that is legible in line 3 and the first in line 4; the general run of the inscription seems to shew that nearly the whole of what was thus cut away, came at the ends of the lines. Also, as may be seen in the lithograph, two round holes were drilled in the stone for some purpose or other, about half-way down.—The average **size** of the letters is about ⅝″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, except that the Kuṭila characteristic is only discernible in a few places, *e.g.* in *nitarâṁ nishkampaḥ*, line 7, they are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna,

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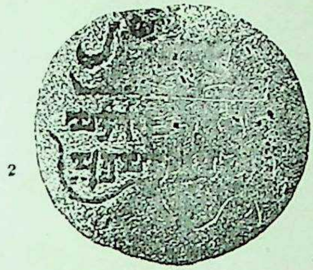
[1] *Mahâsâmanta, lit.* 'a great chief of a district,' is a technical official title which, as noted above (page 15, note 4), seems to denote the same rank as *Mahârâja.*—Next below the *Mahâsâmanta* came the *Sâmanta.* This latter title is of equally frequent use, in its technical value, in other inscriptions. In the present series, however, it is only used in a general way, to denote 'feudal chiefs;' *e.g.* in line 5 of No. 33 (see page 148 above, note 1), and in line 1 of No. 80 below, page 288.

[2] See Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 210 ff., and Vol. II. pp. 42, 91, 118, 121.

[3] From Mr. Beglar's rubbing; so also the lithograph.

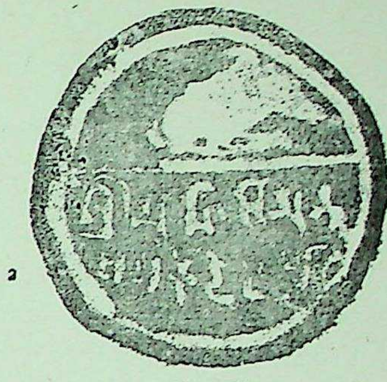
[4] See page 281 above

A.—Lahor Seal of
the Maharaja Mahesvaranaga.



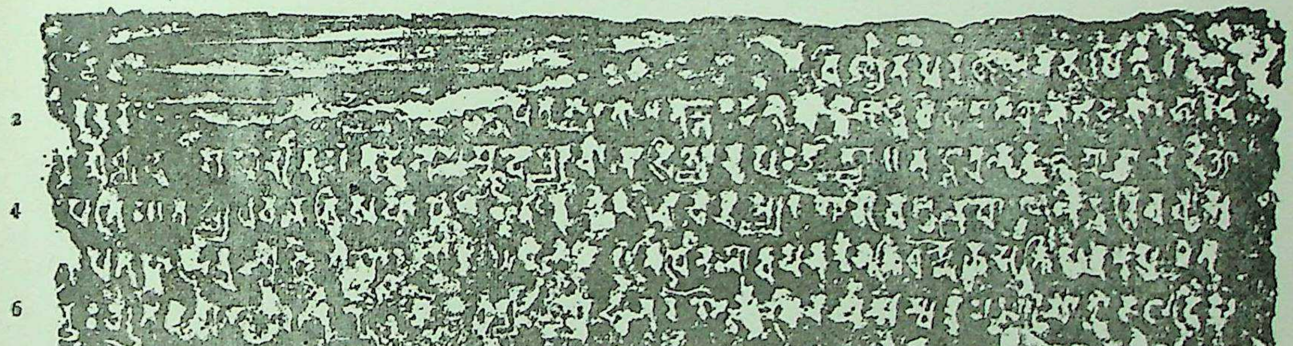
FULL SIZE

B.—Rohtasgadh Seal-Matrix of
the Mahasamanta Sasankadeva.



SCALE .50

C.—Sarnath Inscription of Prakataditya.


2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE .33

No. 42 above, page 200, Plate xxviii.—The **language** is Sanskrit. The last line seems to be in prose; and the rest of the inscription, in verse throughout; though the metres cannot in every instance be recognised.—In respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *puttrêṇa*, line 16; and (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout; *e.g.* in *vâlâditya*, and *lavdha*, line 3.

The **inscription** is one of a king named **Prakaṭâditya,** whose capital appears to have been **Kâśî,** *i.e.* **Benares,** which is mentioned in the first line. It is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds it may be referred roughly to about the end of the seventh century A.D. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and the object of it is to record the building of a temple of the god Vishṇu, under the name of Muradvish, and some provision, the details of which are lost, for the repairs of it.

The chief interest attaching to this inscription, consists in its mentioning at least two kings of the name of **Bâlâditya.** One of them was the father of Prakaṭâditya. The other was an ancestor of the same name; and, as he himself is called "another" **Bâlâditya,** the presumption is that the name of the still earlier ancestor, who was mentioned in the passages that have been destroyed in lines 2 and 3, was also **Bâlâditya.** And the probability is, that the first Bâlâditya is the one who is so well known in connection with the history of **Mihirakula.**

TEXT.[1]

1 . . . . dê(?)vô(?) . . . . II . . . . **Kâś**[2]-îti-
vikhyâtaṁ puraṁ kâ(?)mê(?)na bhûshitaṁ I . . . .
2 . . . . . . [II] [Pu]raṁdara i[va] . . . . patDaty=ahô(?) II
T[u]ṅga-ta(?)raṅga(?)va . . śâstra-vidô . . . . taṭânâm I kari . . . .
3 . . . . rân[3]=madhya-da . . ṁśam=ânîtah I tad-vaṁśa-sambhavô=nyô **Vâ(bâ)lâ-
dityô** ṇripaḥ prîtyâ II Tad-gôtra-lavdha(bdha)-janmâ **Vâ(bâ)lâdityô**
. . . .
4 . . . . patiḥ II Tasya[4] **Dhaval**=êti jâyâ pati-vratâ Rôhiṇ=îva
chandrasya I Gaur=îva Śûlapâṇêr=L[l]akshmîr=iva Vâsu[dêvasya II]
. . . .
5 . . . . . . [pra]tâpa-tapt-âmitra-vadhû-sindhu-śô[sha] . . . . . . I . . . . ti-vinayâ
dvaya-bhṛi(?)taṁ bhakti-dharmm-aika-śakti-satata-prathita . . . .
6 . . . . nu(?)ḥ suta-vatsala . . . . sutaḥ śauryya-
vinaya-sampannaḥ I śrîmân=**Prakaṭâdityô** . . . .
7 . . . . . . [dvi]ja[5]-vara-nikar-âśrayaḥ pravṛi(?)ddha(?)-guṇaḥ I kalpa-druma iva
nitarâṁ nishkampaḥ prakaṭa-mûlô=pi II . . . .
8 . . . . [I] . . . . dvija[6]-gaṇa-sêvyaḥ sa[tata]ṁ vidvat-samudaya-vihita-ruchiḥ II
Nir[jj]ita-[du]rjjaya-śat[tru]s=tri . . . .
9 . . . . pû(?)rvvaḥ Kârttikêya iva II Yasya . . . . va . . nirgata . . . .
luvdha(bdha)-hṛishṭa-bhramad-bhrama[ra] . . . . vi . . . .
10 . . . . ta[7]-dinaṁ pṛithu-pushkariṇyaḥ II Ye(?)na(?)[8] ripu-sundarîṇâm
malinâni kṛitâni v[i]pu[la] . . . .

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[1] From the ink-impression.

[2] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh)

[3] Metre, Âryâ; and probably in the next verse.

[4] Metre, Âryâ.

[5] Metre, Âryâ.

[6] Metre, Âryâ; and probably in the next verse.

[7] Metre, apparently Vasantatilaka

[8] Metre, probably Âryâ.

11 ....naśa(?)na(?)-dvija-guru .... ‖ .... kâritam=êtad= bhavanaṁ Muradvishô ra ....

12. .... yâbhâ(?)su(?) yutâyâmikâ prakaṭa ....

13 .... bahu-matô dharmma-yaśô-râśi ....

14 .... yaḥ(?) ‖ Khaṇḍa[1]-sphuṭita-saṁskâra .... dhû ....

15 .... haṁsa-bha ..... praśastiḥ svâ ...... ta(?)ḥ ‖ ....

16 .... R[â]machandra-[pu]ttr[ê]ṇa Dêvakêna ‖

TRANSLATION.

This inscription is too fragmentary for a connected translation to be offered. But we have to note the following points. Line 1 mentions the city of **Kâśî**; and line 2 apparently the god Puraṁdara, in connection with it. The passage lost between the last legible letter in line 2 and the first in line 3, contained the name of a king, in connection with whom we perhaps have, at the commencement of line 3, a mention of the **Madhyadêśa** or Central Country. In his lineage, there was born "another" king **Bâlâditya** (l. 3). In the family of the latter, there was born yet another **Bâlâditya** (l. 3). His wife was **Dhavalâ** (l. 4), who is compared with Rôhiṇî, the wife of the Moon, Gaurî, the wife of Śûlapâṇi, and Lakshmî, the wife of Vâsudêva. Their son was the glorious **Prakaṭâditya** (l. 6), whose virtues and prowess, including a comparison of him with the god Kârttikêya (l. 9), are described in lines 7 to 10, apparently without the introduction of any further historical matter. Line 11 mentions the building of a temple of the god Muradvish. Line 14 contained some provision for the repairs of this temple. And line 16 gives us the name of Dêvaka, the son of Râmachandra, apparently as the engraver of the inscription.

No. 80; PLATE XLIV.

NIRMAND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHASAMANTA AND MAHARAJA SAMUDRASENA.

THIS inscription has been known, to General Cunningham, since 1847 or 1848, but was not brought to notice till 1879, when Major W. R. M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction in the Pañjâb, having obtained and forwarded the plate on which it is engraved, Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVIII. Proceedings, p. 212 ff.

Nirmaṇḍ[2] is a village, near the right bank of the Satlaj, twenty-one miles north-east of Plâch,[3] the chief town of the Plâch Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Kullû[4] Division of the Kâṅgra District in the Pañjâb. The inscription is on a copper-plate, which belongs to a temple of the god Paraśurâma at this village; and, in accordance with the custom of the country, it is kept nailed up on one of the walls of the temple. I obtained the original plate, for examination, through the kindness of Mr. L. W. Dane, B.C.S.

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[1] Metre, probably Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[2] The 'Nirmand' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 47. Lat. 31° 25′ N.; Long. 77° 38′ E.

[3] The 'Plach' of maps.

[4] The 'Kullu and Kulu' of maps.

The **plate,** which is inscribed on one side only, is of rather irregular shape, the extreme measures being about 1′ $6\frac{3}{8}$″ by $8\frac{5}{8}$″. The edges of it are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. Three of the four corners are more or less damaged; but nothing has been lost thereby; except in the upper proper right corner, where, unfortunately, the name of the family of the *Mahârâja*, whose grant is recorded, has been broken away at the commencement of line 1. The rest of the inscription is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plate is rather thin; and the letters, though not very deep, shew through on the reverse side throughout; they were also engraved with such force as to destroy entirely the original smoothness of the plate, and thus to give the majority of them rather a blurred appearance in the lithograph. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the majority of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—At the top of the plate, in the centre, there is a hole, which seems to have been made originally for a **ring,** with a seal attached to it; but it has been broken through to the edge, and the ring and **seal** are not forthcoming. There is another hole in the bottom of the plate; this was probably made later, in order to nail the plate up on to the wall of the temple.—The **weight** of the plate is about 1 lb. 12 oz.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{16}$″ to $\frac{5}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. In the combination of *r* with a following *y*, the *r* in this inscription is written on the line, with only a single *y* below it; *e.g.* in *paryantâ*, line 8, and *kuryât*, line 11. The characters include, in line 14, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 1, 6, and 10.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 12 to 14, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya*, in *yugalaḫ=kratu*, line 2; *duḫkha*, line 6; *anudhyâtaḥ̤=parama*, lines 2, 3, and 4; *utpannaḥ̤=pitrâ*, line 2; and *dayâluḥ̤=parama*, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vaṅśa*, line 1; (3) the occasional doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *samatikkrânta*, line 1; and *attra* and *vâdittra*, line 15; and (4) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, in *lavdha*, line 3; *vvali*, line 7; *kuṭumvinâ*, lines 8 and 9; and *kuṭumva*, line 9.

The **inscription** is one of a *Mahâsâmanta* and *Mahârâja* named **Samudrasêna.** Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year six, and the eleventh solar day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha (April-May). There is nothing to indicate any particular era to which the date should be referred. On palæographical grounds, we might very well refer it to the Harsha era, with the result of A.D. 612-13. But I feel rather doubtful as to the probability of the years of Harshavardhana's reign having been constituted an era, of general acceptance, quite so soon after his accession. And I am inclined to look upon the date of this inscription as referring only to the years of the authority of Samudrasêna himself, as in the Âraṅg grant of the *Râja* Mahâ-Jayarâja, No. 40 above, page 191, the Râypur grant of the *Râja* Mahâ-Sudêvarâja, No. 41 above, page 196, and the Chammak and Siwanî grants of the *Mahârâja* Pravarasêna II., Nos. 55 and 56 above, pp. 235 and 243. And, in that case, all that can be said about the period of the present inscription, is, that it belongs roughly to about the seventh century A.D.[1] The object of the inscription is to record the allotment of the village of **Sûlisagrâma** by **Samudrasêna,** to a body of Brâhmaṇs who studied the *Atharva-Vêda* at the *agrahâra* of **Nirmaṇḍa,** for the purposes of the god Tripurântaka or Śiva, who, under the name of Mihirêśvara, had been installed by his mother Mihiralakshmî at a previously established temple of the same god under the name of Kapâlêśvara. It is therefore a Śaiva inscription; but the occurrence of the word *mihira*, 'the sun,' as the first component of the god's name, seems to indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites.

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[1] Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XIV. p. 120 ff.) has referred this inscription to Vikrama-Saṁvat 1227 (A.D. 1160-61); but on grounds which will not stand for a moment. It is quite

TEXT.[1]

1 [2]. . . . . bhikhyâta - narapati - vaṁśa - jas = sama[3]bhavach = chatur - udadhi-samatikkrânta-kîrttir=anêka-sâmant-ôttamâṅg-âvanata-mukuṭa - maṇi - mayûkha-vichchhurita-charaṇâravinda-[4]

2 vugala[5]ḣ = kratu-yâjî mahâsâmanta-mahârâja-śrî-**Varuṇasênas**=Tasya putras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ = paramadêvyâp(m) = Pravâ(bâ)likâ-bhaṭ[ṭ*]ârikâyâm = utpannaḥ= pitr=aiva tulyô guṇair=mma-

3 hâsâmanta-mahârâja-śrî-**Sañjayasênas**=Tasya putras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ=parama-dêvyâṁ Śikharasvâminî-bhaṭ[ṭ*]ârikâyâm=utpannas=samara-śata-lavdha(bdha)-jayas=tyâgî ma-

4 hâsâmanta-mahârâja - śrî -**Ravishêṇas**= tasya putras=tat-p[â*]d-ânudhyâtaḥ=parama-dêvyâṁ śrî-Mihiralakshmî-bhaṭ[ṭ*]ârikâyâm=utpannaś=śarad-amala-sakala-rajanikara iva prâṇi-

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true that the alphabetical characters of that part of the country are of an extremely conservative type; but not to anything like such an extent as to enable us to refer the present record to within several centuries of so late a period. The more important point, however, is, that his reading of the date is completely wrong. Overlooking altogether the numerical symbol that stands after the word *saṁvat*, he has obtained his reading of the date by interpreting, among the words that precede *saṁvat*, *arka* as 'twelve,' and *gaṇa* as 'twenty-seven.' According to the numerical-word system, *arka* certainly does stand for 'twelve;' and *gaṇa* might possibly be used for 'twenty-seven,' though I can find no authority for it. But, in the present passage, *arka* is simply the second component of the name of the writer of the grant; and, whatever *gaṇa* may mean here, it is most certainly not used as a numerical word. The date is recorded, in the usual way, in the numerical symbol that stands immediately after *saṁvat*; and that symbol is a 6.—Gen. Cunningham found some corroboration of his interpretation, in the fact that the accepted genealogy of the 'Mandi' and 'Suket' families contains a Samudrasêna, whose date, reckoning backwards at the rate of thirty years to the generation from A.D. 1500, would be about A.D. 1140 to 1166, and who might, therefore, on his interpretation of the date, be identified with the Samudrasêna of this inscription. But this identification cannot be accepted for a moment; it is wholly impossible to accept the names of Vîrasêna, Savâhanasêna, Kanavâhanasêna, and Naravâhanasêna, which precede him in the genealogy, as being identical with, or even intended to represent, the Ravishêṇa, Saṁjayasêna, and Varuṇasêna, of the inscription.

[1] From the original plate.

[2] Four letters, or perhaps five, are broken away and lost here. A small part of the last of them, immediately preceding the first legible syllable, *bhi*, is visible; but it is impossible to say what the entire letter may have been.

[3] The mark over this *ma* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

[4] The mark between the *vi* and the *nda* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

[5] The upper parts of these three letters are broken away and lost; but enough remains to shew distinctly what they were.

5 nâṁ samâhlâdana-karas=samutkhât-âśêsha-ripur=âśâvatâm=aprârtthita-phala-pradô
dîn-ânâth-âtura-dayâluḥ=paramamâhêśvarô=ti-vra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ=parârtthy(rtth)-
aika-ratô mahâsâmanta-

6 mahârâja-śrî-**Samudrasênô** jananî-śrî-Mihiralakshmyâ dharmm-ârtthaṁ
bhagavatas=Tripurântakasya lôk-âlôka-karasya praṇat-ânukampinas=sarvva-
duṁkha-kshaya-karô[1] Kapâlê-

7 śvarê jananî-pratishṭhitasya śrî-Mihirêśvarasya Kapâlêśvara-vva(ba)li-charu-
sat[t*]ra-srag-dhûpa-dîpi(pa)-dânâya satataṁ śîrṇṇa-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-
sâdhanâya cha **Ni-**

8 **rmmaṇḍ**-âgrâhâr-Âtharvvaṇa-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-stômâya **Sûlisagrâma**-navavaidila-
karmm-ânta-Vakkhalika-kuṭumvi(mbi)nâ dvêsa-bhûmî-paryantâ paribhûta-
nâmnâ Phakkaś=cha **Tâlâpura-**

9 **ka**-kuṭumvi(mbi)nâ dvêsa-bhûmî s-ôdraṅgâ sa-sîm-ânta-paryantâ
Sulabhaka-kuṭumva(mba)-Dinna-kuṭumva(mba)ś=cha I Kapâlêśvara-dêvasya
pûrvva-pratishṭhâyâṁ mahârâja-**Śarvvavarmmêṇa**[2] bhûmî dattâ I
Sûlisagrâmasya śrî-Mihi-

10 ralakshmyâ dattasya sam-audaka-jaṅgala-bhûmî-samêtam=aśêshaṁ sa-prativâsi-
jana-samêtaṁ s-ôdraṅga[ṁ*] sva-sîmâ-tṛiṇa-kâshṭha-prasravaṇa-yûtî(ti)-
paryantaṁ dêvâgrâhâratvên=â-cha-

11 ndr-ârkka-târâ-samakâlînaṁ pratipâdayati sma [II*] Viditv=aitad=râjabhis=
tad-âśṛi(śri)tajanên=âdhikṛit-ânadhikṛitêna hitam=ichchhatâ pratipâlanîyâ [I*]
yô=nyathâ kuryât=paripanthanam=apaha-

12 raṇa-pîḍ-ôpadravaṁ vâ sa pañchabhir=mmahâpâtakair=upapâtakaiś=cha
saṁyuktas=syât II Uktañ=cha [I*] Va(ba)hubhir[3]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ
râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhi[ḥ*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya
tadâ

13 phalaṁ [II*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ
âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [II*] Sva-
dattâṁ para-dattâm=vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ shashṭi-varsha-

14 sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimir=iti II Dûtô=tra Nihilapati-
Kuśalaprakâśaś=cha I lêkhakô=tra Udyôta-arkkaś[4]=cha gaṇa-
srôstha[5] [II*] Saṁvat 6 Khê[6] śu di 10 1 [II*]

15 Râshṭra-samêtasy=â(ê)yaṁ datti[ḥ*] paripâlyâ II Ai(?)ṅgi(?)k=âttra
udyâ(?)na(?)-sthâvara-vâdittra-ka(?)viśva-sa(?)hadra upalava[7]

16 kagalalañcha(?)ṭika dva[8]ya(?) Mihî(hi)ralakshmi(kshmî)-pratipâd[i*]ta iti [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Born in the lineage of the famous kings .... there was the *Mahâsâmanta* and *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Varuṇasêna**, whose fame stretched out over the four oceans; the waterlilies of whose feet were covered over with the rays of the jewels in the bowed-down tiaras on the heads of many feudal chiefs; (*and*) who celebrated sacrifices.

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[1] Read *karasya*.

[2] Read *śarvvavarmmaṇâ*.

[3] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.

[4] Read *udyôtârkkaś*.

[5] This seems to be intended for *gaṇa-śrêshṭhaḥ*.

[6] This is what is engraved. But of course it is a mistake for *vai*, i. e. *vaiśâkha*; and it is easy to see how the engraver made the mistake in copying from the draft before him.

[7] The mark that follows this *va* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

[8] The mark before this *dva* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

(Line 2.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was verily equal to (*his*) father in virtuous qualities, (*was*) the *Mahâsâmanta* and *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Saṁjayasêna,** begotten on the *Paramadêvî*,[1] the *Bhaṭṭârikâ* Prabâlikâ.

(L. 3.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who attained victory in a hundred battles, (*and*) who was full of liberality, (*was*) the *Mahâsâmanta* and *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Ravishêṇa,** begotten on the *Paramadêvî* Śikharasvâminî.

(L. 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahâsâmanta* and *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Samudrasêna,**—who was begotten on the *Paramadêvî*, the *Bhaṭṭârikâ*, the illustrious Mihiralakshmî; who, like the spotless full-moon of autumn, causes the delight of (*all*) living creatures; who has uprooted all enemies; who confers upon the expectant rewards that are not (*even*) sought for (*by them*); who is tender to the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted; who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara; who is extremely friendly to Brâhmaṇs; (*and*) who is entirely intent upon the supreme good,—for the sake of the religious purposes of (*his*) mother, the illustrious Mihiralakshmî, has allotted, as an *agrâhâra* of the god, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun and the stars, to the body of Brâhmaṇs who study the *Atharva-Vêda* at the *agrâhâra* of **Nirmaṇḍa,**—for the purpose of giving, at (*the temple of the god*) Kapâlêśvara, the *bali*, *charu*, *sattra*, garlands, incense, and lights, of the holy (god) Mihirêśvara, who is the divine Tripurântaka, the maker of the visible and invisible world, compassionate to those who worship (*him*), the destroyer of all sorrows, (*and*) who was established by (*his*) mother at (*the temple of the god*) Kapâlêśvara; and for the purpose of always repairing whatever may become worn-out and broken and torn,—the whole of the village of **Sûlisagrâma,** that was granted by the illustrious Mihiralakshmî, together with the level and marsh and forest lands; together with the inhabitants; with the *udraṅga*; (*and*) including all its boundaries, grass, timber, and springs,—(*viz.*) (*the land*) including the *dvêsa*-land[2] (*that had been given*) by the cultivator Vakkhalika, (*whose holding was*) on the edge of the newly-constructed *vaidila*[3] of the village of **Sûlisagrâma;** and the *dvêsa*-land, with the *udraṅga* (*and*) including the edges of (*its*) boundaries, (*that had been given*) by a cultivator of the town of **Tâlâpura,**[4] who under a nick-name (*was called*) Phakka;[5] and the holding of Sulabhaka and the holding of Dinna; (*and*) the land that had been given by the *Mahârâja* **Śarvavarman** at the former installation of the god Kapâlêśvara.

(L. 11.)—(*This grant*) should be preserved by (*future*) kings, becoming aware of it; (*and*) by the people, whether holding office or not holding office, dependent on them, who

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[1] *Paramadêvî*, *lit.* 'supreme goddess,' was a technical title of the wives of *Mahârâjas*. The more usual title, however, was *Mahâdêvî* (see page 16 above, note 2).

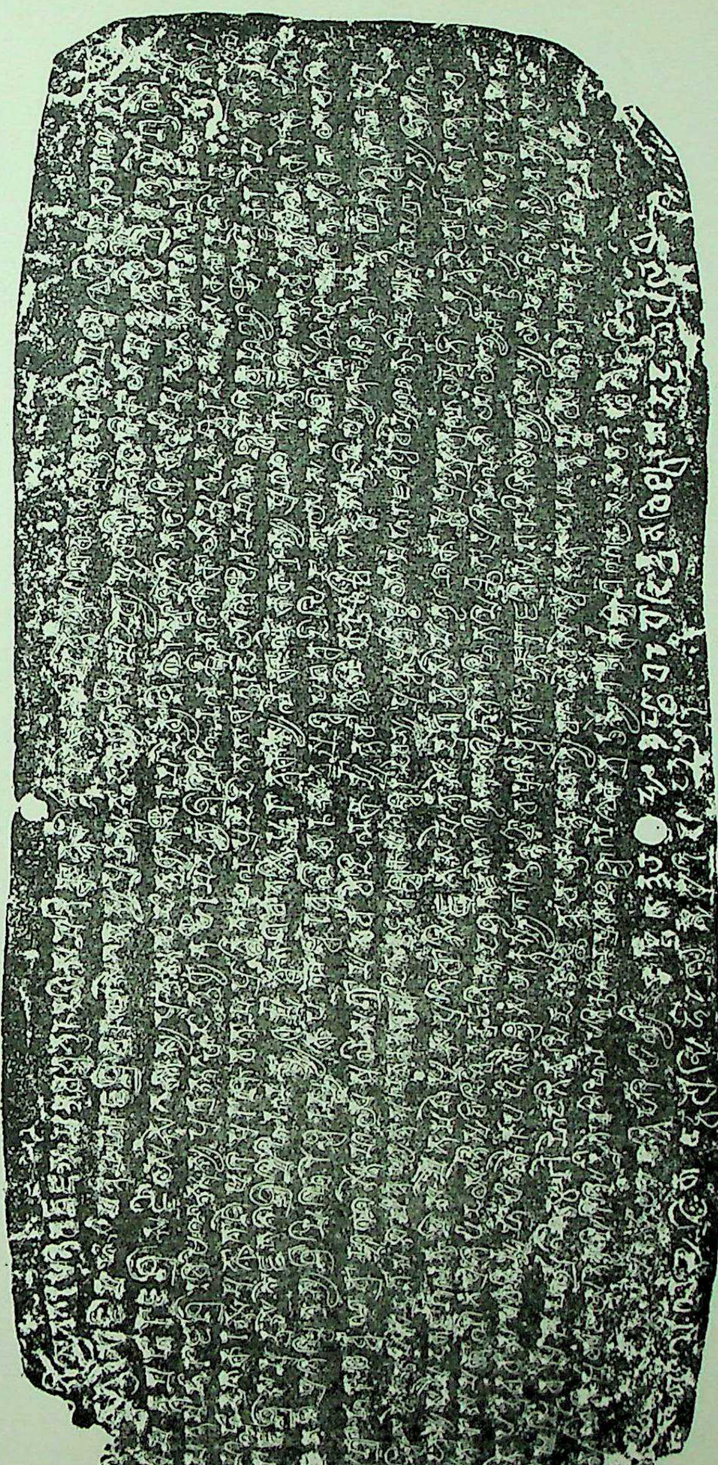
[2] *dvêsa.*—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of this word, which is probably a local term. Dr. R. Mitra translated it by 'grazing-ground,' but quoted no authority for this.—The purport of the passage from *Sûlisagrâma-nava*, line 8, down to *bhûmî dattâ*, line 9, is not quite clear. But it seems to specify certain previous grants which make up the *aśêsham* or 'entirety' of Sûlisagrâma, as now bestowed by Samudrasêna.

[3] *vaidila.*—This is another word of which I have not been able to obtain any explanation.

[4] Or perhaps Talâpura, with the short vowel *a* in the first syllable.

[5] *lit.* 'the cripple.

Nirmand Plate of the Mahasamanta and Maharaja Samudrasena.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE .50

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

are desirous of welfare! Whosoever (*acting*) otherwise, may cause obstruction or the annoyance of the pain caused by confiscation,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins!

(L. 12.)—And it has been said:—"The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years.

(L. 14.)—And the *Dûta*[1] in this matter (*is*) the *Nihilapati*[2] **Kuśalaprakâśa**; and the writer in this matter (*is*) Udyôtârka, the leader of the assemblage (?).[3] The year 6; (the month) Vaiśâkha; the bright fortnight; the day 10 (*and*) 1.

(L. 15.)—This grant, which is one of the whole assembly of (*the people of*) the country, should be preserved! ....[4]

No. 81; PLATE XLV.

RAJIM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA TIVARADEVA.

THIS inscription was discovered about 1785 by a Marâṭhâ chief named Hanmantrao Maharik, and was first brought to notice in 1825, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 499 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. R. Jenkins, a lithograph of it was published (*id.* Plate xiv.), accompanied by a version of the text by a Jain scholar named Srivarmasuri, and a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson.—Subsequently General Cunningham obtained the original plates again, and, in 1884, published a fresh lithograph in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 17, and Plates vi. vii. and viii.

Râjim[5] is a town on the right bank of the Mahânadî river, about twenty-four miles to the south-east of Râypur,[6] the chief town of the Râypur District in the Central

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[1] *Dûta*; see page 100 above, note 3.—An Ujjain grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1192 (Colebrooke's *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 273; and *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 51, line 13) gives an instance of more than one original *Dûta* or *Dûtaka* being employed for one and the same grant,—*viz.* "the *Purôhita*, the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious Vâmanasvâmin; the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious Purushôttama; the *Mahâpradhâna*, the *Râjaputra*, the illustrious Dêvadhara; and others,"—without any such circumstances as those indicated in No. 30 above, page 134, which necessitated the despatch of a second *Dûtaka* to authorise the insertion of additional privileges in the charter.

[2] *Nihilapati*.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the first component of this official title.

[3] *gaṇa-śrêshṭha* (?).—If this is the proper intended reading, the word must have some technical meaning; but its exact purport is not apparent.

[4] The passage commencing with *ai(?)ṅgi(?)k=âtra*, in line 15, is too corrupt to be capable of translation. But it appears to record two other grants made by Mihiralakshmî; and it mentions a park, some immovable property, and some musical instruments.

[5] The 'Rajam and Rajim' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 20° 58′ N.; Long. 81° 55′ E.

[6] The 'Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor' of maps &c.; see page 196 above, and note 1.

Provinces. The plates containing the inscription were discovered in digging for stones to build a house in this town, and are now in the possession of the priests of the temple of the god Râjîvalôchana. I obtained them, for examination, through the District Authorities.

The **plates,** of which the first and last are engraved on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $8\frac{7}{8}''$ by $5\frac{7}{8}''$. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are rust-eaten in a few places; but the inscription is for the most part in a state of perfect preservation. They are of fair thickness; but the letters shew through on the reverse sides of the first and last plates, so clearly that most of them can be read there. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right side of each plate, about the centre, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. The ring, which had not been cut when the grant came under my notice, is circular, about $\frac{7}{16}''$ thick and $4\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. The ends of it are secured, in the usual way, in the lower part of a seal. The top of the **seal** is circular, about $3\frac{3}{16}''$ in diameter. It has, in relief on a rather deep countersunk surface, across the centre, a **legend,** in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; in the upper part, a figure of Garuḍa, facing full-front, depicted with the head of a man and the body of a bird, with his wings expanded, with, apparently, human arms hanging down between the wings and the feet, and with a serpent, with expanded hood, standing up in front of and over each shoulder; on the proper right of this, a *chakra* or discus, the emblem of Vishṇu; and on the proper left, a *śaṅkha* or conch-shell; in the lower part, a floral device.—The **weight** of the three plates is about 2 lbs. 15 oz., and of the ring and seal, about 2 lbs. $6\frac{1}{4}$ oz.; total, 5 lbs. $5\frac{1}{4}$ oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{7}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include the separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, *e.g.* in *vâḍavânala*, line 6, and *gûḍô*, for *gûḍhô*, line 10. They give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety, peculiar to Central India, on which I have commented at page 18 f. above. They include, in line 36, a form of the **numerical symbol**[1] for 7, and also of the **decimal figure**[2] for 8.—The **language** is Sanskṛit, except for the three vernacular terminations in the record of the date in the last line. The legend on the seal is in verse. The inscription itself, except for one verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 25 to 35, is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography,** we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *nistriṅśa*, line 4; *vaṅśa*, line 16;

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[1] This sign is, perhaps, rather an intermediate form between the numerical symbol and the decimal figure, as it differs a little from the symbol for 7 which we have in the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, No. 71 (see page 274 above, note 2); but it approximates much more closely to the symbol, than to the figure.—Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 17) interpreted it as 6; probably on account of its resemblance to the modern Bengâli form of 6. This will not stand: because of the southern type of the characters of this inscription.—There might possibly be a doubt, whether it represents 7 or 9. But I think, on the whole, that it is intended for a 7.

[2] Here we have a fully developed decimal figure, and of the southern type, as shown by the slight bend to the left in the vertical stroke; it is also explained by the ordinal adjective *ashṭamu*, 'the eighth.'—This mixture of a numerical symbol and a decimal figure, is rather unusual. But a still more marked example occurs in the date of the Shêrgaḍh Buddhist inscription of the *Sâmanta* Dêvadatta of Vikrama-Saṁvat 879, where the 800 is expressed by the decimal figure 8 in combination with a form of the numerical symbol for 100 (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 351 f.)

and *nriśansa*, line 27; (2) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vahala*, line 5; and (3) the use of *b* for *v*, in *bvavasthâ*, line 8; *bapushi*, line 9-10; *abhibṛiddhayê*, line 22; *pratibastavyam*, line 25-26; *byâsa*, line 30; and *bâ*, line 34.

The **inscription** is one of the *Râja* **Tîvaradêva,** of the **Pâṇḍuvaṁśa** or **lineage of Pâṇḍu.** In line 18, he has also the name of **Mahâśiva-Tîvararâja;** and, according to the legend on the seal, he was the lord of the **Kôsala** country. The charter recorded in it is issued from the town of **Śrîpura,** which is evidently the modern **Śirpur,** about forty miles east by north from Râypur. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by **Tîvaradêva,** to a Brâhmaṇ, on the twelfth lunar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Jyêshṭha (May-June), of the village of **Pimparipadraka** in the **Penṭhâma** *bhukti*.[1] The last two lines record, partly with a numerical symbol,[2] and partly with a decimal figure coupled with the ordinal adjective, a second and fuller date; *viz.* the seventh year of the reign, and the eighth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Kârttika (October-November). This is evidently the date of the writing or assignment of the charter. And the 'reign' referred to, is probably the government of Tîvaradêva.

Tîvaradêva's **paramount sovereign** is referred to in line 11. But his name, or lineage, is not mentioned. Nor does the inscription contain any distinct information as to the period to which it is to be referred. This latter point, however, appears capable of determination from other sources. **Tîvaradêva** was the adopted son[3] of **Nannadêva,** who was the son of **Indrabala. Nannadêva** and his father **Indrabala** are mentioned again in an inscription at Śirpur itself, discovered by Mr. Beglar, and brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 25 f. and Plate xviii A.; and from this we learn that **Indrabala's** father was **Udayana,** of the **Śavara** lineage. The Śirpur inscription contains no date; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the eighth or ninth century A.D. And it seems extremely probable that this **Śavara** king or chieftain, **Udayana,** is the one who was conquered, captured, and released again, by the Later Pallava king Pallavamalla-Nandivarman.[4] Mr. Foulkes[5] has allotted Nandivarman to the century from A.D. 800 to 900; his exact date still remaining to be fixed, in accordance, to a certain extent, with the date of the Chôḷa king Koppara-Kêsarivarman, whose name appears in a Tamiḻ addition to Nandivarman's grant. These points remain for further investigation. But they indicate the period to about which the present inscription of Tîvaradêva may be referred. And, though the archaic forms of the characters might lead us, at first sight, to allot it to an earlier period, such a conclusion is negatived by the vernacular terminations occurring in the last line, and by the use of a decimal figure in the record of the date. General Cunningham, indeed,[6] has arrived at the specific date of A.D. 425 for **Tîvaradêva.** But this is based upon his identification of Nannadêva's great-grandson Śivagupta with a certain Śivagupta of the Sômavaṁśa, a king of Kaṭak, who, according to the Orissa palm-leaf records, was reigning in the time of Yayâti or Yayâtikêsarin; and upon his acceptance of Stirling's date of A.D. 474 to 526 (or 473 to 520) for Yayâtikêsarin, as correct. I shall discuss the matter at length hereafter. It is sufficient to say, here, that the date of Yayâtikêsarin, derived from the Orissa records, is altogether unreliable, and is too early by at least about four centuries; and that, if the identification of the two Śivaguptas is correct, it leaves no doubt whatever that Tîvaradêva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800.

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[1] *bhukti*, *lit.* 'enjoyment,' is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which remains to be determined.

[2] See page 292 above, notes 1 and 2.

[3] *tanaya-prâpta*, line 16; *lit.* 'acquired as a son.'—Nannadêva's son by birth was Chandragupta, as recorded in line 5 of the Śirpur inscription referred to in this paragraph.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 278, 282 f.; and *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. pp. 360, 364

[5] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XVII. p. 203.

[6] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 17 f.

TEXT.[1]

The Seal.

a Śrîmat[2]-**Tî[3]varadêvasya** **Kôsal-**
âdhipatêr=idaṁ
b śâsanaṁ dharmma-vṛiddhy-arttha[ṁ]
sthiram=â-chandra-târakaṁ [||*]

First Plate.

1 Ôm [||*] Jayati[4] jagat-[t*]raya-tilaka[ḥ*] kshitibhṛit-ku!a-bhavana-
maṅgala-sûtra[ḥ*] śṛii(śrî)mat-**Ti(tî)varadêvô** dhaurêya[ḥ*] sa-
2 kala-puṇyakṛitâṁ [||*] Sta(sva)sti **Śṛii(śrî)purât**=samadhigatapañcha-
mahâśabd-ânêka-nata-nṛipati-kiri(rî)ṭa-
3 kôṭi-ghṛipta(shṭa)-charaṇa-nakha-darpaṇ-ôdbhâsitô=pi kaṇṭhad-unmukha-prakaṭa-
ripu-râja-lakshmi(kshmî)-
4 kêśapâś-âkarshaṇa-durlalita-pâṇipalla[vô*] niśita-nistṛi(stri)ṅśa-ghana-ghâta-pâtit-
âri-dvirada-ku-
5 mbha-maṇḍala-galad-va(ba)hala - śôṇita - sad - âsikta - muktâphala - prakara - maṇḍita-
raṇâṅgaṇa-
6 dvi(vi)vidha-ratna-saṁbhâ[5]ra-lâbha-lôbha-vijṛimbhamâṇ-âri - kshâravâri - vâḍavânalaś=
chandr-ôdaya iv=âkṛita-
7 kar-ôdvêgaḥ kshi(kshî)rôda iv=âdvi(vi)rbhût-ânêk-âtiśâyi-ratna-sampat
Garutmân=iva bhujaṅg-ôddhâra-chatura[ḥ*]
8 parâmṛishṭa-ga(śa)tru-kalatra-nêtr - âṁjana - kômala - kapôla - kuṅkumapatra - bhaṅgat
śishṭ-âchâra-bya(vya)vasthâ-
9 paripâlan-aika-datta-chitta[ḥ*] [|*] api cha prâktanê tapasi yaśasi
rahasi chêtasi chakshushi ba(va)p[u]-

Second Plate; First Side.

10 shi cha pûjitô janên=âklishṭatayâ nitântam=a-vitṛiptô **gûḍô(ḍhô) gâḍa(ḍha)-**
svachchha-prasanna-ya(va)da-

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[3] The vowel is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to say whether *i* was engraved, or *î*. In lines 1 and 18, the short vowel is used in this name; and, in fact, *i* is used for *î* throughout the greater part of the inscription; but the metre of line 1 shews that, in this name, the long vowel *î* is the correct one.

[4] Metre, Âryâ; but one short syllable is wanting in the second *pâda*.

[5] The vowel *â* is partly destroyed by the ring-hole of the plate.

11 nêna ch=âlaṅkṛita[ḥ*] svâmi-bhavan[ê*]=py=a-bahu-lapanô=n-ujjhitaḥ ku-tṛishṇô=
pi nitânta-tyâ-
12 gi(gî) ripujana-prachaṇḍô=pi sô(sau)mya-darśanô bhûti-vibhûshaṇô=py=a-
parushaḥ svabhâva[taḥ*] ki-
13 ñch=â-santushṭô dharm-ârjanêna sampal-lâbhê svalpa-krôdhêna prabhâve
lubdhô yaśasi na pa-
14 ra-vitt-âpahârê sa(śa)k[l]aḥ subhâsi(shi)têshu na kâmini(nî)-kṛii(krî)ḍâsu
pratâp-ânala-dagdh-âśêsha-
15 ripu-kula-tûlarâśis=tuhinaśilâśaila-dhavala-yaśô-râśi-prakâsita-diganta[ḥ*] kânta[ḥ*]
prakṛityâ
16 śṛii(śrî)mad-**Indrabala**-sûnôr=alaṅkṛita-**Pâṇḍuvaṅśasya** śṛii(śrî)-**Nannadêvasya**
tanaya-prâptaḥ sva-punya(ṇya)-
17 saṁbhâra-prasa(śa)mit-âśêsha-jagad-upadravaḥ sva-prajñâ-śû(sû)chi-samuddhṛit-
âkhila-kaṇṭakaḥ para-
18 mavaishṇavô mâtâpitṛi-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ śṛiî(śrî)-**Mahâśiva-Tira**[1]**râjaḥ**
kuśalî ||[2] **Peṇṭhâma**-bhuktîya-

Second Plate; Second Side.

19 **Pimparipadrakê** brâhmaṇâṁ(n) saṁpûjya prativâsinaḥ samâjñâ-
payati [|*] Viditam=astu
20 bhavatâṁ yath=âsmâbhir=ayaṁ grâmô yâvad=ravi-śaśi-târâ-kiraṇa-pratihata-
ghôr-ândhakâraṁ ja-
21 gad=avatishṭhatê tâvad=upabhôgya[ḥ*] sa-nidhiḥ s-ôpanidhiḥr[3]=a-châṭa-bhaṭa[4]-
pravêś[ô*] dâ-
22 radraṇaka-sarva-kar-âdâna-samêtô mâtâ[5]pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhi-
bṛi(vṛi)[6]ddhayê Bhâ-
23 radvâjasagôtra - VâjasanêyaMâdhyandina bhaṭṭaGauridattaputra - bhaṭṭa-
24 Bhavadatta-bhaṭṭaHaradattâbhyâṁ Jyêshṭha-dvâdaśyâm=udaka-pûrvaṁ prati-
pâdita i-
25 ty=avagamya bhavadbhir=yath-ôchitam=asmai[7] bhôga-bhâgam=upanayadbhiḥ
sukham=prati-
26 vastabya(vya)m=iti || Bhâvinaś=cha bhûmipâlân=uddiśy=êdam=abhidhîyatê [|*]
Bhûmi[8]-pra-
27 dâ divi lalanti patanti hṛi(ha)nta hṛitvâ mahi[9] nṛipatayô narakê
nṛi-śaṅsâḥ

Third Plate.

28 êtad=[d*]vaya[ṁ*] parikalayya chalâñ=cha lakshmi(kshmî)m=âyus=tathâ
kuruta yad=bhavatâm=abhi(bhî)shṭa[ṁ] [||*]

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[1] Read *tîvara*. The engraver first cut the *râ*, of *râjaḥ*, omitting both *va* and *ra*; and then, partially cancelling the *â*, he omitted to insert the *va*.

[2] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[3] Read *s-ôpanidhir*.

[4] The engraver first formed *va*, and then corrected it into *ṭa*.

[5] The engraver first began to form *pitrô*, and then corrected it into *mâtâ*.

[6] The engraver first formed *bṛii*, and then partially cancelled the superscript *i*.

[7] Read *âbhyâṁ*.

[8] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[9] Read *mahîṁ*.

29 Api cha [I*] Raksh[1]-âpâlanayôs=tâvat=phalaṁ su-gati dur-gati kô nâma svargam=uchchhṛi(tsṛi)jya

30 narakaṁ pratipadyatê [II*] Byâ(vyâ)sa-gi(gî)tâṁś=ch=âtra ślôkân=udâraharanti [I*] Agnêr[2]=a[pa*]tyaṁ prathamaṁ

31 suvarṇaṁ bhûr=vaishṇavi(vî) sûryya-sutâś=cha gâvaḥ dattâ[s*]=trayas=têna bhavanti lôkâ yaḥ kañchanaṁ gâ-

32 ñ=cha mahi(hî)ñ=cha[3] dadyâ[t*] [II*] Shashṭi[4]-varsha-sahasrâṇi svargê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âkshêptâ

33 ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [II*] Bahubhir=vasudhâ dattâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ

34 yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [II*] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ bâ(vâ) yatnâd=raksha

35 Yudhishṭhiraḥ[5] mahi[6] mahimatâṁ śrêshṭha dânâ śrêyô[7]=nupâlanam= iti II Pravarddhamâna-

36 vijaya-râjya-samvatsaru[8] 7 Kârttika divasu ashṭha(shṭa)mu 8 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

This charter, which is for the sake of the increase of religion, of the illustrious **Tîvaradêva,** the supreme lord of (the country of) **Kôsala,** shall endure firmly as long as the moon and the stars!

The Plates.

Ôm! Victorious is the illustrious **Tîvaradêva,** the ornament of the three worlds; the auspicious thread of the palaces of the race of kings; the most energetic of all those who do works of religion!

(Line 2.)—Hail! From the town of **Śrîpura**;—He who verily is made resplendent by the mirror of the nails of (*his*) feet, that is polished by a crore of diadems of the many kings, bowing down (*before him in the act of performing obeisance*), who have attained the *pañchamahâśabda*;[9]—whose fingers are discourteous in pulling the flowing tresses of

---

[1] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[2] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[3] This *ñcha* is imperfect in the lower part. It was repeated, and formed completely; but the greater part of the second *ñcha* was then destroyed by the ring-hole.

[4] Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.

[5] Read *yudhishṭhira*.

[6] Read *mahîṁ*.

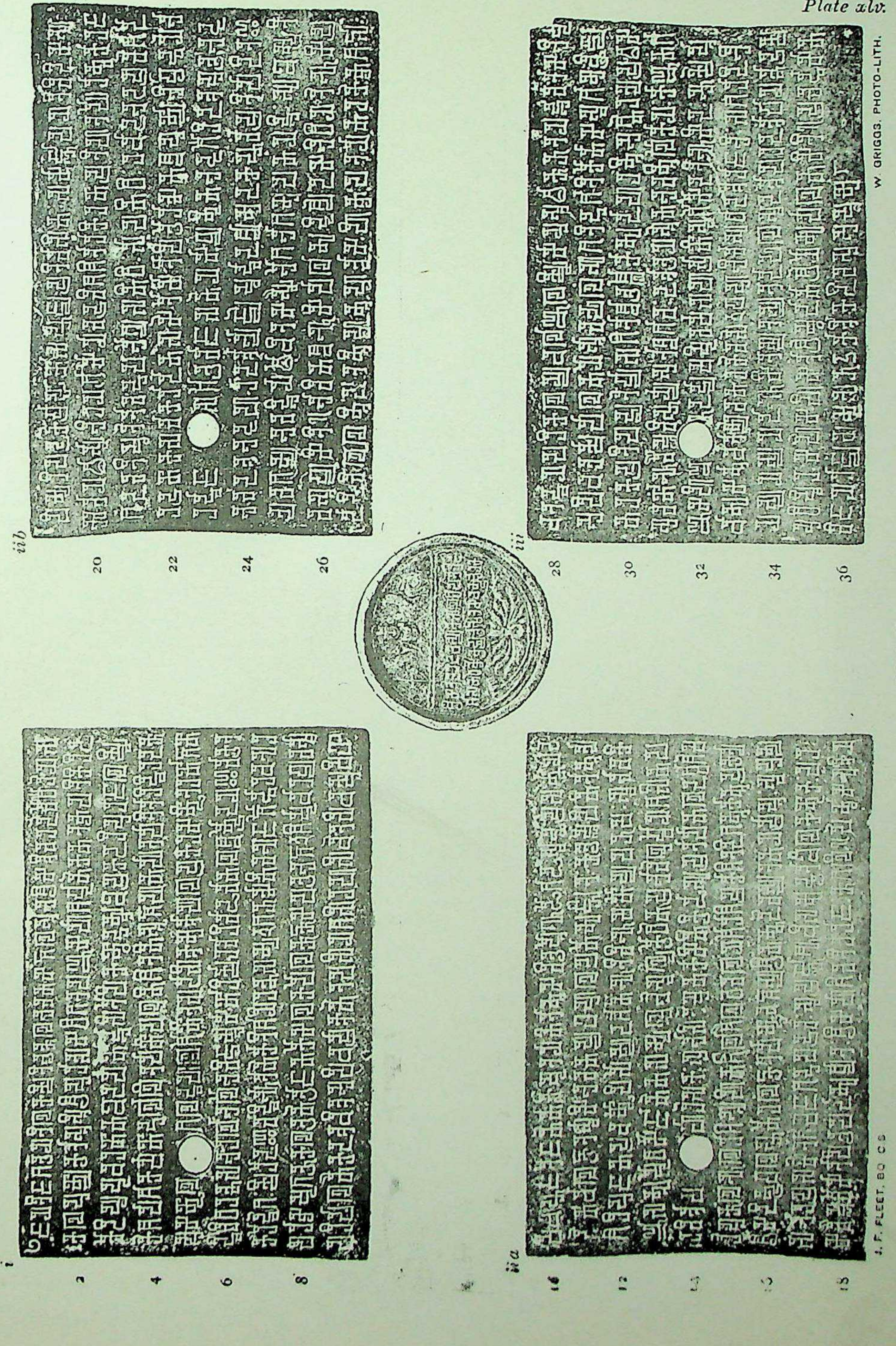
[7] Read *dânâch=chhrêyô*.

[8] Here, and in *divasu* and *ashṭamu*, we have evidently a vernacular termination.—As regards the interpretation of the year and the day, see page 292 above, notes 1 and 2.

[9] *pañchamahâśabda*; *lit.* 'five-great sounds'—This is a technical expression, the meaning of which remained for a long time in doubt.—In Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary *mahâśabda* is given as meaning 'an official title beginning with the word *mahâ* ('great');' and *panchamahâśabda*, in accordance with this, would denote five titles of rank and honour, such as *Mahârâja*, *Mahâmaṇḍaléśvara*, *Mahâsâmanta*, &c. This explanation was adopted by me (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 307, note), in preference to a suggestion previously made to me (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 307, note), that the term was identical with the *pañchamahâmantra* of the Jains, and denoted the five titles of *Arhat*, *Siddha*, *Âchârya*, *Upâdhyâya*, and *Sarvasâdhu*. And, finding the five titles of *Mahâsâmanta*,

Plate xlv.

Rajim Plates of the Raja Tivaradeva.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W. GRIGGS. PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE .50

J. F. FLEET, BO C S

the goddess of the fortunes of hostile kings, mourning, and looking up in anxious expectation (*of even further ill-treatment*), and exposed in public;—who is a very submarine

---

Mahápratíhára, *Mahádaṇḍanáyaka*, *Mahákártákṛitika* and *Mahárája*, twice applied to Dhruvasêna I. of Valabhî, in lines 13 f. and 29 f. of his grant of (Gupta)-Saṁvat 207 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 105), Dr. Bühler (*id.* p. 106, note) accepted the same explanation. Also, the same rendering has been given by Professor Kielhorn, in his translation of line 3 of the Kaṇheri inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I. and his Śilâhâra feudatory Kapardin II., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 775 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 135).—Meanwhile, Mr. Sh. P. Pandit (*id.* Vol. I. p. 81, note), while accepting the same explanation, added, though without quoting his authority, that it had been usual to accept the term as referring to the sounds of five musical instruments. Taking up this idea, Sir Walter Elliot (*id.* Vol. V. p. 251 f.) quoted two passages from *Ferishtah*, and one from the nineteenth book of Chand's *Prithiráj-Rasa*, which speak of the *naubat* or 'imperial band' being played at the courts of kings five times daily; and expressed his opinion that this was the custom to which the expression under notice referred. In commenting on this, Mr. Growse (*id.* Vol. V. p. 354 f.) pointed out that the passage in Chand refers to "a noise of the five kinds of music playing every day," rather than to "song and music playing five times a day;" quoted a line from the *Rámáyaṇa* of Tulsîdâs, book i., which speaks of "the noise of the five kinds of music, and auspicious songs;" and also gave, from a commentary on the same poem, a Hindî couplet which explains the five kinds of music as being the sounds of the *tantri* or lute, the *tál* or bell-metal instrument played with a stick, the *jháñjh* or cymbals, the *nagára* or kettle-drum, and a wind-instrument. And finally, Mr. K. B. Pathak (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 95 f.) quoting an Old-Kanarese passage from a Jain author, descriptive of a royal procession, which mentions the sounding of the *pañchamahásabda* and auspicious drums, stated that the Liṅgâyat *Vivêkachintámaṇi* enumerates the five musical instruments as being the *śriṅga* or trumpet, the *tammaṭa* or tambour, the *śaṅkha* or conch-shell used as a horn, the *bhêrî* or kettle-drum, and the *jayaghaṇṭá* or gong.—The last two contributions to the discussion leave no doubt whatever that the expression *pañchamahásabda* denotes the sounds of five musical instruments, the use of which was allowed, as a special mark of distinction, to persons of high rank and authority.—Some of the inscriptions mention certain specific musical instruments, which, if they are to be classed among the customary and technical five instruments, remain to be identified with those enumerated in the *Vivêkachintámaṇi*. Thus, the Baḷagâṁve inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1102 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 46, line 4) gives to the Kalachuri king Bijjala the epithet *ḍamaruka-túrya-nirghóshaṇa*, 'he who has (played before him) the sound of the musical instrument called *ḍamaruka*' (a double drum, shaped like an hour-glass). So, also, the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti and Beḷgaum had the epithet *trivaḷi-túrya-nirghóshaṇa*; *e.g.* in the case of Lakshmidêva, in the Saundatti inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1151 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 268, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 113, line 62). And the Kâdambas of Goa had the epithet *permaṭṭi-túrya-nirghóshaṇa*; *e.g.* in the case of Śivachitta-Permâḍi, in the Veṅkaṭâpur inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1080 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 273, line 7 f.)—Occasionally, instead of *pañcha-mahásabda*, 'the five great sounds,' we have *aśésha-mahásabda*, 'all the great sounds;' *e.g.* in line 41 of the Barôda grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa chieftain Karka II. of Gujarât, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 734 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160), and in line 24 of the Barôda grant of the chieftain Dhruva II. of the same family, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 757 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 199). But, that this had no wider meaning, is shewn by the double expression *aśésha-pañcha-mahásabda*, 'all the five great sounds' which occurs in line 1 of the Ambarnâth inscription of the Śilâhâra chieftain Mâmvâṇi, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 782 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329), and in line 2 of the Añjanêri inscription of the Yâdava chieftain Sêuṇadêva, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 1063 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 126).—The epithet *samadhigata-pañchamahásabda*, 'one who has attained the *pañchamahásabda*,' is of very constant occurrence in inscriptions, in connection with the names of feudatories, and even of *Mahákumáras* or heirs-apparent. But the only instances that I can quote, in which it is applied to paramount sovereigns, are the cases of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I., in line 6 f. of his Śirûr inscription, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 788 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 218); of another Râshṭrakûṭa king named Kakka, in line 22 of his Chhârôlî grant, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 679 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 108); and of Dêvapâla of Dhârâ, in line 5 f. of the 'Chârwâ' inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1275 (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India, p. 111).—The only instance known to me, in which any reference is made to the source of this mark of distinction, *viz.* to its being bestowed upon a feudatory fire to the salt water of (*his*) enemies, gaping with the greedy desire to acquire a multitude of various jewels in battle-fields which are decorated with numbers of pearls that are always besprinkled with the thick blood that trickles down from the foreheads of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, struck down with the crushing blows of (*his*) sharp sword;—who has not caused distress by (*his*) taxes, just as the rising moon does not cause distress by (*its*) rays;—who, like the sea of milk, manifests a wealth of many most excellent jewels;—who, like Garutmat, is skilful in eradicating the serpents;[1]—who breaks the saffron-leaves on the cheeks, soft with the collyrium (*washed down by the tears*) from (*their*) eyes, of the violated wives of (*his*) enemies;—whose thoughts are solely given to the establishment and protection of virtuous behaviour;—

(L. 9.)—Who, moreover, is not too much puffed up with satisfaction, (*though he is*) unweariedly worshipped by mankind, in (*respect of his*) religious austerity (*and*) fame (*and*) secrecy (*and*) intellect (*and*) faculty of sight and (*beauty of*) form resulting from (*good*) acts done in a former life;—who is reserved, and is decorated with an impenetrable, pure, and complacent countenance;—who, even in the palace of (*his*) lord, is never at a loss (*for words*), though he does not talk too much;—who, though he is thirsty for (*the acquisition of*) land, is yet exceedingly liberal;—who, though he is fierce to (*his*) enemies, is yet mild of aspect;—who, though he is adorned with majesty, is yet not harsh;—who, moreover, is by nature never quite satisfied in accumulating religion in the acquisition of wealth, (*and*) in (*displaying only*) mild anger in (*spite of all his*) power;—who is greedy for fame, (*but*) not for the appropriation of the wealth of others;—who is affable in excellent conversations, (*but*) not in the dallyings of wanton women;—who has burned with the fire of (*his*) prowess all the heap of cotton that is the race of (*his*) enemies;—who has irradiated the ends of the quarters of the world with the mass of (*his*) fame that is as white as the rocky mountain of snow;—(*and*) who is by nature beautiful;—

(L. 16.)—(*He*), the illustrious **Mahâśiva-Tîvararâja,**—who is the adopted son[2] of the illustrious **Nannadêva,** who was the son of the illustrious **Indrabala,** (*and*) who adorned the **lineage of Pâṇḍu**; who has allayed all the troubles of the world with the abundance of his religious merit; who has extracted all thorns with the needle of his wisdom; who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Vishṇu; (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents,—being in good health, (*and*) having done worship to the Brâhmaṇs at (the village of) **Pimparipadraka** belonging to the **Peṇṭhâma** *bhukti*, issues a command to the residents:—

(L. 19.)—"Be it known to you, that this village is given by Us, with libations of water, on the twelfth lunar day of (the month) Jyêshṭha, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourself, to the *Bhaṭṭa* Bhavadatta and the *Bhaṭṭa* Haradatta, sons of the *Bhaṭṭa* Gauridatta, of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the Vâjasanêya-Mâdhyaṁdina (*śâkhâ*),—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness

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by the reigning paramount sovereign, is in the Dêôgaḍh inscription of Bhôjadêva of Gwâlior, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 919 and Śaka-Saṁvat 784, in which (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 101, and Pl. xxxiii. No. 2, l. 3) the *Mahâsâmanta* Vishṇu (?) has the epithet *tat-pradatta-pañchamahâśabda*, "possessed of the *pañchamahâśabda* conferred by him, *i.e.* by Bhôjadêva."

[1] This possibly contains an allusion to the well-known Nâga family or tribe.

[2] *tanaya-prâpta*; *lit.* 'acquired as a son;' see page 293 above, note 3.

dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars ; together with (*its*) hidden treasures and deposits ; not to be entered by the regular or the irregular troops ; (*and*) accompanied by (*the right of*) receiving the *dâradraṇaka*[1] and all the taxes.

(L. 24.)—" Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness, rendering to them, in a proper manner, (*their*) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 26.)—And for the guidance of future kings, this is said,—" Those kings who bestow land, enjoy pleasure in heaven ; (*but*) alas ! those who confiscate land (*that has been given*), and (*thus*) work injury to mankind, fall into hell : bearing in mind these alternatives, and also that fortune (*and*) life are transient, do that which pleases you !" Moreover,—" The reward of protection ensures a fortunate condition, and of omission to protect, a state of misfortune ; who, indeed, will (*willingly*) disregard heaven and obtain hell ?"

(L. 30.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyâsa :—Gold is the first offspring of fire ; the earth belongs to (the god) Vishṇu ; and cows are the daughters of the sun : therefore the three worlds are given by him, who gives gold, and a cow, and land ! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years ; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara ; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*) ! O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another ; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant !

(L. 35.)—The year 7 of the increasing victorious reign ; (the month) Kârttika ; the eighth day, (*or in figures*) 8.

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[1] *dâradraṇaka* is a fiscal term that requires explanation. The dictionaries give *dâra*, in the sense of 'a cleft, gap, hole ; a ploughed field ; a wife ;' but they do not give *draṇaka*, or any root by means of which it can be explained. The term may refer either to some agricultural cess, or to a marriage-tax of the kind spoken of in line 6 ff. of the Daṇḍâpur inscription of Jagattuṅga II., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 840 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 223 f.)

* * *

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  âḍhya; with Dêva.

  aṅka; with Vikrama.

  arka; with Bhaṭa, Udyôta.

  ârya; with Bappa, Bhôjakadêva, Dêva, Dêvaśarman, Dharma, Gaṇa, Hariśarman, Îśvaraśarman, Jyêshṭhaśarman, Kâṇḍa, Kumâraśarman, Magha, Mahêśvara Mâtṛi, Mâtṛiśarman, Nandana, Rêvatiśarman, Rôha, Rudra, Rudraśarman, Śarman, Skanda, Sôma, Sômaśarman, Svâmidêva, Svâtiśarman, Varaśarman.

  âryâ; with Bhadra.

  bala; with Gôśûrasiṁha, Hari, Indra, Vishṇu.

  bhaṭa; with Dêra, Dhrû, Dhruva, Hari, Pulinda, Skanda, Vishṇu.

  bhaṭṭa; with Nâga.

  bhaṭṭâ; with Jaya.

  bhaṭṭaka; with Tila.

  bhaṭṭi; with Vatsa.

  bhûti; with Dhruva, Rudra.

  bôṭa (see 31 n.); with Raṅka.

  chandra; with Râma, Suraśmi

chêṭa; with Mâtṛi.

dása (see 11 n.); with Ajagara, Bhujaṁga, Dharma, Îśvara, Mâtṛi, Śiva, Varâha, Vishṇu.

datta; with Abhaya, Bhaga, Bhâskara, Bhava, Dhruva, Divâkara, Gauri, Hara, Nâga, Nara, Parṇa, Phalgu, Ravi, Śarva, Shashṭhi, Sûrya, Svâmin, Vasu, Vibhu.

dêva; with Âdityasêna, Bâlâditya, Bâppa, Bhôjaka, Dêvagupta, Dharma, Dhruva, Harsha, Jaya, Jîvitagupta, Kaudrava, Kumâra, Mahâdêvi, Mahî, Mâna, Nanna, Narêndra, Ôgha, Rudra, Rukhara, Śaṁkara, Śaśâṅka, Śîlâditya, Śiva, Skanda, Svâmin, Tîvara, Udaya, Vasanta, Vijaya, Vishṇu, Vṛisha, Vyâghra.

dêvî; with Ajjhita, Bhâgya, Bhôga, Datta, Dhruva, Ijjâ, Kamala, Kôṇa, Kumâra, Muruṇḍa, Râma, Śrîmatî, Vatsa.

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gômin; with Chhôḍu.

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graha; with Bha or Bhâ, Khara.

gupta (see 8 n., 11 n.); with Ananta, Bhânu, Budha, Chandra, Dâmôdara, Dêva, Dharma, Hari, Harsha, Jishṇu, Jîvita, Kṛishṇa, Kumâra, Mâdhava, Mahâsêna, Ravi, Samudra, Śiva, Skanda, Vishṇu.

guptá; with Ananta, Bhânu, Harsha, Mahâsêna, Prabhâvati, Upa.

ila; in Matila, Râjyila, Saṅghila, Sômila.

jaya; with Dhanaṁ.

káma; with Parachakra.

kárdava; with Amra or Âmra.

kîrtti; with Guñja, Ravi.

kula; with Mihira.

kumbha; with Dôsha.

lakshmî; with Mihira.

mitra; with Âkhaṇḍala, Buddha, Dêva, Durdhara, Haṁsa, Pushya, Ṛishi, Sûrya.

nága; with Bhava, Dêva, Gaṇapati, Kumâra, Mahêśvara, Śakti, Śarva, Skanda, Svâmin.

náman; with Mahâ (Mahat).

nandin; with Vishṇu.

nátha; with Jaya, Śarva.

paksha; with Sâla.

pála; with Śiśu.

pálita; with Chakra.

pati; with Paśu.

paṭṭa; with Dhara.

prakáśa; with Kuśala.

putra; with Daiva, Gautami or Gautamî, Sandhyâ.

rája; with Dêva, Gôpa, Jaya, Koṇḍa, Maṇṭa, Nîla, Śatrughna, Sudêva, Tîvara, Vyâghra.

ráta; with Amra or Âmra, Vyâghra, Yaśas.

śarman (see 11 n.); with Bhartṛi, Dêva, Dhruva, Gô, Gôṇḍa, Guha, Hari, Îśvara, Jyêshṭha, Kumâra, Magha, Mâtṛi, Môksha, Mûla, Nâga, Rêvati, Rudra, Sânti, Sôma, Su, Svâti, Vara, Varuṇa.

sêna; with Âditya, Ananta, Daṁshṭra, Dhara, Dhruva, Guha, Hari, Kumâra, Nâga, Pravara, Pṛithivi, Ravi, Rudra, Saṁjaya, Samudra, Siddha, Skambha, Sûra or Śûra, Ugra, Upa, Varuṇa, Vasanta, Vikrama, Vîra.

siddha; with Sana.

siṁha; with Drôṇa.

siṅgha; with Achala, Drôṇa.

siṅha; with Bhrukuṇṭha, Nâga.

śiva; with Bhâra, Mâtṛi, Sûkshma.

sôma; with Bhaṭṭi, Rudra.

svámika; with Dhṛiti.

svámin; with Agni, Ananta, Bappa, Bhava, Brahmadêva, Dêva, Divâkara, Gômika, Gôpa, Gôri, Gôvinda, Guhila, Jaya, Kumâra, Mitra, Nâgavatsa, Śarva, Savitṛi, Svâti, Vindu.

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tráta; with Hari, Sôma, Vishṇu, Yaśas.

tula; with Mâtṛi.

váḍha; with Sarva.

vardhana; with Âditya, Harsha, Prabhâkara, Râjya, Vishṇu, Yaśas.

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vatsa; with Bandhu, Nâga.

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ERRATA.

INTRODUCTION.

Page 36, line 15, *for* Mr. Blochmann's, *read* Mr. Kay's.
106, note 1, line 3, *for* Kâdamba, *read* Kadamba.
117, line 3, *for* navô-ttarê, *read* nav-ôttarê.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

6, Text line 5, *for* ôchchhṛi, *read* ôchchhṛi (chchhri).
,, ,, ,, 9, *for* sadṛisâny, *read* sạdṛiŝâny.
,, ,, ,, 17, *for* parâkkrâm-âṅkasya, *read* parâkkram-âṅkasya.
7, ,, ,, 20, *for* mâhâbhagyasya, *read* mâhâbhâgyasya.
20, ,, ,, 20, *for* kula-vadhuḥ, *read* kula-vadhu(dhû)ḥ.
,, ,, ,, 21, *for* ôrjjitam, *read* ôrjjitaṁ.
,, ,, ,, 26, *for* paribriṅhan(ṇ), *read* paribṛiṅhan(ṇ).
26, ,, ,, 1, *for* ôchhêttuḥ, *read* ôchchhêttuḥ
27, note 4, in lines 1 and 13, for *ôchchêttṛi*, read *ôchchhêttṛi*; and in line 1, for *ôchchêttâ*, read *ôchchhêttâ*.
28, note 6, line 4 from the bottom, for *Puraṇa*, read *Purâṇa*.
31, Text line 3, *for* jîvita=sâdhanaḥ, *read* jîvita-sâdhanaḥ.
35, ,, ,, 3, *for* rmmanaḥ. *read* rmmaṇaḥ.
43, ,, ,, 6, *for* shan-navatê, *read* shaṇ-ṇavatê.
48, note 1, line 2, *for* Visvavarman, *read* Viŝvavarman.
59, Text line 4, *for* Âpi, *read* Api.
,, ,, ,, 11, *for* an-upaskritair, *read* an-upaskrîtair.
60, ,, ,, 15, *for* Athâ, *read* Atha.
61, ,, ,, 27, *the word* Guptânâṁ *should be in the thick type.*
73, line 4, for *appratimêṇa*, read *appratimêna*.
74, Text line 8, *for* a-sahyatamâñ, *read* a-sahyatamạñ.
75, ,, ,, 19, *for* (? ŝhṭhâ), *read* (? shṭhâ).
,, ,, ,, 23, *for* tritîyam, *read* tri(tṛi)tîyam.
76, ,, ,, 39, *for* ŝrimân, *read* ŝrîmân.
83, ,, ,, 17, *for* âbhiramaṁ *read* âbhirâmaṁ.
96, ,, ,, 12, *for* pramukhânâṁ, *read* pramukhâṇâṁ.
115, ,, ,, 14, *for* khanda, *read* khaṇḍa.
118, ,, ,, 6, *for* âdin, *read* âdîn.
,, ,, ,, 7, *for* Kaṇva, *read* Kâṇva.
146, ,, ,, 4, *for* drishṭa, *read* dṛishṭa.
153, ,, ,, 4, *for* ôdapan, *read* ôdapân.
,, ,, ,, 7, *for* udûḍḥam, *read* udûḍham.
,, ,, ,, 10-11, *for* garimnas, *read* garimṇas.
,, ,, ,, 12-13, *for* visaṁbvâ(va)ditâ, *read* visaṁbvâ(vâ)ditâ.
154, ,, ,, 17, *for* dêŝâṁ, *read* dêŝaṁ; *and for* ḍîmbaṁ, *read* ḍimbaṁ.
,, ,, ,, 18, *for* Dharmmadô, *read* Dharmmadô-.

Page 154, Text line 19, *for* khâtayâm, *read* khânayâm.
156, line 27, *for* mightly, *read* mighty.
162, Text line 4, *for* vṛishashya, *read* vṛishasya.
165, „ „ 3, *for* dîdḥitir, *read* dîdhitir.
166, „ „ 14, *for* vad=apâst, *read* d=apâst.
173, „ „ 5, *for* triṇa, *read* tṛiṇa.
193, line 6, *to the word* **TEXT** *attach the note-reference* 3.
194, Text line 11, *for* âtisra(sṛi)shtaḥ, *read* âtisra(sṛi)shṭaḥ.
„ „ „ 19, *for* Shashṭhiṁ, *read* Shashṭiṁ.
203, „ „ 10, *for* pariṇâyitavan, *read* pariṇâyitavân.
204, „ „ 23, *for* lakshmîvan, *read* lakshmîvân.
„ „ „ 24, *for* âhô, *read* ahô.
237, „ „ 13, *for* Chakra, *read* Chakra-.
238, „ „ 25, *for* atisṛishtaḥ, *read* atisṛishṭaḥ.
245, „ „ 1, *for* Dṛishtam, *read* Dṛishṭam.
250, line 35, *for* Oldhausen, *read* Olshausen.
254, Translation, line 2, twice, for *ana*, read *and*.
280, No. 74, Text lines 2 and 3, *the note-references should be* 3 *and* 4.
290, line 12, *the word* Mihiralakshmî *should be in the thick type*.
294, Text line 1, *as pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, for* sûtra[ḥ*], *read* staṁbha[ḥ*]; *and cancel the latter part of note 4*.
296, Translation, line 9, *for* thread, *read* pillar, *in accordance with the correction in the Text*.

I have not had the opportunity of examining the final printed sheets as thoroughly as I could have wished; and doubtless some other instances of oversight on my part will be discovered, in addition to the present corrections, most of which I owe to the kindness of Prof. F. Kielhorn. Some suggestions by him for altering my readings and translations, will be considered in the *Indian Antiquary*; since, to include them here, would further delay the issue of the book.